"SEE IT NOW"

AFRICA - PART I

April 23, 1956

AFRICA - PART II

May 17, 1956

"SEE IT NOW"

AFRICA - PART I

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5b—See It Now—"Report From Africa"

As part of its effort to acquaint Americans with the peoples and problems of seemingly remote parts of the world, *See It Now* this year offered a two part program entitled, "Report From Africa."

Part I, presented on April 23, covered six countries which are barely known here: Gold Coast, Liberia, Kenya, Belgian Congo, Union of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The emerging theme of the first installment was the rise of native populations to challenge the historic rule of the white man in each of the countries surveyed.

The New York Times said, "...what Mr. Murrow achieved was to make the countries of Africa come alive in human terms, to instill in his audience a realization that man has innate dignity no matter what his geographical location. It would be hard to conceive of a more constructive use of the home screen."

For its second broadcast on Africa, presented on May 17, *See It Now* concentrated on the people and problems of the northern part of the continent, encompassing Algeria, Libya, the Belgian Congo, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda.

Here the complex and fiery issues of colonialism, emerging nationalism and oil diplomacy in the Middle East provided the dominant themes. Included in the show were interviews with some of the leading political figures of each of the countries; dramatic scenes of popular movements as reflected in street rallies and mob violence, and surveys of the economic development of the area. This aspect of *See It Now's* Africa coverage gave valuable insight into the background of the deep Middle East controversies which have exploded with such tragic force in recent months.

The Billboard described "Report From Africa," Part II as "a

Report from Africa
4/23/56
5/17/56

vivid, illuminating survey. Cities and countries on the Dark Continent suddenly snapped into place, and their leaders and political struggles took on flesh and blood meaning."

For its remarkable effort to throw light on the countries and problems of the Dark Continent for the American people, CBS Television submits *See It Now's*—"Report From Africa" for consideration by the George Foster Peabody Board of Judges.

Promotion of International Understanding

TELEVISION CATEGORY 5

5a—See It Now

The Secret Life of Danny Kaye: December 2, 1956, 5:00-6:30 pm EST

5b—See It Now

Coverage of the Middle East Crisis:

Egypt-Israel: March 13, 1956, 8:30-10:00 pm EST

Report From Africa: Part I April 23, 1956, 10:00-11:00 pm EST

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Suez: October 7, 1956, 5:00-6:00 pm EDT

Edward R. Murrow Reports From Israel:

November 13-14, 1956, 11:15- 11:30 pm EST

SIN

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. L. Grossman

January 10, 1957

This booklet accompanied the TVRs of your programs which were submitted for George Foster Peabody Awards.

Larry Grossman

SIN
Cioffi, Lou

MAY 18, 1956

LOU CIOFFI
COLBROSYS
PARIS

MURROW SAYS AIRMAILING FRANCE SCRIPT AFRICA SHOW STOP GENERAL REACTION APPEARS FAVORABLE ALTHOUGH NO REPEAT NO CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC RESPONSE.

REGARDS

BURKE

202-550-43

Church, Ronald J.
SIN

May 18, 1956

Dear Professor Church:

Thank you very much indeed for your gracious letter of May 3rd. You are, of course, entirely correct in what you write. I should have said, "...imports and exports arrive and leave at Accra by surf boats..." The manganese mistake was sheer stupidity. I knew of the error about the planting of rubber trees, and in fact had changed the line which was lost and was not in the final film.

However, all of these mistakes were mere negligence, and I write many thanks for chastising us so gently. We shall try to exercise more care in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Professor Ronald J. Harrison Church
Department of Geography
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

rh

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 6

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

May 3, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o "See It Now"
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As a visiting English professor, currently lecturing here on Africa South of the Sahara, I was naturally interested to see your program "See It Now" on Channel 27 here on Monday the 23rd of April.

It has been suggested to me by colleagues here that I ought to write to you, because I noticed three rather considerable mistakes. In speaking of the Gold Coast you suggested that overseas trade had to be handled mainly by the surf boats at Accra. But the deep water harbor at Takoradi has carried most of the overseas trade ever since 1928. It currently handles well over 90% of the overseas trade. Secondly, you mentioned that manganese mining was a recent development in the Gold Coast. In fact, it has been mined on a large scale ever since 1916. Again, in speaking of the Firestone Rubber Plantations in Liberia you suggested that rubber planting was first done in Liberia in 1926. Firestone started that year, but rubber was planted as early as 1907 by the Liberian Rubber Company.

May I say how much I enjoyed the program and the shots you had, and how much I look forward to the next viewing.

Very sincerely yours,

R. J. Harrison Church

Ronald J. Harrison Church

RHC:clo

ed---

Sorry...this was home in another jacket...

[redacted]

We'rs guilty as charged on all counts...here are the quibbling explanations...

Item---We say "...Whether it be Cocos or Manganese, all of the Gold Coast exports and imports leave by way of its fleet of surf boats..." We should have said Accra instead of Gold Coast, and would have been right.

Item---Managnese has been mined on a large scale since 1916. We say..."Recently, the Gold Coast has been mining another new item for export---manganese." That is stretching it a bit.

Item---Rubber trees were planted as early as 1907 by the Liberian Rubber Company. This one we caught ourselves and recorded a new line for that got lost in the shuffle and was [redacted] not cut in. We handled it by saying that "rubber trees in quantity" and so on, which was correct. What we said on the air was ..."Rubber trees were first brought to Liberia in 1926 by the Firestone Rubber Company."

Hatch, Robert
SIN

May 18, 1956

Dear Mr. Hatch:

I don't think I have anything to say about Miss Langman's well written review of SEE IT NOW that would be of particular interest to your readers. I liked it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert Hatch
Literary Editor
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York 14, New York

rh

THE Nation

May 15, 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I think you will want to read Anne Langman's discussion of your first Africa program, in the enclosed issue. If you care to comment on it, our readers would be most interested.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Hatch

Literary Editor

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Mr. Murrow: Anne Langman is a friend of Mr. Friendly and asks if you would answer this personally.

RH

Mansfield, Sen Mike
SIN

May 8, 1956

Dear Senator Mike:

With the greatest of pleasure will I send you the second report on Africa just as soon as it is ready.

I send you my best salute, and apply to you my favorite quotation from Carl Sandburg, "What is wrong with the country ain't you."

As ever yours,

Senator Mike Mansfield
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

rh

Fold SIN

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
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HOMER E. CAPEHART, IND.

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF
C. C. O'DAY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 4, 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear ~~Mr. Murrow~~ Ed:

The CBS office here in Washington is going to send me the first part of your "Report from Africa" which was on TV recently, and I would like to request at this time that you send me a copy of the second part of this report which is scheduled to be broadcast on May 17.

I am very interested in securing a copy of this report and will appreciate your courtesy in sending the same to me when it becomes available.

With best personal wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mike Mansfield

Moxon, R. J.
S I N

May 17, 1956

Dear Mr. Moxon:

I am begging you to forgive my delay in answering your letter of March 22nd. The pressure of work in connection with editing such a mass of film was considerable. The picture sequence to which you referred was, of course, eliminated from the film.

The reaction to our report, and specifically the material dealing with the Gold Coast, was most enthusiastic.

Permit me to thank you again for your help in connection with Louis Armstrong's coming to the Gold Coast. I hope for great things from his visit.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. R. J. Moxon
P. O. Box 745
Accra

rh

In case of reply the number and date of this letter should be quoted.

My Ref. No. OF.75/5.

Your Ref. No.

Department of Information Services
P.O. Box 745, Accra.

22nd March, 1956.

PERSONAL.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

First of all, I would like to say how much we enjoyed having your delightful team of people here during January. They were most pleasant guests to have and extremely easy to work with. I do hope from your point of view that the visit was a success as I am sure it must have been. Secondly, I want to thank you very much indeed for the fascinating book which I received the other day. It is a most interesting technique and very pleasant to read.

The final sequence of material from the Gold Coast was despatched yesterday by Pan American Airways and should be with you tomorrow. Unfortunately, it was not possible for us at the last minute to obtain permission to film inside the Assembly Chamber but I hope that the exteriors will be of some limited use to you. It is concerning one of these shots that I am writing now, and this can easily be identified from the enclosed newspaper clipping. This shows Mr. Kojo Botsio (left) and Mr. A. Inkumsah (right) approaching the Assembly Chamber. According to the Continuity Sheet I have seen, the same sort of shot must be included in the material which by now you will have received. As it happens, Mr. Botsio, who is the Minister of State here is upset that this particular picture should have been published at all. The practice of holding hands is a very common one in the Gold Coast much in the same way as in other countries people link arms, but Mr. Botsio is aware of the sort of misinterpretation which could be put on this gesture in countries which are not familiar with West African customs. Indeed, if you have read Richard Wright's book "Black Power" you may recall that he himself was thoroughly misguided in this respect. It would therefore be much appreciated if you would avoid using this particular shot in the programme you are preparing. At least it would avoid considerable embarrassment between this Department and the Minister. I think you will understand that just at the present time people in the Gold Coast are a little sensitive concerning customs which could be misunderstood overseas.

We here very much hope that it may be possible one day for us to see the film your team have made during the past months in Africa. Covering the very wide field that it does, it is bound to tell a fascinating story and one which will certainly achieve an extremely wide showing.

With all good wishes and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(R. J. MOXON)

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, 22,
NEW YORK.

THE new Minister of Housing, Mr. A. E. Inkumsah (right) arriving at the Assembly yesterday with the Minister of State, Mr. Kojo Botsio.

Walker, W. A. R.
SIN

EDWARD R. MURROW

May 11, 1956

Dear Mr. Walker:

Thank you for your letter of May 1st. We have now heard from Accra that all arrangements are in hand for Louis Armstrong's visit.

We are grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. W. A. R. Walker
Gold Coast Liaison Officer
The Gold Coast Liaison Office
506 Dupont Circle Building
Washington 6, D.C.

rh
cc: Mr. Friendly
plus correspondence

"SEE ON NOW"

REPORT ON SUEZ

October 7, 1956

Suez
October 7, 1956

5b—See It Now—"Suez"

Soon after Egypt's General Abdul Gamal Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal in a move which threatened to engulf the entire world in war, *See It Now's* cameras, under the supervision of Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, returned to the Middle East to give the American people an up-to-date report on the latest developments in that area.

In "Suez," broadcast on the CBS Television Network on Sunday, October 7 from 5-6 pm, Mr. Murrow and his camera crew took their American viewers on a tour of the vital canal, pointing out first-hand its importance to the rest of the world and the difficulty of keeping traffic running smoothly through this lifeline to Europe.

The program focused on the controversy then raging over control of the Canal through special interviews with General Nasser and British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd.

It gave a clear, timely picture not only of the issues dividing the nations of the world on the Middle East but also of the future significance of the Canal crisis to the peace and prosperity of people everywhere.

The New York Times called *See It Now's* "Suez" "an illuminating and revealing documentary report."

As such CBS Television nominates it for the consideration of the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

SEE Friendly

F. 511

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Merle Jones

cc: Messrs. Murrow
Mickleson

From Fred Friendly

Station

October 4, 1956

Dear Merle:

I called Charles Oppenheimer this morning and congratulated him on his department's "security" in being able to keep See It Now's forthcoming "Report on Suez" such a well-kept secret. I told him that if Ed and I were ever going to mount an invasion of an enemy country, we would hire his department to keep it out of the press. Charlie said he wouldn't take any of the credit for this and it was his superiors who prevented him from having the necessary manpower to do the job right.

This note or desire is not being written because Murrow and/or Friendly require the personal notoriety of publicity. It is just that See It Now's chief function these days is to serve the company's public service obligations and we ought to be telling people that, at great expense to the company, Murrow and a couple of dozen colleagues have put together a comprehensive study on one of the most vital problems facing the world today. It just doesn't make any sense to do a show like this unless CBS toots its own horn and gathers the proper audience for it.

I feel that I would be remiss in my duties as a subordinate of yours if I did not call this matter to your attention.

Kendrick SIX

Le 5 1550

CBS RADIO NEWS GA PLS

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LONDON 19 19 1251P

PS CBSINC

NEWYORK

BURKE FOR FRIENDLY EDEN TODAY X UNEQUIVOCALLY REFUSES SIN SUEZ INTERVIEW STOP WHAT NEXT QUERY REGARDS

KENDRICK

QD 747A EST SEPT 19TH 1956

S L N
McCardle, Carl

URGENT

OCTOBER 5, 1956

MR. CARL McCARDLE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS
UNITED STATE DELEGATION
UNITED NATIONS
NEW YORK

PLEASE THANK THE SECRETARY FOR CONSIDERING OUR INVITATION TO APPEAR ON SUEZ SHOW STOP SINCE ENTIRE PROGRAM IS ON FILM WE ARE FORCED TO LOCK IT UP TODAY STOP SORRY HIS COMMITMENTS PREVENTED HIS APPEARANCE STOP HOPE YOU AND HE WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITY VIEW PROGRAM WHICH GOES FIVE TO SIX PM SUNDAY OCTOBER SEVEN. REGARDS AND THANKS.

ED MURROW

52-043

McCardle, Carl
SIN

RECEIVED
1956 OCT -4 PM 3:10
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

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WUX WASHINGTON DC OCT 4 1154AME

EDWARD R MURROW

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR LETTING US HAVE A COPY OF YOUR SCRIPT. IT WAS CHARACTERISTICALLY GENEROUS ON YOUR PART. FOR VARIOUS REASONS, NOTABLY THE FACT THAT HE HAS TO GO OT THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE OPENING OF THE SUEZ DISCUSSION, THE SECRETARY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO APPEAR ON THIS PROGRAM. HE APPRECIATES YOUR INVITATION. AS EVER

CARL W MCCARDLE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1225P..

"SEE IT NOW"

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

PART I

Interview with Ben-Gurion

November 13, 1956

Israel – 11/13-14/56

5b—See It Now—"Special Reports from Israel"

At the outbreak of war between Israel and Egypt in November, Edward R. Murrow flew to Israel with a *See It Now* camera crew to film and record on-the-spot reports of the happenings in that crucial area.

In two special broadcasts carried on CBS Television November 13 and 14 Mr. Murrow interviewed Premier David Ben-Gurion for the Israeli leader's first hand explanation of the reasons for his nation's sudden invasion of Egypt. In the second report Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan, Chief-of-Staff of the Israeli Army, gave an informative summary of the Sinai campaign and of Israel's present military condition.

The New York Times said of these reports, "...they are giving viewers a feeling for the situation as it affects those on the scene."

For its timely efforts to give the American people a broad understanding of the latest developments in one of the most vital areas of the world, CBS Television submits *See It Now* as a candidate for a George Foster Peabody Award in International Understanding.

Promotion of International Understanding

TELEVISION CATEGORY 5

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Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. L. Grossman

January 10, 1957

This booklet accompanied the TVRs of your programs which were submitted for George Foster Peabody Awards.

Larry Grossman

Edell, Ethel
5 I

COLUMBIA PICTURES CORPORATION
711 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

November 14, 1956

Mr. Ed Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Last night's interview with Ben Gurion of Israel has endeared you further in the hearts of many listeners. Not only did my guests sit in complete silence listening to this magnificent talk between you and Ben Gurion, but when I arrived at the office this morning, we had continued the discussion with my associates here at Columbia, who unanimously agreed that it was most enlightening.

Let's hope for peace and your continued appearance on the networks.

Your ardent fan,

Ethel Edell

Ethel Edell

EE:evm

Sir

11/13/52

Mr. Murrow
FYI

ATT:

ATT: NATL, CITY AND TV EDS.

CBS TELEVISION BROADCAST AN EXCLUSIVE FILMED INTERVIEW WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN-GURION BY CBS NEWSMAN EDWARD R. MURROW TONITE (TUESDAY, NOV. 13) FROM 11:15 TO 11:30 PM, EST. AN EDITED VERSION WAS HEARD ON CBS RADIO TONITE FROM 10:05 TO 10:15 PM, EST.

A FULL TRANSCRIPT OF THE FILMED INTERVIEW, GRANTED TO MURROW IN ISRAEL YESTERDAY AND FLOWN OVERNITE TO NEW YORK, FOLLOWS;

MURROW: GOOD EVENING, MR. PRIME MINISTER.

BEN-GURION: GOOD EVENING, MR. MURROW.

MURROW: WE ARE A LITTLE LATE IN ARRIVING BECAUSE WE WERE SHOOTING FILM OF SOME OF YOUR TROOPS OVER ON THE SYRIAN FRONTIER WHEN WE HEARD YOU WOULD RECEIVE US TONIGHT. IT'S VERY NICE TO SEE YOU AGAIN, SIR.

BEN-GURION: I AM PLEASED TO SEE YOU.

MURROW: I REALIZE THAT YOUR TIME IS LIMITED SO IF YOU WILL AGREE, I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU THE FIRST QUESTION FIRST.

BEN-GURION: YES.

MURROW: WHY DID ISRAEL ATTACK EGYPT AT THIS TIME?

BEN-GURION: WELL, I GIVE YOU BRIEFLY THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS. IT WILL BE EASILY UNDERSTOOD. WHEN OUR STATE WAS PROCLAIMED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISION OF UNITED NATIONS, THE SAME DAY WE WERE INVADED BY SIX ARAB ARMIES. THOUGH AT THAT TIME IT LOOKED INCREDIBLE, THEY WERE DEFEATED BY OUR YOUNG ARMY ALTHOUGH WE WERE ONLY ONE AGAINST FORTY. SINCE THEN, THE ARAB RULERS CONSTANTLY THREATENED US WITH A SECOND WAR EXTERMINATION. THE TENSION BECAME ALMOST UNBEARABLE IN THE LAST TWO YEARS. WHEN THE EGYPTIAN DICTATOR, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, ORGANIZED GANGS OF ASSASINS WHICH HE CALLED FEDAYEEN AND SENT THEM INTO OUR COUNTRY TO KILL PEOPLE IN THE FIELDS, IN THEIR HOMES, ON THE ROADS, HE WAS ENCOURAGED TO DO THAT WHEN HE SAW THAT HE COULD DEFY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH DECIDED FIVE YEARS AGO THAT THEY CANNOT PROHIBIT JEWISH SHIPPING IN THE SUEZ.

THE EGYPTIAN DICTATOR, GAMAL ABDEL NASSER, ORGANIZED GANGS OF ASSASINS WHICH HE CALLED FEDAYEEN AND SENT THEM INTO OUR COUNTRY TO KILL PEOPLE IN THE FIELDS, IN THEIR HOMES, ON THE ROADS, HE WAS ENCOURAGED TO DO THAT WHEN HE SAW THAT HE COULD DEFY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH DECIDED FIVE YEARS AGO THAT THEY CANNOT PROHIBIT JEWISH SHIPPING IN THE SUEZ. AND HE DID PROHIBIT AND NOBODY SAID A WORD AGAINST HIM, AND HE WAS NEVER BLAMED, NEITHER IN THE ASSEMBLY NOR BY SUCH PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE AS MR. NEHRU. DURING THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS WHEN THE PROBLEM OF SUEZ WAS TAKEN AGAIN TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE GANGSTERS WERE STOPPED FOR A TIME BUT AS SOON AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS OVER, HE RENEWED THESE ATTACKS BY THESE ASSASSINS AND THEN THE ELECTIONS IN JORDAN WHICH EGYPTIAN MONEY PLAYED A BIG ROLE BROUGHT A PRO-EGYPTIAN MAJORITY. AND HE CONCLUDED A TREATY BETWEEN EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA TO FIGHT AGAINST ISRAEL. AND WE HAD, IN ORDER TO SURVIVE, TO TAKE ACTION TO DESTROY THE NESTS OF THESE ASSASSINS IN THEIR BASES IN SINAI, AND WE SUCCEEDED IN DOING IT WITHIN FOUR DAYS.

MURROW: WELL SIR, DO YOU FEEL THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LAST TWO WEEKS, THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAVE INCREASED?

BEN-GURION: I WILL TELL YOU IF THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE AS IT WAS DECIDED BY THE ASSEMBLY WOULD RREALLY BE SENT TO THE AREA OF THE CANAL TO GUARANTEE THEM FREEDO OF NAVIGATION FOR ALL NATIONS, INCLUDING ISRAEL, AND IF THE ASSEMBLY WOULD TAKE SERIOUSLY THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND SEE TO IT THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MUST LIVE IN PEACE AND ESPECIALLY IF UNITY WILL BE RESTORED BETWEEN FREE WORLD AND AMERICA, EUROPEAN FREE COUNTRIES AND OTHERS WILL WORK TOGETHER IN CONFORMITY WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, I SEE PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN THIS AREA.

MURROW: THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DETERMINED THAT, IN THIS INSTANCE, ISRAEL WAS THE AGGRESSOR. WOULD YOU LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THAT A LITTLE MORE, SIR?

BEN-GURION: WELL, AGGRESSION CAN BE A PROCESS OF DAILY OCCURRENCES WHICH DON'T MAKE A BIG IMPRESSION WHICH THEY DON'T MAKE NEWS. IT IS VIOLATION OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. IT IS DEFIANCE OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS SENDING ASSASSINS TO KILL ONLY A FEW PEOPLE AT A TIME BUT DOING IT ALMOST EVERY DAY. IT IS THREATENING YOUR NEIGHBOR. IT IS CONCLUDING MILITARY ALLIANCES WITH THE PURPOSE OF MAKING WAR. IT IS SENDING ARMIES NEAR YOUR BORDER. IT IS ACCUMMULATING ARMS. WELL, I AM --- I THINK THIS IS THE WORST AGGRESSION BECAUSE IT IS NOT IMMEDIATELY PERCEIVED BUT IT WORKS SLOWLY BUT SURELY. IT ENDANGERS THE EXISTENCE OF YOUR NEIGHBOR AND IF YOUR NEIGHBOR DOESN'T TAKE CARE AND CANNOT HIT BACK, THEN HE IS LOST AND HE IS FINISHED.

MURROW: WELL SIR, WHAT ABOUT YOUR OTHER NEIGHBORS? YOU HAVE, FOR THE TIME BEING, TAKEN CARE OF THE EGYPTIAN THREAT. ON THIS ARMISTIC DAY, NOVEMBER ELEVENTH, DO YOU FEEL THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING PEACE IN THIS AREA?

BEN-GURION: WELL, I AM SURE THAT THE TIME WILL COME WHEN WE WILL COOPERATE WITH THEM FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ENTIRE AREA BECAUSE WE HAVE SOMETHING WHICH WE CAN OFFER THEM. THEY HAVE SOMETHING WHICH THEY CAN OFFER US. BUT THE FIRST BEGINNING IN MY VIEW MUST BE PEACE WITH THE EGYPTIANS, AND PEACE WITH EGYPT CAN BE

BEN-GURION: WELL, I AM SURE THAT THE TIME WILL COME WHEN WE WILL COOPERATE WITH THEM FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ENTIRE AREA BECAUSE WE HAVE SOMETHING WHICH WE CAN OFFER THEM. THEY HAVE SOMETHING WHICH THEY CAN OFFER US. BUT THE FIRST BEGINNING IN MY VIEW MUST BE PEACE WITH THE EGYPTIANS, AND PEACE WITH EGYPT CAN BE OBTAINED WHEN THERE WILL BE A LIBERAL, DEMOCRATIC, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT WHO WILL CARE FOR EGYPTIAN PEOPLE AND WILL NOT BE THE SLAVE OF A FOREIGN POWER.

MURROW: YOU TOLD ME THE LAST TIME I WAS HERE THAT THE MOST DIFFICULT DECISION YOU HAVE EVER HAD TO MAKE WAS TO DECLARE THE STATE OF ISRAEL. IS THAT STILL TRUE?

BEN-GURION: CERTAINLY IT IS TRUE. BUT I THINK ALSO IT WAS NOT ONLY THE MOST DIFFICULT DECISION. IT WAS ALSO THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION IN OUR HISTORY FOR THE LAST 1800 YEARS.

MURROW: IT MUST HAVE BEEN DIFFICUT FOR YOU TO DECIDE TO ANNOUNCE THAT YOU WOULD WITHDRAW YOUR FORCES FROM SINAI IN THE EVENT A UNITED NATIONS FORCE IS, IN FACT, CREATED?

BEN-GURION: IT IS NOT ---IT WAS NOT SO DIFFICULT WHEN I HAD THE ASSURANCES, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT INTERNATIONAL FORCE WILL BE PLACED IN THE ZONE OF THE CANAL AND WILL NOT ALLOW THE RETURN OF THE ASSASSINS INTO THE DESERT OF SINAI TO CONTINUE THEIR MURDEROUS ATTACK.

MURROW: YOU SPOKE A MOMENT AGO ABOUT EGYPT BEING TURNED OVER TO THE CONTROL OF A FOREIGN POWER. YOU MEANT RUSSIA, OF COURSE?

BEN-GURION: WELL, I PREFER NOT TO MENTION THE COUNTRY.

MURROW: WELL, LET US PUT IT ANOTHER WAY. IS IT NOT POSSIBLE THAT YOUR OTHER NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES MAY COME MORE AND MORE UNDER THE CONTROL OF A SIMILAR POWER?

BEN-GURION: IF EGYPT WILL BE ABANDONED AND WILL NOT BE FREED FROM ITS PRESENT DICTATORSHIP, THERE IS A DANGER THAT OTHER COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO FOLLOW SUIT AND WILL ALSO BECOME VICTIMS OF THE SAME KIND OF FOREIGN RULE.

MURROW: TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THE REMOVAL OF THE IMMEDIATE THREAT OF EGYPT EASED YOUR MILITARY PROBLEM HERE IN ISRAEL?

BEN-GURION: WELL, THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BASES OF THE ASSASSIN GANGS MADE MUCH EASIER OUR LIVES -- AT LEAST ON ONE PART OF THE COUNTRY -- IN THE SOUTH -- OUR SETTLEMENTS IN THE SOUTH NOW CAN WORK FREELY, CAN MOVE FREELY, AND ARE NOT AFRAID THEY WILL BE SHOT FROM BEHIND A ROCK.

MURROW: BUT THE THREAT STILL REMAINS ON YOUR OTHER FRONTIERS. DOES IT NOT?

BEN-GURION: OF COURSE IT REMAINS BUT THE ROOT STILL LIES IN EGYPT. IT IS STILL EGYPTIAN DICTATORS WHICH DIRECTS ATTACKS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

MURROW: WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT REPORTS OF THE BUILD-UP OF AIR POWER IN NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES, MR. PRIME MNISTER?

BEN-GURION: WELL, I CANNOT GIVE YOU INFORMATION WHICH I CONSIDER VERIFIED. I HEAR ALL THESE RUMORS. THERE MUST BE SOMETHING IN THEM. THERE MAY BE SOME EXAGGERATION, BECAUSE I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THE SYRIANS CAN ABSORB SO MANY ARMAMENTS. EVEN THE EGYPTIANS COULDN'T DO IT, BUT REALLY I CANNOT TELL YOU WHAT IS GOING ON IN

FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

MURROW: WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT REPORTS OF THE BUILD-UP OF AIR POWER IN NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES, MR. PRIME MNISTER?

BEN-GURION: WELL, I CANNOT GIVE YOU INFORMATION WHICH I CONSIDER VERIFIED. I HEAR ALL THESE RUMORS. THERE MUST BE SOMETHING IN THEM. THERE MAY BE SOME EXAGGERATION, BECAUSE I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THE SYRIANS CAN ABSORB SO MANY ARMAMENTS. EVEN THE EGYPTIANS COULDN'T DO IT, BUT REALLY I CANNOT TELL YOU WHAT IS GOING ON IN THEIR FRONTIERS. I AM NOT IN THEIR CONFIDENCE...I MUST TELL YOU THAT.

MURROW: WELL, MR. PRIME MINISTER, DID YOUR ARMY FUNCTION IN THIS CRISIS AS YOU EXPECTED IT TO?

BEN-GURION: WELL NOT...NOT JUST AS I EXPECTED BUT A LITTLE BETTER.

MURROW: WOULD IT BE TRUE TO GUESS THAT RUSSIAN INFLUENCE, AS A RESULT OF THESE EVENTS, HAS INCREASED IN THE ARAB WORLD?

BEN-GURION: I THINK THAT RUSSIAN INFLUENCE INCREASED AS A RESULT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN HUNGARY --- WHAT THEY DID IN HUNGARY.

MURROW: WHY IS THAT?

BEN-GURION: BECAUSE THE ARABS, THEY HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE USING FORCE. BUT I PREFER NOT TO DISCUSS RUSSIA.

MURROW: VERY GOOD. AND I TAKE IT THAT IT IS MUCH TOO EARLY FOR YOU TO DISCUSS WHAT WILL BE DONE ABOUT GAZA OR DETAILS OF THAT SORT?

BEN-GURION: NO, I WILL TELL YOU THE...EVERYTHING DEPENDS ON ONE THING...WHETHER THE ASSEMBLY-- AND ESPECIALLY THE LEADING FREE PEOPLES IN THE ASSEMBLY -- PREFER TO SAVE THE REGIME OF THE FASCIST DICTATOR IN EGYPT OR THEY WANT TO SAVE THE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THEY MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN THESE TWO.

MURROW: WELL, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME SINCE THIS CRISIS THAT YOU HAVE SPOKEN BY WAY OF FILM TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY TO THEM AT THIS POINT?

BEN-GURION: AT THIS POINT I WOULD SAY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD AND TO STRUGGLE FOR TWO THINGS WHICH ARE TIED TOGETHER--JUSTICE AND PEACE, AS YOUR PRESIDENT RIGHTLY SAID I THINK ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO. BECAUSE YOU CAN HAVE NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE...NOR JUSTICE WITHOUT PEACE. THEY MUST GO TOGETHER AND IF YOU WILL STRIVE FOR THESE THINGS--FOR UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD AND FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE--I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE IT.

MURROW: I TAKE IT YOU FEEL THAT THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD IS IN SOME DANGER NOW?

BEN-GURION: I'M AFRAID IT IS AND IT DEPENDS NOW ON AMERICA TO RESTORE THAT UNITY.

MURROW: WELL, I KNOW YOU TOO WELL TO ASK YOU TO GIVE AMERICAN ANY COUNSEL OR GUIDANCE AS TO WHAT IT SHOULD DO.

BEN-GURION: NO, I WOULDN'T PRESUME TO DO THAT.

MURROW: DO YOU FEEL THAT THERE DOES IN FACT--IF THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD IS RESTORED--THAT THERE IS, IN REAL FACT, A CHANCE FOR PEACE IN THIS AREA?

BEN-GURION: WELL NOT...NOT JUST AS I EXPECTED BUT A LITTLE BETTER.

MURROW: WOULD IT BE TRUE TO GUESS THAT RUSSIAN INFLUENCE, AS A RESULT OF THESE EVENTS, HAS INCREASED IN THE ARAB WORLD?

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MURROW: I TAKE IT YOU FEEL THAT THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD IS IN SOME DANGER NOW?

BEN-GURION: I'M AFRAID IT IS AND IT DEPENDS NOW ON AMERICA TO RESTORE THAT UNITY.

MURROW: WELL, I KNOW YOU TOO WELL TO ASK YOU TO GIVE AMERICAN ANY COUNSEL OR GUIDANCE AS TO WHAT IT SHOULD DO.

BEN-GURION: NO, I WOULDN'T PRESUME TO DO THAT.

MURROW: DO YOU FEEL THAT THERE DOES IN FACT--IF THE UNITY OF THE FREE WORLD IS RESTORED--THAT THERE IS, IN REAL FACT, A CHANCE FOR PEACE IN THIS AREA?

BEN-GURION: THEN THERE IS CERTAINLY A CHANCE OF PEACE IN THIS AREA BUT NOT ONLY THIS AREA BECAUSE I AM AFRAID THAT IF PEACE WILL NOT BE ESTABLISHED IN THIS AREA, I AM NOT QUITE SURE WHETHER THERE WILL BE PEACE IN THW WORLD.

MURROW: THEN YOU WOULD AGREE WITH SOMETHING JAN MASARYK ONCE SAID, THAT IN A WORLD WHERE THERE IS NO SECURITY FOR LITTLE NATIONS, THERE IS NO SECURITY FOR BIG NATIONS.

BEN-GURION: ABSOLUTELY...AND IT'S QUITE TRUE. THIS I SAID YESTERDAY TO YOUR AMBASSADOR, AND I HOPE HE TRANSMITTED IT TO THE NECESSARY PLACE.

ED. NOTE: PICTURES WERE DELIVERED BY HAND EARLER TODAY.

CBS TELEVISION PRESS INFORMATION, N.Y.

"SEE IT NOW"

REPORT FROM ISRAEL

PART II

Interviews with Ein Gev, Weizman and Dayan

November 14, 1956

E

O

OPR MURROW-DAVAL TALK--

LA 348 OK

LA 348 V OK M

THIS IS LA348 GA

THI THIS CBS IN NY. JIM KANET KANE THERE

THIS IS KANE

THE FOLLOWING WAS PUNCHED OUT ON A NEWSPAPER MACHINE DOWN IN TV PRESS INFO, JIM, SO YOU WILL UNDERSTAND SOME O F THE CRAZY PUNCTUATIONS WHICH WILL APPEAR ON UR MACHINE...

11/14. '56

CBS-TV2...

SDN
11/14/56

ATTENTION: NATIONAL: CITY & TV EDITORS.

THE SECOND PART OF "REPORT FROM ISRAEL:" SPECIAL PROGRAMS FEATURING EXLUSIVE FILMED COMMENTARY AND INTERVIEWS BY CBS NEWS REPORTER EDWARD R. MURROW: WAS BROADCAST TONITE 1:WEDNESDAY NOV. 14: OVER THE CBS TELEVISION NETWORK FROM 11:15 TO 11:30 PM: EST. THE SPECIAL SHOW WAS CONDUCTED BY CBS NEWSMAN DOUGLAS EDWARDS.

MURROW TURNED HIS CAMERAS TONITE TO THE SEA OF GALILEE: ON THE SYRIAN AND JORDANIAN FRONTIERS. ANALYZING ISRAEL,S MILITARY CAMPAIGN STATUS: HE FILMED EXCLUSIVE TALKS WITH ISRAELI CHIEF OF STAFF MOISH DAYAN AND COLONEL OZAR WEIZMAN OF THE ISRAELI AIR FORCE.

THE INTERVIEWS WERE BROADCAST ON CBS RADIO TONITE FROM 10:05 TO 10:15 PM: EST.

A TRANSCRIPT OF THE TWO INTERVIEWS FOLLOWS:

MURROW-DAYAN TALK--

MURROW: WELL: GENERAL DAYAN: THIS CAMPAIGN HAVING BEEN FOUGHT AND WON: TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THIS CONTRIBUTED TO ISRAEL,S MILITARY SECURITY:

DAYAN: I THINK THAT: FOR THE TIME BEING: YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT PERTAINING TO RUSSIA OR ANY EXTERNAL PART. FOR THE MIDDLE EAST: FOR THE TIME BEING: I THINK YOU HAVE SECURED THE PEACE ... FOR THE TIME BEING. BECAUSE IF THE EGYPTIAN TROOPS ARE BACK IN EGYPT INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING HERE: AND IF THEY LOSE DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES WHICH SHOULD BE UNDER THEIR DEMANDS: AND PART OF THEIR MILITARY MACHINE WAS BROKEN: AIR AND ARMOR AND INFANTRY ... I THINK THEY ARE SIMPLY NOT IN A POSITION NOW BEING THERE TO START A WAR. OF COURSE: THE QUESTION IS WHAT THE FUTURE WILL BE. CAN IT REBUILD ITS ARMY AND IF THEY BE GIVEN BACK THE SINAI PENINSULA ... THEY CAN AGAIN ... WE CAN FIND OURSELF AGAIN IN -- LET,S SAY MONTHS OR IN YEARS -- IN THE POSITION THAT WE WERE BEFORE.

... FOR THE TIME BEING. BECAUSE IF THE EGYPTIAN TROOPS ARE BACK IN EGYPT INSTEAD OF CONCENTRATING HERE, AND IF THEY LOSE DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES WHICH SHOULD BE UNDER THEIR DEMANDS, AND PART OF THEIR MILITARY MACHINE WAS BROKEN, AIR AND ARMOR AND INFANTRY ... I THINK THEY ARE SIMPLY NOT IN A POSITION NOW BEING THERE TO START A WAR. OF COURSE, THE QUESTION IS WHAT THE FUTURE WILL BE. CAN IT REBUILD ITS ARMY AND IF THEY BE GIVEN BACK THE SINAI PENINSULA ... THEY CAN AGAIN ... WE CAN FIND OURSELF AGAIN IN -- LET,S SAY MONTHS OR IN YEARS -- IN THE POSITION THAT WE WERE BEFORE.

MURROW: WELL SIR, I HAVE A FEELING FROM THE CAPTURED EGYPTIAN EQUIPMENT THAT I HAVE LOOKED AT, THAT THEY WERE ADEQUATELY EQUIPPED. IS THAT CORRECT?

DAYAN: OF WHAT WE SAW THERE IN SINAI, I THINK THEY WERE QUITE WELL EQUIPPED FOR DESERT WARFARE. THEY DIDN,T HAVE THEIR HEAVY THINGS WHICH I THINK ANYHOW SHOULD NOT BE USED THERE - AND, OF COURSE, AFTER THE FRANCO-BRITISH AIR FORCE CAME IN, THEY DIDN,T HAVE ENOUGH AIR SUPPORT. BUT ON THE GROUND, I THINK THEY HAD QUITE ENOUGH AND GOOD MATERIALS FOR DESERT WARFARE.

MURROW: WHEN WE WERE TALKING LAST FEBRUARY, GENERAL, YOU SAID THAT ISRAEL THEN NEEDED BASICALLY THREE THINGS - ARMOR, GUNS AND AIRCRAFT. DOES THAT STILL REMAIN THE CASE?

DAYAN: I AM AFRAID IT,S STILL THE CASE AND THAT AS LONG AS WE ARE IN A DANGER OF A WAR -- AND YOU PROBABLY SAW THE COMMAND ORDERS THAT THE EGYPTIAN COMMANDER GAVE HIS TROOPS -- THAT THEIR MAIN AIM IS TO LIQUIDATE ISRAEL. AS LONG AS WE ARE IN THIS POSITION, WE HAVE TO TRY TO BE STRONG AND ... IN ORDER TO BE STRONG ... WE SHOULD HAVE MODERN AIRCRAFT AND MODERN TANKS.

MURROW: WELL NOW, SIR, STRICTLY FROM A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, DOES THIS ACTION THAT YOU HAVE COMPLETED MAKE PEACE MORE POSSIBLE?

DAYAN: I THINK ... THAT THOSE ELEMENTS AMONG THE ARABS ARABS WHO REALIZED BEFORE ... THAT THE RIGHT WAY WITH ISRAEL -- THE SOLUTION IS A PEACEFUL ONE AND NOT BY FIGHTING -- ARE PROBABLY STRONGER NOW WITH THEIR CASE. AND THEY CAN TELL THE OTHERS, NOW, "WHERE HAVE WE GOT TO NOW?" OF COURSE, I KNOW ... AND PROBABLY YOU KNOW TOO ... THAT THE SOLUTION IS NOT WITHIN THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES BUT WITH THE MAIN POWERS ...

MURROW: ARE YOU CONCERNED AT ALL ABOUT THE BUILDUP ACROSS THE WAY WITH JORDAN AND SYRIA AND THE POSSIBLE INTERVENTION THERE?

DAYAN: WELL, OF COURSE, THERE IS SUCH A POSSIBILITY, AND I THINK IF THERE WILL BE A RUSSIAN INTERVENTION ... THEN IT IS UP TO THE

MURROW⅛ ARE YOU CONCERNED AT ALL ABOUT THE BUILDUP ACROSS THE WAY WITH JORDAN AND SYRIA AND THE POSSIBLE INTERVENTION THERE⅝

DAYAN⅛ WELL⅞ OF COURSE⅞ THERE IS SUCH A POSSIBILITY⅞ AND I THINK IF THERE WILL BE A RUSSIAN INTERVENTION ... THEN IT IS UP TO THE UNITED STATES. I DON,T THINK THAT ANYONE HERE CAN MEET THAT DANGER. 4

½PORTION OF INTERVIEW IS OMITTED WHERE DAYAN DESCRIBED ISRAELI MILITARY TACTICS IN CUTTING EGYPT,S MAIN LINE OF COMMUNICATION NEAR ELOISH AS THE CAMPAIGN,S DECISIVE OPERATION ON WALL-MAP.¾

MURROW⅛ TELL ME¼ YOU HAVE HAD MANY EXERCISES BEFORE WITH MOBILIZATION AND YOUR MOBILIZATION IS REPUTED TO BE THE BEST IN THE WORLD. DID IT WORK THIS TIME AS YOU EXPECTED IT TO⅝

DAYAN⅛ IT WORKED LIKE WE EXPECTED. IT WORKED IN THE TIME-TABLE LIKE WE EXPECTED⅞ THOUGH OF COURSE THERE WERE FAULTS THAT WE SHOULD TAKE CARE OF IN THE FUTURE.

MURROW⅛ WELL SIR⅞ YOU SPENT MORE TIME IN EDUCATION AND IN DOCTRINATION THAN ANY OTHER ARMY. DO YOU HAVE A FEELING THAT THIS PAID OFF IN THIS BRIEF CAMPAIGN

/JIM - KILL THIS LAST GRAF STARTED "MURROW.. WELL SIR, YOU SPNXXX SPENT MORE TIME" NOT USED TO NES NEWSPAPERS/

MURROW⅛ WELL⅞ SIR⅞ I HAD A FEELING IN TALKING WITH THESE TROOPS OF YOURS -- WHICH I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DO FOR ABOUT A WEEK NOW -- THAT MOST OF THEM ARE NOT IMBUED WITH THE MARTIAL SPIRIT⅞ AND WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO DO IS TAKE OFF THEIR UNIFORMS AND GO HOME. IS THAT TRUE⅝

DAYAN⅛ AND HOW¼ AND HOW¼ AND I HOPE WE SHALL LET THEM DO IT WITHIN A SHORT TIME. IF NOT ALL OF THEM⅞ THEN MOST OF THEM ... THE WAR WAS VERY SHORT ... SHALL NOT HAVE TO STAY IN UNIFORM MUCH AFTER THE WAR.

½END OF INTERVIEW¾

MURROW-WEIZMAN TALK--

MURROW 1/8 COLONEL WEIZMAN 7/8 THE LAST TIME I WAS OUT HERE YOU WERE A LITTLE WORRIED ABOUT THOSE MIGS AND ILLIUSHINS 1/2 BOMBERS 3/4 IN EGYPT.

WEIZMAN 1/8 YES 7/8 MR. MURROW 7/8 BUT I DON,T THINK WE ARE WORRIED ANY MORE.

MURROW 1/8 WELL 7/8 ARE YOU WORRIED AT ALL ABOUT THOSE THAT ARE OVER IN JORDAN AND SYRIA 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 I WON,T SAY WE ARE WORRIED. WE ARE A BIT CONCERNED.

MURROW 1/8 HOW DID YOUR MYSTERES PERFORM 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 VERY NICELY.

MURROW 1/8 AND YOU ACCOUNT FOR THE MYSTERES, PERFORMANCE BY THE QUALITY OF AIRCRAFT OR THE QUALITY OF THE PILOT 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 I WOULD SAY MOSTLY PILOT,S EFFICIENCY AND ALSO SUPERIORITY IN A FEW OTHER THINGS. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT FIGHTER AIRCRAFT YOU NEVER HAVE THE PERFECT FIGHTER AIRCRAFT ... SOME OF THE MIGS ARE BETTER BUT I WOULD SAY FIFTY PERCENT OF IT WAS DEFINITELY THE PILOT.

MURROW 1/8 WHAT HAPPENED IN THIS OPERATION THAT YOU DIDN,T EXPECT 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 WELL 7/8 ONE OF THE THINGS THAT SURPRISED ME WAS THE LACK OF ACTION ON THE ENEMY,S SIDE. I WAS EXPECTING THE ENEMY TO BE UP-AND-ABOUT THE FOLLOWING DAY 7/8 AFTER WE DROPPED OUR PARA-TROOPERS. AND THERE WAS HARDLY ANY ACTION AFTER 24 HOURS 7/8 AND THEN AFTER 48 HOURS 7/8 THERE WAS SOME ACTION ... BUT NOT AS MUCH AS WE EXPECTED.

[illegible] ...

[illegible] IS NOT WITHIN THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES BUT WITH THE MAIN POWERS ...

WEIZMAN[1] WELL[7] ONE OF THE THINGS THAT SURPRISED ME WAS THE LACK OF ACTION ON THE ENEMY,S SIDE. I WAS EXPECTING THE ENEMY TO BE UP-AND-ABOUT THE FOLLOWING DAY[7] AFTER WE DROPPED OUR PARA-TROOPERS. AND THERE WAS HARDLY ANY ACTION AFTER 24 HOURS[7] AND THEN AFTER 48 HOURS[7] THERE WAS SOME ACTION ... BUT NOT AS MUCH AS WE EXPECTED.

MURROW[1] LET ME SEE ... YOU HAD TWO DAYS BEFORE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH INTERVENED. YOU HAD THE WHOLE EGYPTIAN AIR FORCE AGAINST YOU. AND IN THE LAST FEW DAYS[7] THEIR BOMBING TOOK THE PRESSURE OFF YOU. DIDN,T IT[5]

WEIZMAN[1] ACTUALLY[7] IT WAS TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY THAT WE EXPECTED MUCH MORE THAN MYSTERE ACTIVITY AND DIDN,T GET AS MUCH AS WE EXPECTED ... ON WEDNESDAY MUCH MORE THAN ON TUESDAY. THAT,S WHEN WE SHOT DOWN THE MIGS ... BUT LESS THAN WE EXPECTED.

MURROW[1] HOW DO YOU ACCOUNT FOR THAT[5]

WEIZMAN[1] PERHAPS LACK OF PREPAREDNESS ... PERHAPS SURPRISE. I THINK LACK OF PREPAREDNESS.

MURROW[1] HOW WERE YOUR LOSSES[5]

WEIZMAN[1] WE DIDN,T LOSE ANY TO AIR COMBAT -- JUST TO ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS -- AND THAT,S NOT MANY.

MURROW[1] DO YOU HAVE ANY SOLID INFORMATION ON HOW MANY AIRCRAFT GOT AWAY FROM EGYPT - TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES[5]

WEIZMAN[1] WE DON,T HAVE ANY DEFINITE INFORMATION AS YET[7] BUT WE KNOW THAT SOME OF THEM DID GET THROUGH.

MURROW[1] I SUPPOSE THE BIGGEST SINGLE OPERATION YOU HAD WAS COVER FOR PARATROOPERS BATTALION[7] WASN,T IT[5]

WEIZMAN[1] THAT WAS ONE OF THE GREAT THINGS WE HAD TO DO ... BECAUSE THE PARATROOP BATTALION WAS DROPPED ABOUT THIRTY-FIVE MILES FROM THE NEAREST ENEMY AIR FIELD ... WE HAD TO WATCH IT FOR 34 HOURS BEFORE IT COULD PROPERLY BE PROTECTED.

MURROW[1] COL. WEIZMAN[7] WHAT LESSONS DID YOU LEARN OUT OF THIS[5]

WEIZMAN[1] WITH AIR SUPERIORITY[7] A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE OURS COULD

MURROW 1/8 COL. WEIZMAN 7/8 WHAT LESSONS DID YOU LEARN OUT OF THIS 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 WITH AIR SUPERIORITY 7/8 A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE OURS COULD BE DEFENDED. A WELL-TRAINED 7/8 RELATIVELY STRONG AIR FORCE CAN BE WELL PROTECTED AGAINST TERRIFIC ODDS. THEREFORE 7/8 WE ARE --- WE ARE GOING TO BUILD UP --- WE WANT TO BUILD UP -- EVEN A STRONGER AND BIGGER AIR FORCE THAN WHAT WE HAVE TODAY.

MURROW 1/8 BUT YOU STILL MAINTAIN YOU WANT PRIMARILY A DEFENSIVE AIR FORCE 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 OH YES -- WE THINK THAT MYSTERES ... HAVE PROVED TO BE A TERRIFIC DEFENSIVE WEAPON FOR A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE OURS.

MURROW 1/8 ONE OF YOUR PIPER CUBS WENT DOWN AND PICKED UP A SQUADRON COMMANDER IN THE PENINSULA 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 YES 7/8 ONE OF MY BEST SQUADRON COMMANDERS WAS SHOT DOWN BY FLAK WAY DOWN SOUTH AND HE WAS PICKED UP IN FIVE HOURS. HE WAS PICKED UP BY A PIPER CUB AND FLOWN BACK TO CAMP.

MURROW 1/8 I WAS TOLD THAT THE PIPER CUB PILOT CAME DOWN AND SLID BY AND ASKED HIM HIS NAME 5/8

WEIZMAN 1/8 HE WASN,T SURE ... THE MAN ON THE GROUND WASN,T FOOLING HIM. HE STUCK HIS HEAD OUT OF THE WINDOW AND SAID 1/8 "ARE YOU SO AND SO 5/8" AND THE MAN SAID 1/8 "YES 1/4 I AM SO AND SO." SO HE LANDED 7/8 PICKED HIM UP AND OFF HE WENT.

END OF INTERVIEW.

IN THE FIRST PART OF "REPORT FROM ISRAEL 7/8" MURROW LAST NIGHT 1/2 TUESDAY 7/8 NOV. 13 3/4 INTERVIEWED ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN-GURION ON FILM EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE CBS TELEVISION AND CBS RADIO NETWORKS.

CBS TELEVISION PRESS INFORMATION 7/8 NEW YORK.

MURROW¹⁸ COL. WEIZMAN⁷⁸ WHAT LESSONS DID YOU LEARN OUT OF THIS⁵⁸

CORRECTIONS¹⁸

LEAD GRAF SHOULD READ¹⁸ ... SPECIAL "SEE IT NOW" PROGRAMS FEATURING EXCLUSIVE..."

NINTH GRAF FROM WEIZMAN INTERVIEW,S END SHOULD READ ..."HAD TO WATCH IT FOR 48 HOURS..."

SEVENTH GRAF FROM WEIZMAN INTERVIEW,S END SHOULD READ..."A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE OURS COULD BE DEFENDED. WITH A RELATIVELY STRONG AIR FORCE⁷⁸ THE COUNTRY CAN BE WELL PROTECTED AGAINST TERRIFIC ODDS..."

JAMS JAMES.. PHIL COHAN IS HERE NOW DO YOU HAVE ANY INQUIRIES AND HOW IS IT A FOINE IRISHR L XX IRISHER LIKE URSELF AINT FGXX FIGHTING IN ISRAEL

GA

CMON DAMMIT ITS GITTIN LATE HERE

EVERYTHING,S FINE TRANSCRIPT OKAY I,.M FIGHTING THIS TELETYPE MACHINE WHICH IS ENOUGH FOR ME

WELL DO YOU WANNA SIGN OFF U BALDHEADED OLE IRISHER

KEEVIN

THANK YOU JAMES AND A HAPPY MOISH TO YOU GOOD NIGHT

BYE JIM WE GOIN HOME

M

"SEE IT NOW"

REVOLUTION IN THE NAVY

November 18, 1956

Bradshaw D.A.R
1

DEPARTMENT OF
NATIONAL DEFENCE

CANADA

IN REPLY
PLEASE QUOTE No.

Royal Military College of Canada

Kingston, Ont.,

19 November, 1956

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I was fortunate enough to see your television programme "See It Now" on Sunday, 18 November, at 5 p.m. E.S.T., the subject of which was "Revolution in the Navy".

I was very impressed with the remarks of Admiral Rickover concerning education. These remarks were most interesting to me as Commandant of the Royal Military College of Canada, where future officers of the regular forces of Canada are given a four-year university-level course in the Arts or Sciences, or Engineering.

If possible, I would like to obtain a copy of Admiral Rickover's remarks made during his interview with you. Would you be good enough to advise me if I may have a copy? If you are not able to forward a copy to me, could you let me know where I could address a letter to Admiral Rickover in order to get a copy from him. I would like to make his remarks available to our cadets. } ~~Will~~ sent

Yours sincerely,

D.A.R. Bradshaw

(D.A.R. Bradshaw) Air Commodore
Commandant

Burke, Adm. Arleigh
SIN

June 28, 1956

Dear Admiral Burke:

Belatedly, permit me to say my thanks for your gracious cooperation in launching the television report on the new Navy. The quality of the film we shot was excellent, and we shall now labor diligently to make the rest of the report measure up to the beginning.

Sincerely yours,

Admiral Arleigh Burke
Chief of Naval Operations
Washington, D.C.

rh

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

25 June 1956

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was kind of you to take time out from your busy schedule to listen to the expoundings of this sailor. It was a most pleasant experience for me.

Your efforts to put together a pictorial representation of this new Navy of ours will be of far ranging importance. The opportunity for such a portrayal is welcomed wholeheartedly by the Navy.

It will be a pleasure to assist you in any way possible in the coming months.

Most sincerely,

Arleigh Burke

ARLEIGH BURKE

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS "See It Now"
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Murrow

8-6-56
Please date

The United States Navy realizes the need for the Public to be fully informed of its various activities within the limits of necessary security for the national welfare. Current directives place upon the Commanding Officers of ships and shore activities the responsibility for the security of this information. For this reason and to prevent involuntary violations of the National Espionage Act, you are asked to agree to the following conditions:

AGREEMENT

1. That I will govern my movements and actions in accordance with instructions of the Navy Department and the requests of the Commanding Officer of the ship or activity to which I am attached.

2. That I will not disclose any classified information to any unauthorized person either when serving with Naval units or after termination of such service.

3. That, if requested, I will clear with one of the following as appropriate all statements and material prepared on the basis of my observations for dissemination to the public:

   (a) Commanding Officer of the ship or activity concerned.
   (b) Office of Information, Department of the Navy, Washington 25, D. C.
   (c) Commander, Western Sea Frontier, Federal Office Building, San Francisco, California.
   (d) Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet, Naval Base, Pearl Harbor, T. H.

4. That upon termination or revocation of this authority, I will surrender any letter of authorization issued me (in accordance with paragraph one) to the Commanding Officer of the ship or activity (or his designated representative) for return to the Chief of Naval Operations (Op-21).

L. D. KELLY, JR., LT, USN
Witnessing Officer

USS NAUTILUS (SSN571)
Ship or Activity Concerned

EDWARD R. MURROW
Name

"SEE IT NOW"
CBS
485 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, New York
Organization

Business Address

ORIGINAL TO CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS (OP-21)
COPY FOR SECRETARY OF THE NAVY (OFFICE OF INFORMATION)
COPY TO COMMANDING OFFICER CONCERNED.
COPY TO BE RETAINED BY CIVILIAN CONCERNED.

OPNAV FORM-5720-2 (12-51)

C-30888

Sin
USS albacore

April 25, 1956

Gentlemen:

Thank you so much for the hospitality and cooperation which you extended our camera crew last Thursday and Friday. Thanks to your patience and spirit they were able to film some very effective sequences for our future program on the Navy.

If the American public gets a vivid picture of the high speed and the maneuvrability of your great ship, it will be because of your understanding attitude.

Sincerely yours,

The Members of the Crew
USS ALBACORE
FPO
New York

rh

The Members of the Crew
USS Albacore
FPO
NY

Gentlemen:

Thank you so much for the hospitality and cooperation which you extended our camera crew last Thursday and Friday. Thanks to your patience and spirit they were able to film some very effective sequences for our future program on the Navy.

[redacted]
If the American public gets a vivid picture of the high speed and the maneuvrability of your great ship it will be because of your understanding attitude.

Sincerely yours,

Edward R. Murrow

note to Murrow - Arthur Morse has thanked the skipper and skipper thought a letter to the crew would be appreciated.

April 25, 1956

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Sincerely yours,

The Members of the Crew
USS ALBACORE
FPO
New York

rh

SIN
Wilhide C.R.
Lt Cmdr

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF INFORMATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO

24 May 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o See It Now
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

During my recent conversation with you and Mr. Friendly, you indicated that you would like to see and hear the presentation which was given to Congress concerning the Navy's ship building program. I have contacted Captain J. S. McCain, USN, and he is most anxious to have you see it.

As you can imagine, we have been fairly busy down here recently but I should like to make this proposal. Captain McCain and I would prefer to give you the presentation some evening after your regular 7:45 P.M. newscast. This would enable us to carry out our day's work, catch a plane about five o'clock and be at CBS - or any other location you may desire - give you the presentation and catch a late plane back to Washington the same night.

If this meets with your approval, may I suggest any evening the week of June 11-15. It occurred to me that these dates might be most appropriate since your interview with Admiral Burke is scheduled for the following Tuesday.

In connection with your visit to the Saratoga, it now appears that you and Admiral Burke, and possibly myself, will be lifted by helicopter from Floyd Bennett Field to the Saratoga which will be off Ambrose Lightship, the morning of June 19th. As soon as I have definite arrangements completed I will so advise you.

I shall await your desires before I make any other preparations.

Sincerely,

Buck Wilhide

C. R. Wilhide
Lieutenant Commander, USN

Copy to: Mr. Fred Friendly

"SEE IT NOW"

THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE

December 2, 1956

"Secret Life of Danny Kaye" 12/2/56

5a—See It Now—"The Secret Life of Danny Kaye"

For an hour-and-a-half on Sunday afternoon December 2 the American people were treated to an extraordinary demonstration of international good-will. They saw highlights of Danny Kaye's brilliant international tour on behalf of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. They followed along with *See It Now* cameras as Danny Kaye sang, danced, mimicked and clowned his way through eleven countries and 50,000 miles, proving that youngsters are the same all over and that national boundaries and rivalries all are dissolved in the delightful society of children.

See It Now's "The Secret Life of Danny Kaye" was a lesson in international understanding which few who saw it could ever forget. From polio stricken children in Italy to leprosy sufferers in Nigeria, Danny Kaye brought smiles to them all with his brilliant clowning and tremendous heart. Simply and eloquently he put across the crucial point—that the world will be a much better place in the future if the suffering children of today are given love, understanding and help through UNICEF.

Not only did the people of America see this great lesson in international understanding, but the people of the world saw it as well. For the *See It Now* Danny Kaye film has been shown on television networks in 25 countries throughout the world from Australia to Yugoslavia—the first time in history that so many could see one program in so many different parts of the globe.

Harriet Van Horne said in the *New York World-Telegram And Sun*, "In months to come ("The Secret Life of Danny Kaye") will probably win all the awards, scrolls and citations there are. It will deserve every last one of them . . . what we'll long remember is Danny Kaye opening his arms and heart to the children of the world."

CBS Television submits that *See It Now's* "The Secret Life of Danny Kaye," which has been a major force in stimulating an informed public opinion about the work of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, represents an outstanding contribution to international understanding and deserves the consideration of the Board of Judges of the George Foster Peabody Awards.

Promotion of International Understanding

TELEVISION CATEGORY 5

5a—See It Now

The Secret Life of Danny Kaye: **December 2, 1956, 5:00-6:30 pm EST**

5b—See It Now

Coverage of the Middle East Crisis:

Egypt-Israel: **March 13, 1956, 8:30-10:00 pm EST**

Report From Africa: **Part I April 23, 1956, 10:00-11:00 pm EST**

Part II May 17, 1956, 10:00-11:00 pm EDT

Suez: **October 7, 1956, 5:00-6:00 pm EDT**

Edward R. Murrow Reports From Israel:

November 13-14, 1956, 11:15- 11:30 pm EST

SIN

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. L. Grossman

January 10, 1957

This booklet accompanied the TVRs of your programs which were submitted for George Foster Peabody Awards.

Larry Grossman

February 6, 1957

Dear Abe:

I regret to report that while we still don't have the final figures, it nevertheless seems quite clear that the costs for THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE substantially exceeded the payments made by Pan American and Shulton (approximately $82,875). The costs totaled about $157,500, and thus we obviously won't be able to make an additional payment to UNICEF. Rubbell Robinson is considering the rerunning of the program, however, and we have told him that you could probably be helpful in finding a sponsor for it. I am not clear as to the impact of our contractual obligations to Pan American and others on this matter and in any case, I think this matter is in Mr. Robinson's jurisdiction.

UNICEF has advised us that the film has been shown to date in the following countries:

Australia	Russia
Austria	Sweden
Brazil	Italy
Belgium	Germany
Canada	Monaco
Denmark	Saar
France	Switzerland
Luxembourg	Yugoslavia
Netherlands	Mexico
Gt. Britain	Lebanon
Philippines	Israel
Thailand	India
Venezuela	

They inform us that further showings are not presently anticipated in other countries but that it has been exhibited twice in Yugoslavia, Australia and Mexico. It seems impossible to estimate the audience coverage with any degree of accuracy. All broadcasting of the program outside of the United States was arranged by UNICEF in their own behalf.

As I am sure you know, both Fred and I very much appreciate the time you gave in helping to bring off what seems to have been a very worthwhile effort.

Cordially yours,

Mr. Abe Lastfogel
William Morris Agency
1740 Broadway
New York 19, New York

fc

bc: Hubbell Robinson
Fred Friendly

D R A F T -- February 6, 1957 -- for Mr. Murrow's signature.

Dear Abe:

I regret to report that while we still don't have the final figures, it nevertheless seems quite clear that the costs for THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE [redacted] substantially exceeded the payments made by Pan American and Shulton (approximately $113,750) for [redacted] the [redacted] costs, [redacted] and thus we obviously won't be able to make an additional payment to UNICEF. Hubbell Robinson is considering the rerunning of the program, however, and we have told him that you could probably be helpful in finding a sponsor for it. I am not clear as to the impact of our contractual obligations to Pan American and others on this matter and in any case, I think this matter is in Mr. Robinson's jurisdiction.

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As I am sure you know, both Fred and I very much appreciate the time you gave in helping to bring off what seems to have been a very worthwhile effort.

Cordially yours,

F. T.

blind copy to Hubbell Robinson

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Seward

from: Paul A. Rosen

February 4, 1957

In response to your memorandum of January 25, 1957, regarding the SEE IT NOW - Danny Kaye program, please be advised as follows:

1) According to the reports I have from the Accounting Department, the total net dollar program payments to CBS Television from Pan American and Shulton for the subject program was $113,750.53. There may be a slight adjustment in this figure due to possible changes in time billing. —?

Reinhart to supply further info on income and costs, until this is received figures in this memo should be ignored. WR 2/5

Time and Talent.

2) The approximate cost of production (inclusive of the normal charge against this broadcast of one tenth of SEE IT NOW's annual overhead) was $157,629.93. Once again, this figure is subject to adjustment since the Accounting Department does not have final analysis. It is my belief that this figure is reasonably accurate.

Accordingly, we show a loss on this program at this time of $43,879.40.

3) According toUNICEF the countries in which the film has been shown to date are as follows:

Australia	Russia
Austria	Sweden
Brazil	Italy
Belgium	Germany
Canada	Monaco
Denmark	Saar
France	Switzerland
Luxembourg	Yugoslavia
Netherlands	Mexico
Gt. Britain	Lebanon
Philippines	Israel
Thailand	India
Venezuela	

There are no further countries where showings are presently anticipated, but in Yugoslavia, Australia and Mexico the film has been exhibited twice. It is an impossibility to even estimate with any sort of accuracy the audience coverage.

4) All broadcasting of this program outside of the United States has been arranged for by UNICEF in their own behalf.

PAR:jr

P. A. R.

203

TO.....

FROM.....

Mr. Rosen is not in today. His secretary will mention it to him first thing tomorrow and believes he could get the information together for you some time tomorrow.

p.l.
1-28-57

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Rosen

from: Mr. Seward

January 25, 1957

PL
Please ask Mr Rosen & try to have items 1 & 2 for me by 1/29 and to give me as much information as he has on 3 & 4 whenever time.
1/26

RE: THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE

The information I requested of you today is as follows:

1. The price paid by Pan American and Shulton for the broadcast of the show.

2. A statement of the costs incurred that are to be recouped by CBS before computing profits to UNICEF.

3. The countries in which the film was shown and those scheduled to show it in the near future. Is it possible to get the extent of coverage in each country?

4. Will all broadcasting outside of the United States be on a non-commercial basis on behalf of UNICEF?

J.M.S.

1137

Stephenson, B. S.

January 9, 1957

Dear Bert:

Belated thanks for your gracious note about the Danny Kaye program. You are as usual a gracious, thoughtful, and much beloved friend and neighbor.

As ever yours,

Mr. Bertram S. Stephenson
Pawling
New York

rh

BERTRAM S. STEPHENSON
PAWLING, N. Y.

Dec. 4, 1956.

Dear Ed:- I don't want to let the occasion pass without a hearty pat on the back for the Danny Kaye documentary Sunday. It was magnificent! We were delighted - would not have wearied had it been twice as long. Its preparation involved a deal of work, but most assuredly you must feel that all your planning and difficulties paid off. Congratulations. It was better than scoring a hole-in-one.

Sincerely. Bert.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 506

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Edward R. Murrow

From Fred Friendly

Station

January 8, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL

There is one unfinished piece of business on THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE that I think ought to be resolved before you go to California this weekend, because I am sure we will both see Kaye and Lastfogel, and they will want to know the answer to this question: Specificially what does UNICEF get.

1. The cost of the Kaye show, as a specific unit, is $95,804.98 (this includes a sum not over $2,500 already paid to UNICEF). I think it is a final figure with a possible exception of some of the print costs which should not amount to any more than $500.

2. In addition to this figure, there is the SIN overhead figure which is amortized at the approximate rate of $54,000 a show.

3. At this point, there should be listed the revenue that CBS figures they received from Shulton and Pan American. I don't know what Shulton paid and I am not sure how the Pan American total was amortized. The Sales Department will have to fill in this amount.

4. It is our agreement with Kaye and Lastfogel that whatever profit is forthcoming from this operation will be paid to UNICEF. Perhaps there will be no profit, but I certainly think that careful consideration should be given to the prospect of making a contribution of some kind to UNICEF.

5. We have already paid UNICEF $2,500 which was to reimburse them for expenses they had incurred in the Kaye expedition, and this sum appears in CBS's cost of the show (Item 1.). In addition to this, Murrow has made a sizeable personal contribution to UNICEF and Friendly has made a considerably smaller one.

6. I imagine that Mr. Lastfogel is going to ask for the exact cost of the show and possibly a breakdown. Is it within our prerogative to show it to him?

I expect you will want to send this note along to Management and whatever other information they may require is, of course, available. The only other additional question I think Kaye is going to ask is about the possibility of a re-run in the future. I think we ought to be prepared to discuss this with him if there is any interest in it.

F. F.

hlt

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Friendly

Station

December 11, 1956

We will have the estimates of the costs of the Kaye show within the next two or three days, and I see no reason why this information can't be given to Lastfogel. I am, however, in need of guidance as to what we should tell him about the Shulton -- Pan American deal which is, of course, wrapped up in the whole plan for '57. Obviously what Lastfogel is getting at is the kind of contribution CBS is going to make to UNICEF.

Let me know what you think.

F.F.

FWF/nf

att: letter from Mr. Lastfogel

NEW YORK BEVERLY HILLS CHICAGO LONDON PARIS

ESTABLISHED 1898

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY
INC.
1740 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-5100

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

December 6, 1956

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York N.Y.

Dear Fred: RE: THE SECRET LIFE OF DANNY KAYE

Confirming our telephone conversation of yesterday, I am awaiting the following information from you:

1. The price paid by Pan American and Shulton for the broadcast of the show last Sunday.

2. A statement of the costs incurred that are to be recouped by CBS before computing profits to UNICEF.

3. The countries in which the film was shown last Sunday and those scheduled to show it in the near future. Is it possible to get the extent of coverage in each country?

We assume that all broadcasting outside of the United States was and will be broadcast on a non-commercial basis on behalf of UNICEF. I would appreciate your confirmation of this.

Danny will be looking forward to receiving the 16 mm copy of the program, as well as the other film shot.

Let me again convey to you and Ed my congratulations on accomplishing a most outstanding job. The net results end up in everything we could hope for.

Kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Abe Lastfogel

Abe Lastfogel

NEW YORK BEVERLY HILLS CHICAGO LONDON PARIS

ESTABLISHED 1898

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY
INC.
1740 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
TELEPHONE JUDSON 6-5100

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

HR

Forward

January 8, 1957

Mr. Fred Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York N.Y.

Dear Fred:

Tried to reach you by phone but was unsuccessful.

I am still waiting to receive the statements in connection with the Danny Kaye film, as per my letter of December 6th.

I also want to talk to you about the possibility of repeating the show on a prime night time spot. I think we can find a sponsor for it, and probably get a sizable amount of money for Unicef.

Looking forward to seeing you, and with kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Abe Lastfogel

Abe Lastfogel

May 4, 1956

Dear Mr. Lastfogel:

This is in reply to your letter of April 30 and our telephone conversation.

There is no disagreement on the matter of choice of sponsorship. It will require the approval of Ed Murrow and Danny Kaye. As for the final editing, Murrow and Friendly obviously cannot be asked to abdicate this responsibility which has been theirs since SEE IT NOW started five years ago, but as we told Danny he certainly has veto power on anything that displeases him and it will not be in the show. We want him to work with us editing the show and the final production will be something we all approve. It is also acknowledged that after the original telecast all future use of this material will have to have the agreement and approval of Danny Kaye and Murrow-Friendly.

As for the possibility for commercial sponsorship, Murrow and I would be less than candid if we did not restate what we originally told Kaye, what I told you on the phone the week of his departure and what is included in our letter of agreement, that in order to give this undertaking the largest possible audience and number of stations, the proper commercial sponsor will be necessary.

Murrow and I certainly want to continue our invitation to meet with you and Danny upon his return so that we can discuss all the avenues by which we can make this project the success I'm sure all of us want it to be.

Sincerely,

Fred W. Friendly

Mr. Abe Lastfogel
William Morris Agency
1740 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

cc: Mr. Murrow
FWF/fjf

"SEE IT NOW"

CONVERSATION WITH CHOU-EN-LAI

December 31, 1956

Interview Burma 12/21/56

QUESTIONS FOR PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI

1. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF YOUR PRESENT VISIT TO BURMA?

2. YOU HAVE BEEN QUOTED AS SUGGESTING THAT A POST OF SOME IMPORTANCE MIGHT BE FOUND FOR GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK IN YOUR ADMINISTRATION. DO YOU VIEW THIS AS A POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE FORMOSA QUESTION?

3. DO YOU SEE ANY REAL PROSPECT OF AN AGREED SETTLEMENT OF THE FORMOSA QUESTION?

4. WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA REGARDING THE RELEASE OF AMERICAN PRISONERS NOW HELD BY CHINA?

5. WHAT HAS BEEN THE EFFECT OF COLLECTIVIZATION ON AGRICULTURE? IS IT CHANGING TECHNIQUES, METHODS OF CULTIVATION, EQUIPMENT, ETC.

6. IN RUSSIA, COLLECTIVIZATION BROUGHT IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURAL PROCESSES. IS IT DOING SO IN CHINA?

7. IS CHINA PAYING TOO HIGH A PRICE FOR ITS PROGRAM OF INDUSTRIALIZATION?

8. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT ROADS LEADING TO MARXISM?

9. WOULD YOU CARE TO COMMENT ON RECENT EVENTS IN HUNGARY?

10. WOULD YOU CARE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE PROSPECT OF "TWO CHINAS"?

11. HOW DO YOU REGARD THE RELATIONSHIP OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH THE OVERSEAS CHINESE. SHOULD THEY BE ASSIMILATED IN THE COUNTRY OF THEIR ADOPTION, OR SHOULD THEY BE CONFIRMED AS CHINESE CITIZENS?

12. IS CHINA PAYING THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS ARMS IMPORTS, AND IF SO, HOW?

13. WOULD CHINA FAVOR ADDING INDIA AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL?

14. WHAT HAS CHINA'S ATTITUDE BEEN TOWARD TITOISM FROM 1946 to 1955?

15. WHY DID CHINA ENDORSE THE GOMULKA REGIME IN POLAND?

16. DOES CHINA FEAR A REVIVAL IN RUSSIAN INTEREST IN SINKIANG?

17. WHAT DOES THE PRIME MINISTER UNDERSTAND TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AMERICAN OBJECTION TO THE ADMISSION OF HIS GOVERNMENT INTO THE UNITED NATIONS?

18. DOES THE PRIME MINISTER BELIEVE THAT THERE IS IN ANY SENSE COMPETITION BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF ASIA?

19. GREAT BRITAIN RECOGNIZED THE PEIPING REGIME. WHEN WILL CHINA SEND AN AMBASSADOR TO LONDON? WHAT BENEFITS HAS BRITAIN ENJOYED FROM ITS POLICY OF RECOGNITION?

20. DOES CHINA ASPIRE ONE DAY TO OBTAIN SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG?

21. HOW DOES THE PRIME MINISTER VIEW FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN HIS GOVERNMENT AND THAT OF JAPAN?

22. IS THE PRIME MINISTER CONTENT WITH THE SITUATION AS IT NOW EXISTS IN KOREA?

23. DOES THE PRIME MINISTER BELIEVE THAT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MIGHT BE FRUITFUL?

24. DOES HE BELIEVE THAT THE TALKS BETWEEN HIMSELF AND NEHRU, AND SUBSEQUENTLY BETWEEN NEHRU AND EISENHOWER MAY PRODUCE A BETTER WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE THREE COUNTRIES?

25. IF CHINA WERE TO BE ADMITTED TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WOULD SHE SUBMIT TO THAT BODY OUTSTANDING TERRITORIAL DISPUTES INCLUDING THE ONE WITH BURMA?

26. DOES THE PRIME MINISTER BELIEVE THAT ULTIMATE ARMED COLLISION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND THE FREE WORLD IS INEVITABLE? AND IF HE BELIEVES THIS CAN BE AVERTED, HOW CAN IT BE DONE?

Prisoners — Sure about Sin Chung?

Confirm with India?

QUESTIONS FOR CHOU EN-LAI

I. Domestic

1. What has been the effect of collectivization on agriculture? Is it changing techniques, methods of cultivation, equipment, quality of seeds used? Chinese farming already is almost at a maximum of intensiveness; how then can collectivization increase its output? Taking a longer look at the future, how can China's limited land resources provide food enough for China's rapidly growing population? (Background of the questions is that so far collectivization appears to be chiefly political in motivation, to bring peasants under central control. In Russia collectivization did bring improvements in agriculturural processes. Is it doing so in China?)

2. China's insistence on making much of its heavy industrial equipment at home seems to disregard the good market there is abroad for consumer g oods and raw materials, and the cheapness of foreign industrial equipment. Would it not be better, economically, to buy this equipment abroad, and is not China paying too high a price for its program of industrializing China?

3. China has recently promised to introduce a relaxation of its rules against differences from the accepted Communist doctrines. Is this relaxation to be limitedonly to certain intellectual individuals or small groups? Could Chinese Communist controls survive if it were permitted to rank and file party members and non-party members? Has the increased freedom of thought brought any changes in Communist thinking among Chinese leaders? In Democracies we believe in the right and the function of the opposition, as it keeps our thinking flexible in the face of change. Can Chinese Communism go to this length? How far does the new freedom of academic and political thinking go? Approval has recently been given to the study of Western ideas. Suppose

a Chinese economist, on studying United States conditions, came to the view that our expanding economy was now firmly established without great danger from depression, would he be allowed to publish this view? Where? How widely could it be read?

II Foreign Policy

1. If the Formosan question could be settled, trade embargoes removed, China's membership in the UN accepted and China abandoned any desire to set up Communist regimes in non-Communist Asian countries, what obstacles would there be to good relations with the United States?

2. Is Communist China able to weigh the proposal of setting up two Chinas, with Nationalist China withdrawing from the off-shore islands, , and with the Taiwanese gradually taking over the government of the Island?

3. Should overseas Chinese be assimilated in the countries of their adoption, or should they be confirmed as Chinese citizens? Chinese poli y in this respect has been modified? How consistently? To what extent?

4. If trade embargoes were to be abandoned, what would China have to sell to the USA? To what extent are Chinese exports already assigned to meet credits already obtained. How much trade does China believe it can do with Japan under the changed conditions of the two countries? Is China willing to continue importing steadily large quantities of rice and cotton from Burma, India and Ceylon, or are its imports from them sproadic with political implications?

5. Is China paying the Soviet Union for its arms imports? How?

6. Would China favor adding India as permanent member of the United Nations Security Council?

7. What has China's attitude been to Titoism--as from '46 to '55? Was Chinese endorsement of Gomulka regime in Poland given because China believes in there being different roads to communism? Has China

ever discussed this question with the Jugoslavs? Has Tito ever been invited to Peiping? Will he be? (China endorsed Gomulka, but also endorsed the Kadar repression of revolution. Presumably China gives it blessing to anything Moscow does in Eastern Europe and expects Russia to keep hands off of what China does in Asia.)

III Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia

1. Does China fear a revival of Russian interest in Sinkiang? Does it expect to extend its own influence in Outer Mongolia? At least culturally? Is it satisfied with the cultural relations with the Mongolian Republic? In Sinkiang, now 90 percent non-Chinese, a large program of settling Chinese residents is under way. How large a percentage of Chinese population is expected in 10 years?

IV Miscellaneous.

1. Why does China protest so loudly against SEATO, in view of its obvious military weakness?

2. China is now engaged in a dispute with Burma over the possession of outlying territory and has ousted the Burmese from it. If China entered the UN would it expect to submit such a question to the agencies of the UN for arbitration and conciliation?

3. China has recently sent a commercial mission to Brazil. Does it expect to develop its trade in South America?

4. Is China willing to use its influence on North Vietnam to restrain it from pressuring South Vietnam in the interest of peace?

5. Does China like to see Russia extending large credits to non-Communist countries in Asia? Would it not prefer having Russia enlarge its credits to China?

6. Great Britain recognized the Peiping regime. When will China send an ambassador to London? What benefits has Britain enjoyed from its policy of recognition?

7. Does China aspire one day to obtain sovereignty over HongKong?

Here is a situation about which questions might be asked, if any candor is allowed. The Asian pie has been cut between Russia and China. We don't know the terms or how well they sit. But it seems clear that China has in its orbit: Korea, Vietnam and Vietminh, Cambodia, Laos, Singapore & Malaya, ~~in Siam and Thailand~~. Russia is ahead in Indonesia. (How does China like that?) Russia is ahead in Japan, in fact stole a march by starting peace negotiations. (How does China like that, in view of the fact that potentially Japan has more to add to China in goods and markets for raw materials than any other country?) Russia has Outer Mongolia and China Sinkiang. But China is actively competing with Russia in Outer Mongolia, along cultrual lines, and Russia is still a big influence in Singkiang. Russia is ahead in Burma. The two, Russia and China, appear to regard India as belonging to both. China has Tibet and wants Nepal.

Do the talks with Nehru, and between Nehru and Eisenhower, suggest a possibility that one day India, China and the United States might come to a better working b asis?

84 Hing Fat St., Apt. 15B
Hong Kong
May 26, 1960

Mr. John Day
Vice President-News
CBS News
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Boss:

A few items which I feel are of interest or concern to you:

First, regarding my recent trip following Chou En-lai around Burma, India and Nepal. Although my success on circuits was disappointing, the trip was extremely valuable for me. It gave me my first personal contacts with some of the top leaders of Red China, and a better acquaintance with the countries I visited. It wasn't until the last two days of the trip that the Chinese Communists decided to become friendly with the Western correspondents on the tour--but during that time Chou En-lai himself opened conversations with me on three different occasions, and Foreign Minister Chen Yi once. Although nothing of great significance was exchanged during these chats, I was the only Western Correspondent Chou singled out during the trip, and was the only one Chen Yi spoke with at all. I reported the Chen Yi conversation in a World Tonighter after I got back to Hong Kong.

Our Bangkok stringer, Tavisak Viryasiri, proved as useful in Burma as in Thailand--a real fabulous little guy. He successfully crashed every event in Rangoon barred to correspondents. The only time he was suspected was at the Chinese Embassy reception in Rangoon. He got around that one by answering a security guard's questions in Siamese--and while the guard was trying to figure out what was said, Tavisak went ahead and got his pictures.

Between my previous contacts in Burma and Tavisak's we got exceptional treatment from the government. Unfortunately, this did not prevent failure of my attempts to get a successful circuit out, or in getting Chou En-lai to appear on FACE THE NATION. I am convinced that a circuit can be worked out of Rangoon through Hong Kong, Tokyo or London. If anyone goes back down there for anything, I will give a detailed report.

I think I could have raised enough hell to have gotten a better circuit while I was there, but didn't for fear it would have detracted from the pressure I was putting on in an attempt to get an answer from Chou En-lai about the FACE THE NATION show. Regarding this latter, when U Nu decided he would not be able to make a direct approach to Chou in our behalf, the Burmese Foreign Office sent a formal note to the Chinese Embassy pointing out that a representative of CBS was in Rangoon awaiting a decision of the Premier. No answer came, so the Burmese prodded them on it. The final answer: "There is no indication there will be an affirmative reply."

Later, Art Bonner and I together took a letter to the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi renewing the request. We received no answer.

Now about the current situation in Red China. Since April first the Chinese Reds have been stepping up their anti-American propaganda, which is amazing in view of the fact that they have kept it at a near fever pitch ever since the early summer of 1958. The recent anti-American demonstrations in China have now involved about fifty million people.

There are good reasons to believe that Red China is having some serious internal problems at the moment, particularly caused by a shortage of food. The Nationalists claim their intelligence reports tell of some anti-Communist rioting on parts of the mainland. I have not been able to varify this latter, but from situations that I do know about, I would say it is a distinct possibility.

In view of this, it could be that the anti-American demonstrations are in part at least designed as a diversion from trouble on the home front. They might also be aimed at demonstrating, in some strange manner, a need for a speedup in organizing communes in the cities.

Regardless, the tone of the propaganda and the extensiveness of the demonstrations is far more serious than ever before.

It is a bit early to make any firm predictions, but I have a horrible feeling that the Reds are spoiling for an incident. What, where and how—I would not want to guess at the moment. If the usual crisis cycle is followed, it most likely would occurr in late summer or autumn. This guess on timing is based particularly on the fact that Peking has pulled something every-other Fall, that is, to hit the front pages at the time of a United States national election.

This might just be coincidence, but probably is not. I think the Chinese are well aware of the fact that the two major parties in the States do not see eye-to-eye on China policy, and they love to sharpen controversy at crucial times.

For some time I have felt that the Chinese Communist habit of issuing periodic warnings against the United States for alledged violations of territory was a buildup toward an incident. Last night they issued their 99th such "serious warning." They will use the background of warnings in an attempt to put justice on their side. In other words, if they decide to shoot down an American plane, they will follow up by saying, "We warned the United States time-after-time in an attempt to prevent bloodshed--but the American imperialists refused to listen."

As for other possibilities, the Nationalists claim there has been an increase in Communist activity opposit the off-shore islands, and the Indians claim the Reds are building up heavily in Tibet next to the disputed Ladakh area. Since the Reds already control the most essential parts of Ladakh, and the Indians are in no position to kick them out at the moment--it seems unlikely that anything will actually happen there in the near future.

Laos is still a strong potential trouble spot. Militarily it has been quiet since the United Nations made known its concern last summer--but the Reds have not slowed down their propaganda agitation there.

A more explosive situation, I fear, is in South Vietnam, where there are increasing indications of considerable Communist guerilla activities. From what I understand, the Saigon government has been playing down its troubles with the Reds. There certainly have been few reports of incidents from the South Vietnam side. However, the Communist reports regularly indicate that some type of military activity has been taking place.

Of course, there is always the possibility that the Chinese Reds will tone down their activities and anti-American propaganda as quickly--and as unexplainably--as they built it up. The current anti-American campaign is running about two months ahead of the one in 1958 which culminated in the off-shore island crisis. It will be hard for the Reds to maintain its intensity through the summer if they are working toward an autumn incident.

Regardless, I think the current situation out here is something we must watch very, very closely, and keep reporting on with reasonable regularity. The buildup in 1958 went generally unreported because there were too many other affairs taking the top news in other parts of the world--particularly at that time in the Middle East. As a result, when the off-shore island fracus started, most of the world was caught by surprise.

There is, of course, the problem that the anti-American propaganda and the hate America demonstrations are so repetitive that they become routine, and it becomes difficult to continually make them sound like news. For instance, I could give the same broadcasts today that I gave last Sunday, and except for the changing of a few figures, they would be just as accurate.

With indications being, though, that the Chinese Communists are building up to something, I don't think we can afford to belittle the seriousness of the situation merely because it appears repetitive.

I will keep you informed of any developments as they appear to me here.

Best regards,

Guy

Guy Searls

GS:al

cc: Ralph Paskman
Robert Skedgell

Interview With Chou

ED MURROW'S filmed interview with Chou En-lai, which was televised the other night, was, as Mr. Murrow observed, quite different from most interviews conducted by American newsmen.

All questions had to be submitted to Chou, the Prime Minister of Red China, in advance. Mr. Murrow submitted 31. Chou chose to answer only 10. His answers were written in advance, and merely read by him and his interpreter. When the reporter asked a "follow-up" question—calling for additional detail to a previous answer—the interview was interrupted while advisers scurried to put just the right words in the Prime Minister's mouth.

All the questions pertaining directly to Red China, including the status of the American hostages held there, were ignored by Chou. Instead, he dwelt at length on the Hungarian revolt and a comparison of Red Chinese-Soviet Union relationships and those between the U. S. and its major allies. In the first Chou followed the Moscow propaganda line to the letter. In the second he spent several minutes saying that relationships between his country and Russia are beautiful because they could not be otherwise between socialist societies, while the U. S. gets along horribly with its allies because we are all imperialists trying to knife each other in a competitive struggle for possessions.

The interview resembled most closely those conducted at a distance by Western newsmen and the late Soviet dictator, Joseph Stalin. For years there was almost always a list of questions on Stalin's desk from some Western correspondent. When the dictator wished, he could pick from a list the queries that would make a good basis for whatever propaganda barrage he had in mind. Of course his answers were legitimate news, but the correspondents were playing right into his hand.

Such, no doubt, were Chou's intentions in permitting the filming of an interview for television. But Mr. Murrow frustrated that motive by following the film with a discussion of Chou's answers with General Carlos Romulo, Philippine ambassador to the U. S., and Dr. Tingfu Tsiang, Nationalist China's chief delegate to the U. N. Neither Chou's foggy circumlocutions nor Mr. Murrow's cloud of cigarette smoke kept those men from viewing the interview with clear eyes.

With the propaganda value thus removed, the interview gave Americans a worthwhile glimpse of a man near the top in the shadowed land of China. But it is doubtful that Chou won any converts in the U. S.

"SEE IT NOW"

CLINTON AND THE LAW

Clinton, Tennessee

January 6, 1957

Bingham, Barry
SIN

January 16, 1957

Dear Barry:

I am most grateful to you for taking time to write about the Clinton piece. The people of Clinton renewed my faith in many things, and the response of the audience was one of the most encouraging things I have encountered in a long time.

Please tell your bride that we have not forgotten about Bookmobiles.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Barry Bingham
President
"The Louisville Times"
Louisville 2, Kentucky

rh

BARRY BINGHAM, *President*

MARK F. ETHRIDGE, *Publisher*

LISLE BAKER, JR. *Vice Pres. & Gen. Mgr.*

The Courier-Journal
THE LOUISVILLE TIMES

LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

January 8, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I want to tell you how tremendously impressed I was by your show on Clinton, Tennessee. It struck me as representing the highest standards of journalism, interpreted in the effective terms of the television medium.

I had heard about the performance of Mr. Kasper, but I could hardly believe that the reports could be true until I saw him on your show. Several of the Clinton residents, on the other hand, sustained my faith in human nature.

The total effect of the program was much more hopeful than I had anticipated, thanks perhaps to the tactical error made by those who attacked the young minister. In any case, I think you performed a valuable public service by putting this striking program together.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Barry

Barry Bingham

Burchard, John E.

GIN

January 25, 1957

Dear John:

Janet has shown me your reference to our Clinton piece in your letter of January 14th. Thanks very much. The response to it was both mature and encouraging.

Sincerely yours,

Dean John E. Burchard
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

rh

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL STUDIES
Cambridge

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

January 14, 1957

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Janet:

Consumed with curiosity as I am, and delighted as I always have been by the grace of your hospitality, it is with the greatest regret that I have to tell you I cannot aceept your invitation to dinner Tuesday night. I shall not be at the trustees' meeting either since I have a long-standing engagement in Chicago on both days. I am terribly sorry.

Would you tell Ed for me how moved I was by the story he ran from Clinton, Tennessee. It was the next day that emissaries of the State Department came by for counsel on what to put in their shiny building which Ed Stone is devising for the 1958 Brussels Exposition, and I urged them above all to have a series of showings of some of Ed's best programs, those particularly which deal with an open and candid assessment by Americans of American situations, and among those especially those about which our friends abroad may have confused impressions. I urged them also to see if he could not in the next year make others which would fill any lacunae. I can think of no better thing for us to do abroad than to be frank in an unapologetic way. Whether the Congress would agree with such a view in probably quite a different matter.

I have wired you this morning: "Regret unable dine Tuesday night. Letter follows."

Sincerely yours,

John Burchard

John E. Burchard
Dean

Horan, Walt

SIR

January 15, 1957

Dear Walt:

Many thanks for the kind words about the Clinton show. The response has been universally favorable, and I was particularly proud of the fact that the people in Clinton thought it a fair picture.

Thanks again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable Walt Horan
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

rh

Would you tell Ed for me how moved I was by the story he ran from Clinton, Tennessee. It was the next day that emissaries of the State Department came by for counsel on what to put in the Army building which Ed Stone is devising for the 1939 Brussels Exposition, and I urged them above all to have a series of showings of some of Ed's best programs, those particularly which deal with an open and candid assessment by Americans of American situations, and among those especially those about which our friends abroad may have confused impressions. I urged them also to see if he could not in the next year make others which would fill any lacunae. I can think of no better thing for us to do abroad than to be frank in an unapologetic way. Whether the Congress would agree with such a view is probably quite a different matter.

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John E. Burchard
Dean

Publicity
Pat
Ed

January 14, 1957

Mrs. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y.

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Would you tell Ed for me how moved I was by the

S F N
Kefauver, Estes

January 16, 1957

Dear Estes:

You were very gracious to write about the Clinton report. The response has really been extraordinary; thoughtful and mature. The people of Clinton liked it, and that is always the acid test.

It has been much too long since we have met. I shall make you a signal when next I am in Washington.

As ever yours,

Senator Estes Kefauver
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

rh

ANNOUNCER

Today, on SEE IT NOW, Clinton and the Law, a study in desegregation edited and produced by the partnership of Murrow and Friendly, sponsored by Pan American World Airways.

COMMERCIAL

ANNOUNCER

Now speaking to you from the Control Room of Studio 41, here is Edward R. Murrow.

EDWARD R. MURROW

We call this report "Clinton and the Law". It does not pretend to be a study of desegregation with all its vast political social and economic implications. It is merely the record of one community as written by the people who live there. In other communities neither the problems nor the solutions might be identical, but the people of Clinton, Tennessee thought they discovered something of value, and they cooperated with us in presenting and preparing this report for you.

This is Clinton, Tennessee -- Christmas time - nineteen fifty-six.

CHEER: Let's go Clinton High, let's go

Let's go Clinton High, let's go

Let's go Clinton High, let's go

EDWARD R. MURROW

Clinton's population four thousand. That's the high school basketball team in action against Lake City. They lost 63 to 43. Last year they won - had a good football season this year in spite of all the recent trouble.

The Clinton pep band plays "Rock Around the Clock" and for all outward appearances it's just another night in just another Tennessee community. But Main Street has not always been quiet. There have been mobs in the square before the courthouse and riots that had to be broken up by the National Guard and a white Baptist Minister was beaten up on Broad Street. The violence in Clinton was news all over America and much of the rest of the world.

(CHILDREN SING): "Peace on the earth - good will to men."

EDWARD R. MURROW

But this is not a report on the National Guard in Clinton, or the tanks in the street, or the teargas, or the burning crosses, but rather an examination, after the fact, filmed in Clinton between December 4 when the Reverend Turner was attacked and now.

It is an attempt by SEE IT NOW and the citizens of Clinton to explore the chain of events and emotions which brought violence and shame and hope to this town. All the persons to be heard during this sixty-minute report will be citizens of Clinton with the exception of Judge Robert L. Taylor of Knoxville and John Kasper of Washington, both active participants in the conflict.

(MORE)

EDWARD R. MURROW (CONT'D)

Of the 4,000 people who live in Clinton, more than thirty-seven hundred are white and by tradition and custom,most of them believe in separate schools. In 1950, Negro parents, backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, brought suit against the Anderson County school system which administers Clinton High School, asking that their children be admitted.

The Courier News, the Clinton weekly, spoke for the community in support of segregation. Editor Horace Wells.

EDITOR HORACE WELLS

Well, any newspaper is inclined to follow the -- the thinking of the majority of the people in the community, and this community and I myself have favored segregation all down through the years. Back when this law suit was filed in nineteen fifty, we did everything we could to maintain segregation by trying to provide the Negro students with good, equal but separate facilities, and that was the way the community felt, and that's the way the community wanted it, and that was the editorial policy of this newspaper.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The Federal Judge in this section of Tennessee in 1951, and now, is Robert L. Taylor of Knoxville.

JUDGE ROBERT L. TAYLOR

The Anderson County School case was before my court about five years ago. At that time, I held that the colored children were not entitled to enter the Clinton High School because they were being furnished equal but separate facilities. At that time the equal but separate facility doctrine was the law.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The Negroes appealed Judge Taylor's decision and when the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 ruled against segregation, Judge Taylor's ruling was reversed. On January 4, 1956, he ordered Anderson County to comply.

JUDGE ROBERT L. TAYLOR

It is the opinion of this court that desegregation as to high school students in that county should be effected by definite date, and that a reasonable date should be fixed as one not later than the beginning of the Fall term of the present year of nineteen hundred and fifty-six.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Accordingly, on August 20, 1956, approximately seven hundred students, registered for the Fall opening - without incident. Twelve of them were Negroes. Judge Taylor told them all to obey the law and there seemed to be no questions.

Then, another voice was heard in Clinton - John Kasper, an outsider, a White Supremacist, told them that the law need not be obeyed.

JOHN KASPER

Our failure to date has been failing to attack - failing to attack - failing to attack at every level and continuously.

We in the White Citizens' Council say - now, yesterday, today and forever as long as there is one living white man in the United States, the Supreme Court is not the law of the land. (BANGS TABLE).

(MORE)

JOHN KASPER (CONT'D)

That decision ... (BANGS TABLE) ... is not the law of the land now or never will be. Never!

(CHILDREN RECITE): "The flag of the United States of America."

EDWARD R. MURROW

John Kasper first came to Clinton on August 25, and threatened to close up the school if desegregation continued.

PLEDGE: "With liberty and justice for all."

EDWARD R. MURROW

Kasper had certain qualities of leadership and there were those in Clinton willing to be led. One hundred and three days later, his boast was fact.

An organized campaign of picketing, threats, dynamiting and rioting had brought Clinton to the brink of anarchy. Kasper has been arrested twice but continues to lead the battle against Judge Taylor's order.

School attendance, shrunk by parents' fear of violence, were at times as low as two hundred and sixty.

The pressure mounted on every one - the Faculty - the parents - the students. This is Jerry Shattuck, Captain of the football team and an All-State Guard, talking to reporter Arthur Morse in the gymnasium.

MORSE

How did the students react the first day that they --- that the Negroes came to class?

SHATTUCK

Well, I --- I'd like to say something about two or three weeks preceding the time school started ...

MORSE: Yes.

SHATTUCK

... our school starts the first of September, and all through the month of August, of course, we knew we would have Negro students in school with us when we started, but no one said too much about it, and no one seemed opposed to it violently, and then I believe it was the Saturday before the Monday that school started, this Kasper came into town and he started calling people up and stopping them on streets and trying to form pickets in front of the school for Monday morning, and then Monday morning, when we did come to school, we found that there were, oh, fifteen to twenty people out there with pickets, and the students, most of them, were out watching and everything of course you know it was something that they'd never seen before, and then when school started and the Negro students were inside, no one was hostile towards them.

Everyone seemed to be friendly. All the trouble seemed to be outside the school among the adults, and oh, I'd say six or seven of the students that Kasper persuaded to picket. Well, of course, you know that things kept adding on top of each other and pretty soon the National Guard came into town and of course things quieted down in a hurry then, and then Kasper left and for about a month or month and a half, everything was quiet, and then this --- the local authorities wanted to try Kasper on sedition and inciting a riot.

(MORE)

SHATTUCK (CONT'D)

I think it was, and then he came into town for that trial, and then after that, this intimidation within the school that's happened just recently, started.

MORSE: What sort of intimidation was it?

SHATTUCK

They'd go down the halls and maybe push a Negro student or - I remember they threw some Negro student's books out into the rain one day, and they poured some ink and some eggs down into a Negro student's locker, and I think they threw a book at a Negro student in a Study Hall.

MORSE: Jerry, how do you personally feel about having Negro classmates?

SHATTUCK

Well, I didn't ask for integration and I wasn't enthusiastic about getting it, but the Supreme Court said that our High School should be integrated, and so I thought that I should do all I could to bring this Court Order about peacefully. I think our football coach said - put it very well. He said: "All through your life you're going to come up against things that you don't like," but he says, "you are going to have to accept them anyway and just make the best out of them that you can," and that's the way I feel about it too, and I think that that's the way most of the students feel.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The twelve colored students who came down every morning from Foley Hill also had a lot to get used to.

JO ANN ALLEN

And then Monday morning when we started to school, there were only a few people around, and I thought maybe well they're just here to be curious and they wanted to see us come in and that they would leave later, but then on the next day when things -- when more people came and -- and the young boys started walking with signs, I began to wonder and think, well, maybe they're not going to accept us like I thought they were, and on Wednesday morning, I almost cried to go back home, because there were so many people and they looked so mean and they looked like they just wanted to grab us and throw us out. They didn't want us at all. I could just see the hate in their hearts, and when we got inside the school, most of the children were very nice to us, and then there were some you could tell that they didn't want us there.

They really show you in a big way. They put signs on lockers and told us to get out and they threw paper at us and they shoved us in the halls, and they shoot -- threw chalk at us, and said all sorts of nasty things and it just made me feel bad, and I couldn't concentrate at all on my lessons.

EDWARD R. MURROW

But more than on any other individual, the brunt of the pressure was exerted on Principal D. J. Brittain, Jr., who had fought the original battle for segregation and was now fighting to obey the law of the land.

MORSE: Mr. Brittain, as Principal of Clinton High School, have you yourself suffered any personal harassment since this situation began?

D. J. BRITTAIN, JR.

Yes sir. I --- I can frankly say that I've suffered nothing but personal harassment - and other people too. My wife and teachers and students in the school, or anybody that took a stand to obey the law - not necessarily that they agreed with it, but any --- any person - to --- for myself, the first day and night my telephone rang incessantly. I guess my life was threatened ten or twelve times by anonymous telephone callers who would all hang it up. I have since had my phone number changed four times to keep from getting these annoying calls. I received letters, many through the mail. I received two today, one of which was an unsigned letter, of course, which said that they felt that I was a lowdown person and used other vile names and felt that someone should throw acid in my face or in the face of someone in my family, and that I wasn't fit to live. Now, I have had a number of those kind of letters and those letters are always anonymous. They never put a name on them, and our other teachers have been called names of all kinds, and they have make it --- have made it a point within the last few weeks to do anything they could to make it difficult for the teachers.

MORSE: How would you characterize the attitude of most of your pupils in this situation?

D. J. BRITTAIN JR.

They have stood by us loyally in --- in every test that came up, and we feel that they still do to a large degree. We believe like -- we believe that there may be forty students in the school who are creating the trouble that we have at the present time, and subject to this, or before this, an organization, a Youth Organization, has been organized which was connected with the White Citizens' Council and has their full backing, and I understand has the same goals, and these people, and I have talked to several of them in the school, are encouraging other people, if not doing things themselves, to drive the Negroes out of the school.

Now, when I talked to Mr. Kasper at the beginning of school, he wanted to know what I was going to do about getting the "niggers" - in those words ' "out of Clinton High School," and I told him that I had three choices -- that I could resign my job, or I could stay with it and obey the law, or I could do what he said, and that I chose none of those except to abide by the law as it was stated. But Mr. Kasper informed me that he was interested in only two things, and those were, one, to drive the Negro students out, and, two, to get me out of my job. Here is a matter that is clearly a decision of the United States Supreme Court, and we do not feel that if we allow or teach our citizens to disobey this law, that they are learning the right principles of citizenship. In otherwords, if they can do that, they can violate any other law or any other decision of the country.

(MORE)

D. J. BRITTAIN JR. (CONT'D)

We have also been working at the problem of trying to get people to understand each other better and be more tolerant towards each other, and one of the interesting developments of this thing is - to me has been that I am now being accused of being a Communist. I was born in Tennessee. I've lived my life in Tennessee. I attended Tennessee schools. I attended Merryville College in Tennessee to get my Bachelor's Degree and Master's Degree at the University of Tennessee, and if there is anything about me that is Communistic, I certainly do not know what it is, and it looks to me like, however, that some of the attacks and methods that are being used against the schools and against myself lean more in that direction than anything that I have ever done or said. Quite frankly, I think I can feel like many people in Europe feel.

My wife and I, since the opening of school, are always careful when we go home. We study the premises. When we get in,we lock the doors and get the lights on. Any noise or any sound that occurs, we are always concerned at what it is. There have been some nights when we have felt that it was -- the only safe thing for us to do was to stay out of town. We have visited our friends at times. It is just a constant thing which I'm sure it is part of the organization to wear myself and my wife down.

(MORE)

D. J. BRITTAIN JR. (CONT'D)

It just presses you down every day lower and lower, and to me, it is an amazing thing that an American citizen, living in the United States, is --- has to be subjected to this, while the lawless citizens, those who refuse to abide or accept the law, continue to run free. I know this is not a true picture of America. I know it is not a true picture of the majority of the people of Anderson County, but it is a picture of myself and several other citizens in Clinton who have tried to abide by the law.

EDWARD R. MURROW

The most talked about man in Clinton is John Kasper of Washington, D.C. John Kasper, still awaiting appeal of a one-year sentence, is the self-appointed Executive Secretary of the Seaboard Citizens' Council and a protege of Ezra Pound. Since his two arrests, he is forbidden from interfering in Clinton, but because it is impossible to measure his full effect on the community, without observing him in action, we followed him to nearby Kentucky. On December 12, he was speaking to a White Citizens' Council group in a fourth-floor loft.

JOHN KASPER

The argument simply does not hold that the white race being a minority -- rather being a majority in the United States should turn over to a group of people only removed from slavery eighty years and only removed from the jungle by a few hundred years, turn over to them the control of our entire civilization. The basis of common law is the custom of the people, and if the custom of the people in Anderson County is to keep the races separate, then the Supreme Court law doesn't mean anything - it doesn't.

EDWARD R. MURROW

John K[illegible]r on the Ku Klux Klan.

JOHN KASPER

In e[illegible] years in every Southern state, the segregation (BANGS ON [illegible]) laws we are fighting for today were written - every one of them - by the Ku Klux Klan - which saved the South, and the men who stood face to face at Chickamauga --- Braxton, Bragg and General Thomas, if they didn't have a principle to fight and die for; if they said, "Well, we'll just let this thing go on," every single one of us here tonight would be julatttos and not white. Every one of us.

EDWARD R. MURROW

John Kasper on the people of the South.

JOHN KASPER

They underestimated the intelligence and the resistance power of the mountain folk down here in Tennessee and Kentucky. They underestimated that. They thought, well maybe they were dealing with a group of hillbillies, rednecks, crackers, but those are the real people in the United States. Make no mistake about it, and those hillbillies and crackers, as Billy Branham said, they're the purest white people living on the face of the earth anywhere and the strongest. Among them are men who get on their knees and pray every Sunday and they pray too. They pray hard. They believe in that Bible and they believe in Jesus Christ.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Mr. Kasper tells of his Clinton adventure.

JOHN KASPER

When I was in Charlottesville, I saw a little piece in the Charlottesville paper which said that integration was a-comin' in Tennessee for the first time - the first school - Clinton High School. It happened to be just a day away and I wanted to find out how the folks felt about it. I didn't think they were for it but I didn't tell them anything about that. I just went door to door. I showed them a picture of nigger soldiers kissing some white girls. You've probably all seen that picture - Army and the -- Fort McClellan, Alabama. Some say it's Germany - it doesn't make any difference.

(MORE)

JOHN KASPER (CONT'D)

They're still niggers in American army uniforms kissing white girls. It doesn't make any difference whether it's Germany or Alabama. Being done; it's wrong.

Now, I showed them the picture and I asked them if they knew about the niggers going to school the next day, and they said they knew about it or they heard something about it or they didn't hear about it. Some of them hadn't even haard about it, and I asked them how they felt about that, and they said, "I'm a-gin' it. (KASPER BANGS ON TABLE.) What can we do about it? Nothing we can do about it."

So I told them something about picketing - how labor unions operate. I told them to be down at the school the following day - no, Monday morning, and I would be there with them and we'd picket and we'd -- we'd discuss this thing with the local officials. We would find out what, if anything, could be done about it.

EDWARD R. MURROW

John Kasper on Politicians.

JOHN KASPER

What we are trying to do is regain local control of local affairs, and it is local government - local corruption that we must deal with first. You can hardly expect to have a choice between the hollow pumpkin in the -- the hollow pumpkin on a pole who is in the White House now and the man who ran against him in the recent election - national election.

(MORE)

JOHN KASPER (CONT'D)

Two men - both of them dedicated to stupidity and treachery, both of them. It doesn't mean a thing - either one of them. When you compare them to the patron saint of the Republican or Democratic Parties - Jefferson or --- or Lincoln, or any of those people, why these men are nothing ... our President today. They're just sworn enemies of the American Republic, sworn enemies of the Constitution, do everything they can in their power to destroy it, and have consistently for thirty-five years, each -- each and every one of them.

EDWARD R. MURROW

John Kasper on the Supreme Court.

JOHN KASPER

The idea is clear I think in everybody's mind that the right aim of law is to prevent coercion either by force or by fraud, and the Supreme Court decision is exactly, precisely fraudulent, precisely coercive, but the Supreme Court is in there for life and the whole Federal Judiciary is in there for life, and there's nothing you can do about it. An impeachment is silly. I mean it's just --- it's so hard to accomplish that it's probably easier to assassinate a man. The Supreme Court - we know they're Communists. We know that to combine nine men in the Supreme Court don't make one good Civil Claims Judge, but yet on the other hand, combined, they make one of the most deadly Communist hydra-headed monsters we've ever known, but I am absolutely confident we're going to destroy that too.

(MORE)

JOHN KASPER (CONT'D)

I say intergration can be reversed. It can be stopped anywhere provided an attack is made at every single level. That meetings of the County Court are attended; that the constant self-same demands are made; that people keep hitting the Judge who made the original ruling; that pressure - tremendous pressure is brought to bear on that School Principal, on the School Board, on the local newspaper, or whoever it is that happens to be responsible. There is no sense any longer appealing to Senator so and so or President --- or the President or the Supreme Court Judge. It has got to be a pressure down here which is more or less like a lit stick of dynamite and you throw it in their lap and let them catch it, and then they can do what they want with it but let them worry about it.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Clinton and the Law will continue immediately after this message from Pan American World Airways.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW

Nine o'clock on the morning of December 4, 1956, was conceivably the darkest hour of the worst day in Clinton's history. The Reverend Paul Turner, a Baptist, was beaten up after escorting six negro youths to school. There were witnesses.

MRS. VIVIAN SHOOPMAN

It was a --- it was a horrible thing and I thought they were actually killing him. Blood was streaming down his face and even - it just looked that blood was running out of his eyes. I asked some one in the group - just anyone - to help him, and when there was no response, I went to him and tried to assist him by pulling some of the men's arms from around his face, and all the time the men in this group who were standing around were screaming "kill him," and that's exactly what I thought they were going to do.

I certainly don't consider that it was an act of bravery. It was just a matter of the right or wrong thing to do, and I did what I thought was right, and I'm --- I'm certainly not ashamed of the fact that I did. It's just that I'm ashamed really for the people of Clinton that it did happen in such a nice town where such nice people live.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Reverend Turner is thirty-three years old, has spent all of his life in Tennessee.

REVEREND PAUL W. TURNER

For about five days these negro students, having of course the legal right to attend Clinton High School, had stayed home because of harassment and hindrance and heckling and threats upon their lives and incidents that actually would make anybody scared.

(MORE)

REVEREND PAUL W. TURNER (CONT'D)

I chose to take such a stand on this moral principle - that as long as the law is the law as it is in our land, and as long as they did personally choose to come to Clinton High School, their legal right, that they had a moral right to attend unheckled and unhindered and unharassed. It was this that prompted me to accompany them. Though there were quite a few hecklers we made our way to the high school building without any overt incident. When I emerged from the school building, about five or ten minutes later, the hecklers were still there and they heckled me personally. About three hundred yards away from the high school - we were far away from where the policemen were doing their duty, of course, in front of the high school one of the Citizens' Council members had stationed himself with about three other men on the corner. As I made my way to that corner, they jumped me. I retreated across the street - Broad Street of Clinton, trying to keep him at arm's length while the other fellows were trying to surround me and to hold my arms and to get me stationary for the beating. I retreated all the way across the street trying to avoid any incident. Finally, I found myself pretty well backed up against the Bishop Building on the other side of the street. I knew then that I had to do something and it was at that time also that one man successfully held my arms down and allowed the number 1 man of their gang to land a pretty good blow upon my nose.

(MORE)

REVEREND PAUL W. TURNER

It was at that time also that I realized I had to defend myself in some way, and so I took off after the man who had slugged me, pinned him against a car, and immediately about eight to ten people were on our backs. After a while, when the police arrived, everybody scattered pretty much. We came up from our position bending over, I took a hold of the two fellows that led the attack - one in one hand - one in the other, and shoved each of them into the arms of a policeman, and from there they took them on over to the police station. I retreated into a doctor's office.

EDWARD R. MURROW

But everyone did not applaud Reverend Turner's act which, coincidentally, occurred on the same day that Clinton was electing a new Mayor. James Meredith, a grocer, running for Mayor with the backing of the White Citizens' Council, was badly defeated - claims that the Reverend's action may have swung the election to his opponent.

JAMES B. MEREDITH

My name's James B. Meredith. I'm operator of the City Food Market in Clinton, Tennessee. I was in this Mayor's race here December the fourth, nineteen fifty-six which I was defeated. Well, about the election, I think is a lot of misrepresentation - a lot of it started here in this Clinton Courier News which is a local weekly newspaper here. I've been here a resident of this county around twenty -- a little better than twenty years.

(MORE)

JAMES B. MEREDITH (CONT'D)

The way he had me represented as if I might have been Jesse James or somebody just come in here on a horse - rode into town, got off, which that was untrue. I've been here on this street for about twenty some years operating a grocery store.

They made it out to be segregation against integration. As for me, I'm like ninety-five percent, I'd say, of the people here in Anderson County. I am against integration. Of --- of course, we believe in negro having equal rights, equal education, and equal facilities, but we think they should have them in their own place. As for being endorsed by the White Citizens' Council, as everybody knows, I came out in this race on my own --- as --- my friends came in the store here and encouraged me to run this Mayor's race. I was running a good race in this Major's race up until the morning before the polls opened - why this minister, he went up on the hill to bring the niggers down to school, and then a few minutes after that, why the scuffle I hear started down somewhere in the lower end of town.

That was approximately, I'd say, about ten minutes before the polls opened. As to whether or not that was political, I --- I don't know. My understanding was that niggers wasn't supposed to come to school that morning, but I figure on coming back in either two or four years from now and winn' this Mayor's race.

EDWARD R. MURROW

There were other merchants involved and some were losing customers because they stood by the Court Order. This is R. G. Crossno, Chairman of the School Board.

R. G. CROSSNO

I am sure there is no doubt in your mind as to my offical connection with the dairy company. As President of the Norris Creamery, Incorporated, we too have had threats - boycott of our product in a number of instances. We have lost accounts which we have served ten, twelve, fifteen years as result of my being a member of this particular School Board. What I would like to assure you as a Faculty and my fellow members on the Board, if it becomes necessary for me to make a decision as to whether I sell a quart of milk or resign from the School Board, I would like to assure you here and now that I will not sell a quart of milk but will remain a member of this School Board.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Also on December 4th, the Principal's wife was knocked down and several white and colored children were beaten. The School Board asked for Federal protection, and at 11:45 closed the high school until order could be restored. Mrs. Eleanor Davis, a mother and a teacher, explains to a P.T.A. group what it was like.

MRS. ELEANOR DAVIS

We were stunned. There were some who were jubilant. Sure, they had wanted it to happen and they rejoiced that now they didn't have to go to school and they could keep other people from going to school who really wanted an education, but those were few in number. There were other students who were so stunned they didn't know whether to leave or not. Going down the hall, I found students crying. I found Seniors who were bitter because they felt that they might not be able to graduate. Of course, tension had been high and you can imagine reaction - the various reactions.

After the students left, the Faculty didn't want to leave. Somehow we just couldn't leave. We met together in the Faculty Room and we felt defeated. We felt as if we'd waved a flag of surrender and we didn't want to wave a flag of surrender. We didn't want to admit that we couldn't control the situation. It was not until the acquittal of Kasper in our local Criminal Court and the organization of the Youth Council that we began to have a breakdown within the school.

(MORE)

MRS. ELEANOR DAVIS (CONT'D)

The members of the Youth Council were not all students, but among those who were students, we had some habitual troublemakers, disiplinary problems, students who found it difficult to pass, and some of the students who belonged to the Youth Council were so ashamed of the fact that they had to belong, that they refused to wear their badges. They had only joined at the insistence of their parents. They refused to participate in any of the trouble making. I know because I talked with them.

There are a few students who have been so sensitive to this situation, to the things that they've heard on -- or seen on the outside, that they have drawn within themselves, and they're not the same as they used to be. They're afraid to express themselves, and they've lost that happy, carefree attitude of youth. Of course, we hope that time will heal that and they will be once more their happy selves.

Now, I don't think anybody can say enough concerning the courage of the negro students themselves who were willing to face persecution in their home town to get an education. The majority of students, and I do mean the majority, have undergone this crisis with great courage and faced it intelligently, trying to be courteous and helpful at all times, and I think these students have grown up a little bit as a result of it. That's all. (APPLAUSE)

EDWARD R. MURROW

(BELLS RINGING)...That Sunday, with the school still closed, and the FBI still in town, Reverend Turner faced his all-white congregation for the first time since his controversial act.

REVEREND PAUL W. TURNER

... The Bible is without precedent as a book and I personally have no fear that it will ever be superseded. But many have tried to misuse the Bible, trying to justify some low standard of conduct by the very Bible that they profess to love and by the book that never compromises with sin, with pride, with prejudice, or with hate. Bill Graham tells the following story: "Shortly after the Civil War in a very fashionable church in Richmond, Virginia, there entered a negro man one Sunday morning when Communion was being served. He walked down the aisle and took his place at the altar to partake of the elements of the Lord's Supper. There was a rustle of anger that swept through the congregation. Sensing this delicate situation, a distinguished gentleman stood up, and walking down the aisle, he took his place by his colored brother. Immediately, his magnificent example swept over the spirits of the rest of the people in that congregation, and they followed him to the altar, taking their place there, too. This man was none other than Robert E. Lee." My friends, we have been too far away from God. When mobs are able in our land to flout the law, the tragic result is a Cicero, Illinois, or a Phonenix City, Alabama.

(MORE)

REVEREND PAUL.W. TURNER (CONT'D)

Here in Clinton, we are not especially against integration. We are not especially against segregation, but we are positively and definitely against the disintegration of our community and our body politic that we cherish above all things, realizing that where anarchy prevails, none of us has anything of any value and none of us has any freedoms any more, and now we realize more clearly than ever before that it is Christ or chaos. (PAUSE)

May we pray?

EDWARD R. MURROW

Clinton and the law will continue after a few words from our friends at Pan American World Airways.

COMMERCIAL

EDWARD R. MURROW

The next morning, December 10, Clinton High School opened its doors again. Principal Brittain had invited the County Attorney, Eugene Joyce, to tell the student body what the law expected of them.

COUNTY ATTORNEY EUGENE JOYCE

I am here this morning in my official capacity as County Attorney to tell you what in the future the Board of Education and this faculty will expect of you as students. It is not my intention to tell you what to think, nor it is my --nor is it my desire to tell you what to believe, but it is my duty to tell you how to act in the future, so long as you are students at Clinton High School.

(MORE)

COUNTY ATTORNEY EUGENE JOYCE (CONT'D)

To my knowledge, never in the history of American education has it been necessary to read an instrument such as this to a specially called Student Assembly. I have been asked now to read to you this Injunction from the United States District Court of the Eastern District of Tennessee: "And this Cause, it appearing from sworn Petition...

EDWARD R. MURROW

(VOICE OVER) ..But even before the school had been reopened, the long arm of the Federal Law had taken over. U.S. Marshals had moved into Clinton and arrested sixteen men and women accused of violating Judge Taylor's injunction.

Their arraignment took place in nearby Knoxville on December 10, the same day school reopened. Here are eight of the defendants on their way to the courthouse, and here is the voice of the County Attorney reading the injunction.

COUNTY ATTORNEY EUGENE JOYCE

"That on August the 29th, nineteen fifty-six, a crowd of people, agitated by one John Kasper, attacked one of the negro children of the school; that Kasper stated on various occasions that the Court had no authority to issue the aforesaid Order of Desegregation in the Clinton High School, and that it should not be obeyed."

(MORE)

COUNTY ATTORNEY EUGENE JOYCE (CONT'D)

"It is ordered and decreed by the Court that the aforementioned persons, their agents, servants, representatives, attorneys, and all other persons who are acting or may act in concert with them, be and they hereby are enjoined and prohibited from further hindering, obstructing or in any wise interfering with the carrying out of the aforesaid Order of this Court, or from picketing Clinton High School either by words or acts or otherwise."

EDWARD R. MURROW

The young woman under arrest is Mrs. Zella Nelson, daughter of Clem Dishman. Reporter Morse talked to Dishman at his home on College Hill.

ARTHUR MORSE

This is Clem Dishman who lived in Clinton for twenty years, has his own garage downtown. Clem, what do you think about the situation here in Clinton?

CLEM DISHMAN

The way I understand it is that my daughter and the rest of these folks here were signed up to be a witness in this little case here the city affairs a 'fightin' inside the corporation, and they gather them up, and they take them over to Knoxville and put them in --- put them in jail over there. They even put my daughter in there with I think it's either six or seven criminal women - the way I look at it --- just in a bull pen, and I don't --- can't see nothing fair about that.

(MORE)

CLEM DISHMAN (CONT'D)

You see what I --- what I ---what --- what needs to be done the way I look at it now, these --- there's only about six or eight of 'em here goes to school. I think you'll find they're eight. Why couldn't them people just go to some other school? They got a colored school here at Knoxville, and Anderson County offered to pay their tuitions, furnish a bus, furnish the gas; they even went enough -- went far enough to furnish a colored driver. They asked for a colored driver over here just before the Pastor went up on the hill to lead them off - to drive the bus. They had a notion to go in --- they had that much notion to going - when he goes up and causes all the trouble, see. The Pastor of the First Baptist Church, Paul Turner, goes up on the hill here, leads the colored off, puts them into school, goes over in town then and has this fight. I think the Supreme Court when they ruled that they have segregation everywhere --- I think they kind of misrepresented the Charter the way I look at it now. I don't know too much about the law but if it'll work in one place it'll work in another. It'll work in all. You take just nine men out there or whatever you might want to call it - well, over in Russia they got the same thing over there. They got the same nine men over there as the ruling of --- for that country. I don't think that's right. I think that's a Communist way of doing business. Now, I'll tell you what I think about it. That's just the way I think about it. See what I mean?

MORSE Yes. Well, what do you think about --- about John Kasper?

CLEM DISHMAN

I think John Kasper's a real man. I think --- I think they kind of got him under a bad deal this year and a day stuff, myself. Now, I'm just telling you from my personal self, see, of thinking. That what I think about Kasper. I don't think there's a finer man nowhere. He just woke us up around here and the people around here - this government we're living under - the way I look at it that he just woke us up to the fact that we're just living under anything that might --- anybody might want to do around here. This newspaper over here - Wells - I heard him swear on that stand over there, hisself, that he put in that paper what he thought the County needed to know --- the man that runs the paper right here in this town.

MORSE: Thanks very much, Mr. Dishman.

DISHMAN: You're more than welcome.

MORSE: Appreciate your talking to us.

DISHMAN: You're more than welcome. Glad to have met you.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Dishman's daughter is no longer in Clinton High School because her father doesn't want her in a desegregated school. Jo Ann Allen's father has withdrawn her for a different reason. They're getting out.

HERBERT ALLEN

My name is Herbert Allen, and I've lived in Clinton for twenty-four years, and I found it to be a nice, little town to live in. Very peaceful - very quiet. We never had any trouble in this little town. A thing like this happens sometimes, we say overnight, but this thing is to be, and quite naturally some doesn't think it should be, but God said he created all men equal and all men alike, and so therefore, none of us stands above the other person in God's sight, and we as a negro race, we are only in Clinton, Tennessee, abiding by the Supreme Court ruling that we'd send our children to the high school in this Anderson County. We hadn't broke any law. We hadn't went against the court ruling, but we leaving now for Los Angeles, California, not so much because of this situation, but that I might better myself and that Jo Ann might have a little bit more freedom in her school activities and in her ...

JO ANN: Career?

HERBERT ALLEN: Career.

JO ANN ALLEN

During all the excitement - all the things that the people were doing, I was able to accomplish something. I made two A's and a B, and the only bad grade was a C, which isn't very bad, but I [illegible] an A or a B.

(MORE)

JO ANN ALLEN (CONT'D)

My teachers were very proud of me and my parents were too because they thought I did well even through all of the strain that we did have to go through, because sometimes I couldn't keep my mind on my lesson for thinking about the people on the outside and what they were thinking of.

HERBERT ALLEN

And we're not leaving here with hatred in our hearts against anyone even those who was against us. We do not hate those people because we realize that those people just misled and they was trained and brought up the way --- that way. That's why they were never ... able to understand.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Clinton High School resumed four days ago after the scheduled Christmas recess with six hundred and fifty-five students enrolled. There were no incidents.

Some say that the worst is over; that although there is still little enthusiasm for desegregation, there is now a strong will to comply with the law. There are those in Clinton who say the big change came when the Federal Marshals and the FBI moved in. Others, among them Editor Horace Wells, claim it was Reverend Turner's beating.

EDITOR HORACE WELLS

Another thing that has come about - I think this is largely due to the attack on Paul Turner the other day, was that many of us had stood by, unwilling to stand up for integration, and yet also unwilling to violate the law, and when Paul Turner was attacked, the --- the feeling of the community was more or less solidified. No mere words could have done it. It took some kind of action - a heroic action - something of this beating that was administered to Paul Turner, to bring us to the point where we're willing to stand up and say, "Now we're not going to put up with being pushed around any more. We believe in law and order, and that's what we want and that's what we are going to have," and that's the reason that people are willing to go to Knoxville and put the matter before Federal Judge Taylor and say, "Now we want this Order enforced."

The trial of the sixteen Clinton defendants is set for January 28. There are those who question the legality of the injunction, including the Attorneys-Generals of three Southern states and a few columnists.

The courts will decide.

As for Clinton, a joint meeting of the Junior and Senior Chambers of Commerce unanimously adopted a Resolution upholding the desegregation law.

TOM ROLLINS

In the last four months we have had a lot of controversial world-wide publicity on Clinton, most of which has been brought about by a very small minority of the local citizens. Most of us are peaceful, law abiding, home loving people that abhor violence and mob action. We believe in our government, in our laws and the justices handed down by our courts. Even though the government and our laws and our courts do not always please us as individuals, we as Americans and citizens believe first in personal freedom. This personal freedom is not the freedom to form mobs and take the law into our own hands, but freedom to think for ourselves, and if an issue doesn't please us, to use every legal, peaceful means at our command to change the issue.

The Bill of Rights is also a bill of obligations. I read that somewhere the other day, but it's good, it just fits. Today, we're just concerned with whether or not you are for or against law and order.

EDWARD R. MURROW

That was "Clinton and the Law" - an examination after the fact of what happened in Clinton, Tennessee. This was in no sense an effort to examine the whole complex problem of segregation as such. In other communities both the problems and the solution may not be identical to those that were reached in Clinton, Tennessee.

And now for SEE IT NOW good night and good luck.

COMMERCIAL

SIN
Lilienthal, D.E.

January 16, 1957

Dear Dave:

Belatedly, my thanks for the note on the Clinton story. The response has been universally favorable. My greatest satisfaction was that the people in Clinton thought it was a fair piece; we even received favorable messages from people in jail.

Delighted to know you are back in the country again. When can you and Helen come up for a week-end?

As ever yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
44 Wall Street
New York 5, New York

rh

January 8/56

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Dear Ed:

To you and Fred F. & organization, a salute on the Clinton story, in our "home county" of Anderson. The enclosed letter to Horace Wells may interest you.

As always

Dave

Edward R. Murrow
CBS

52N

TENNESSEE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE
NASHVILLE

FRANK G. CLEMENT
GOVERNOR

January 14, 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I watched your See It Now program on "Clinton and the Law", on one of our local stations yesterday. It had been delayed one week due to previous program commitments.

I realized after watching it that there was certainly no need for any concern on our part, as perhaps was evidenced in my recent telephone conversation with you. This was indeed in the Murrow tradition--clear, objective, factual and hard hitting. It was a valuable case study on a complex, moral, sociological, educational and political problem. While the program did no preaching, it was still a very powerful lesson in brotherhood for those who had the discernment to see it.

Congratulations on a masterful job of reporting, and I hope that you and your excellent staff will see fit to return to Clinton a year from now and do a follow-up show. I feel confident that by then the heros of your documentary, the principal, the pastor, the editor, and all the others, will still be there, still guiding their community toward harmony, while the John Kaspers, et al, will be nothing more than an evil memory. And yet without the Kaspers in our lives, few of us would realize the true value of the democracy in which we live; that with all its faults it is something worth fighting for.

Sincerely yours,

Howard E. Anderson

HEA:mr

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"SEE IT NOW"
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Marshall, Glen

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Fred Friendly

from: Mr. Jones

January 17, 1957

I thought perhaps you and Ed Murrow might like to glance at the attached correspondence sent to us through Glenn Marshall, Jr., of Jacksonville, Florida.

MERLE S. JONES

MSJ:mjw

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

MERLE S. JONES
President

January 15, 1957

Mr. Glenn Marshall, Jr.
Station WMBR
Broadcast House
Jacksonville 7, Florida

Dear Glenn:

Thank you for sending along the letter you received from the Florida Council on Human Relations.

Looking forward to seeing you before too long.

Sincerely,

/s/ MERLE S. JONES.

MSJ:mjw
bcc: Mr. Salant

WMBR

Radio and Television

BROADCAST HOUSE · JACKSONVILLE 7, FLORIDA

GLENN MARSHALL, JR.
President of WMBR

RECEIVED

JAN 14 1957

MERLE S. JONES

January 11, 1957

Mr. Merle Jones, President
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Merle:

I am enclosing a letter that we received from the Florida Council on Human Relations which is addressed to CBS Television but as this does not look like a copy, I am assuming that the envelope was addressed to WMBR. I am retaining a copy of it for my files but thought you would like to have the original as it represents a very fine expression on a most delicate subject in this area of the United States.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Glenn

Glenn Marshall, Jr.

GMJr:rl

Enclosure

1 - Pat

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M.D., Tampa
MRS. MAYME E. WILLIAMS
Teacher, Miami
MRS. WARREN ZEUCH
Vero Beach

January 8, 1957

CBS Television Network
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Through this medium we wish to commend and thank you for your January 5th presentation of "Clinton and the Law - a study of desegregation by Messrs. Murrow and Friendly on the "See it Now" program.

Even though your general news presentations have made an outstanding contribution in objectively presenting the Southern controversy over desegregation, it is certainly gratifying to have you devote a special program to depicting the efforts of law-abiding Southerners as opposed to the lawless elements in the desegregation struggle. We certainly feel that it did much toward stimulating better interracial understanding and good will, and we hope it will serve to be a beginning of similar presentations.

For your information, ours is a statewide interracial organization working to promote harmony, understanding and equality of opportunity among all the people of the state. One of our brochures is enclosed for your review.

You have our sincere best wishes for a continuation of much success and happiness and many blessings. If at any time we can be of assistance to you, please do not be modest about contacting us.

Sincerely yours,

Wm K Williams

Wm. K. Williams, Exec. Dir.

Howard D. Roberts

Howard D. Roberts, Assoc. Dir.

HDR/ck

Affiliated with Southern Regional Council

Keckeisen

Florida Council on Human Relations

324 South Beach Street

Daytona Beach, Florida

affiliated with

Southern Regional Council

OUR PURPOSE:

To "WORK IT OUT LIKE GROWN-UPS"

The Florida Council stands for a calm, studied approach to the problems of the South. It believes the peaceful evolution of better race conditions in the South can best be brought about by the interracial conscience of the South, and that Southerners of both races can take the lead in solving their own problems.

OUR METHOD:

The Council works through education, fact finding and intelligent persuasion. It does not pressure for legislation, it carries on no court action, and it uses no pressure group tactics. It undertakes to do for Florida what the SRC has been doing for the South: "Search out the facts, and turn the light of reason upon problems which too often have been approached only on the basis of feeling."

OUR POLICY:

The Florida Council realizes that in Florida, with its great population consisting of large numbers of people of every race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry, there is no greater danger to the state, and its citizens than the existence of groups prejudiced against one another and antagonistic to each other because of these differences.

The Council will work for mutual understanding and respect among all groups in Florida. It will seek to eliminate prejudice, discrimination and disorder and give effect to the guarantee of equal rights for all, assured by the Constitution and the laws of Florida and of the USA.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic legislative, religious and educational means.

OUR ROOTS:

The Florida Council, datin
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Among them were Dr. M. A
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Charles S. Johnson, president
and Dr. Howard W. Odum, pr
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The Florida Council in turn
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D. Wing, Episcopal Church;
president of Florida A & M Co
Cooper Gibbs, Mrs. Henry H
M. M. White, Jacksonville;
Tampa; Rev. John D. Culmer

The Florida Council is one
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GENERAL OBJECTIVES:

To create representative bodies of white and Negro citizens to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his every day life.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

To present the facts about the state, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the state.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Floridans of all races.

To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities.

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations and religious persuasions.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES:

1. To take steps regarding the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court about segregation with particular emphasis on education and counseling on a local level.
2. To make surveys and stimulate programs to improve opportunities for all people in the areas of:
   Education
   Employment
   Health
   Housing
   Law enforcement
   Public Services, and
   Recreation
3. To protect individual rights and liberties.

Regional Council is assisting the 12 states affiliates' efforts to establish state offices with full time professional staff. Through the leadership of Dr. Paul F. Finner, chairman of the Florida Council, this step was completed in August, 1955.

MEMBERSHIP BLANK

Fla. Council on Human Relations
324 South Beach St., Daytona Beach, Fla.

Believing in the principles and aims of the FCHR, I would like to become a

Single Member .....($5.00)
Joint Member .....($7.50)
(Husband & Wife)

Student .....($2.00)
Contributor .....($)

(Each membership includes subscription to "New South" a publication issued monthly by the Southern Regional Council.)

Full Name..... Street .....

City..... County..... Occupation.....

Check Money Order Cash

"Why I Belong to the FCHR"

Because no problem facing our state and nation is more important to the preservation of the free world and the success of democracy, and because I believe the problem can only be solved through education at the local level I am a member of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Right thinking people of both races by working together can solve the problem to the ultimate benefit of all of our citizens.

THE RT. REV. HENRY I. LOUITT
Bishop of South Florida
Episcopal Church

The program of the Florida Council stresses mutual understanding, harmony and good will in the preservation of law and order during a critical period.

PAUL F. FINNER
Professor Emeritus, F.S.U.

I belong to the Florida Council of Human Relations because of what I believe is its sincere Interest in, and its Sane approach to the problems of the People.

W. C. TAYLOR
Mortician Belle Glade

I belong to the Florida Council because I have seen terrific tensions develop between racial, religious, and nationality groups in our community and in our state. There is a great need for some organized effort to relieve these tensions when they develop and better still to prevent them from devloping. The Florida Council represents such an effort. It will do much to maintain harmonious human relations in our state.

CAXTON DOGGETT
Minister, Rader Memorial Methodist Church, Miami, Fla.

I am active in the Florida Council of Human Relations because it is made up of men and women who try earnestly to demonstrate in their daily lives the principles of true democracy and Christianity by treating people of all races and religions as neighbors. We hold that the rights of all men are inseverably linked so that we cannot harm nor degrade nor torment one individual from among all the millions on this planet without in some degree wounding each of the others. For our country to achieve its possibilities all its people of all races and all religions must work together for the betterment of all. To act otherwise is to demonstrate our denial of a belief in democracy.

THOMAS DREIER
1011 Brightwaters Blvd.
St. Petersburg Editor & Writer

I belong to the Florida Council on Human Relations because I believe it to be the best vehicle for solving of Interracial problems Southwide, Statewide, and on the local community level.

I. H. BURNEY
Vice President Afro-American
Life Insurance Company

I belong to the Florida Council on Human Relations because, as a Christian, I am anxious every man shall share equally in all the blessings of a great democracy and that there shall be real brotherhood regardless of nationality or skin color. Since a group such as Florida Council can help to put these beliefs into action and that inspiration and strength comes from such a group, it is a true benefit to be a member.

MRS. C. W. WHITE, Jacksonville

I belong to the Fla. Council of Human Relations because I want to work effectively toward bringing the American principles of equality of opportunity and human dignity into full recognition and practice in Florida. This is an obligation to myself and to my state even more than to the large part of our population to whom the benefits of equality and dignity have been systematically denied.

MRS. NATHAN C. STARR, Gainesville

McDade, H.T.

SEN

January 16, 1957

Dear Mr. McDade:

Thank you for your gracious letter about our report on Clinton. The response to it has been mature and altogether favorable.

It is not disrespectful to my present sponsor, and no more than the truth to say that I never expect again to have such a close, cordial, and comfortable relationship with a sponsor as we had with Alcoa.

Thank you again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. H. T. McDade
Public Relations Manager
Aluminum Company of America
P. O. Box 463
Alcoa, Tennessee

rh

Turner, Paul W.
S I N

January 9, 1957

Dear Reverend Turner:

My partner, Fred Friendly, has shown me your letter of December 21st. By now you will have seen our report on Clinton and trust that you will not feel your confidence in our reporters and editorial judgment was misplaced.

Sincerely yours,

Reverend Paul W. Turner
First Baptist Church
Clinton
Tennessee

rh

ERM
f41

First Baptist Church
PAUL W. TURNER, PASTOR
CLINTON, TENN.

December 21, 1956

Mr. Fred Friendly
CBS 485 Madison Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

It has been a great and wonderful delight to have your staff, headed by Mr. Arthur Morse, here in Clinton for the last three weeks. As I said to him a few minutes ago by telephone, what you have done in filming our "situation" may be considered mutually beneficial, to you as a good program and to us as a nation's vindication of our townsfolk.

The two teams have been extraordinarily courteous and personable. You can be proud of them in their representation of CBS.

We look forward to January 6, when all eyes will be on "See It Now."

Yours sincerely,

Paul W. Turner

Paul W. Turner
Pastor

PWT:cl

Waring, T.R.
S SW

The News and Courier
ESTABLISHED 1803
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

THOMAS R. WARING
EDITOR

Jan. 22, 1957.

Mr. Fred W. Friendly,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Friendly:

Thank you for your offer to let us see a film of Ed Murrow's report on Clinton, Tenn.

Since the article to which you refer appeared, several of us on the staff had an opportunity to see a private showing of it. We all thought it was skillfully done.

The report contains much that we consider propaganda for racial integration -- done with subtle restraint that, in our view, is unfortunately quite effective. I say "unfortunately" because we are committed to the belief that separation of the races is in the interest of people both white and Negro.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

T.R.Waring,
Editor.

Waring, J. R.
55/N

January 18, 1957

Dear Mr. Waring:

One of your readers was kind enough to send us a copy of your editorial of January 8 having to do with SEE IT NOW's recent television program called "Clinton and the Law".

Having read your Harpers article last year, Ed Murrow and I were, naturally, very interested in your comments and we should be equally interested in knowing what your reaction would be to the actual program. If you would care to view the film, we should be delighted to send you either a 16 or 35 millimeter print. A letter to Murrow or me at the above address will cause the film to be in your office within forty-eight hours.

Respectfully,

Fred W. Friendly

Mr. T. R. Waring
Editor
Charleston News & Courier
Charleston, South Carolina

FWF/hlt

"See It Now"
Wells, Dorothy

October 1, 1957

Dear Mrs. Wells:

Many thanks for your kind letter of September 20th. I am interested to hear how the fund is to be handled and feel that it is being done in a very sensible way. It was most thoughtful for you to write and tell me about it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Dorothy Wells
Secretary
Clinton Courier News, Inc.
Clinton, Tennessee

mcc

September 20, 1957

Mr. Ed Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Now that fall is here again, the Clinton Parent Teacher Association has held its first meeting since the receipt of your most generous gift of $5,000 to be used as a Student Scholarship Fund, and the first order of business was the authorization of this letter to you to express our sincere appreciation for your generosity.

Needless to say that at the time the gift was announced originally, all of us in Clinton who are interested in the welfare of our school and the students there, were thrilled and grateful to you and to Mr. Friendly for your thoughtful and most helpful contribution.

We thought you would like to know that a committee of leading citizens experienced in handling scholarship awards is being organized to select those who are to benefit from the fund. Tentatively, it has been agreed that the money is to be loaned to worthy applicants, and to be repaid in order that it may be available over the years. Pending completion of our plans, the money has been placed in a savings account at the local bank.

May we again tell you that your gift is warmly appreciated, and will be disbursed carefully, making it possible for your generosity to be effective over the years in better educating the young people of this community and through education providing a better understanding between all of our people.

Yours very truly,

Dorothy P. Wells

Mrs. H. V. Wells Jr.
Secretary

Wilkins, Roy

FDR

January 16, 1957

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

Thank you for your letter about our report on Clinton. The response to that particular program was one of the most encouraging things that I have seen in a long while.

Thank you for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40 Street
New York 18, New York

rh

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

January 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am very grateful to you for the superb "See It Now" program on January 6 entitled, "Clinton, Tenn., and the Law."

This was a powerful exposition in a most persuasive manner of the American heritage of freedom, and the present threat to it which has arisen in some sections of our country.

Even if I were not who I am and did not have a special interest in the developing crisis, I would still, as an American, be thankful for your use of the medium of television to underscore Americanism.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison
New York, N. Y.

rw/mdj

NAACP
Fight For Freedom

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"SEE IT NOW"

BURMA, BUDDHISM, NEUTRALISM

February 3, 1957

521
Melody, Ward B

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION

Washington 25, D. C.

March 7, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks. Your correction on loans to Burma was most gracious - and effective.

Sincerely yours,

Ward B. Melody

Ward B. Melody
Assistant Director of Public Reports

520

CBS TELEVISION

Melody Ward B

Office Communication

to: Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. Murrow

February 26, 1957

Following is insert for SEE IT NOW, Sunday. Doesn't matter where it goes, but I suggest the very end of the show.

"Last month during a program on Burma this reporter said, 'Burma now desires United States aid but insists on paying it back, and unfortunately there is no category for this.'

I was wrong. The International Cooperation Administration informs me that we have offered a twenty five million dollar credit to Burma to be repaid over a forty year period with interest, and we have offered to lend Burma more than seventeen million dollars in Burmese currency.

I should have checked more closely with Washington. It must have been a case of the eyes of a fool being on the ends of the earth."

E.R.M.

rh

565

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
Washington 25, D. C.

February 20, 1957

J. J.: thought they have an!

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your far-reaching "See It Now" television program of February 3, 1957, which featured Burma, has brought us a flurry of queries regarding our ability to extend foreign aid in the form of loans, particularly to Burma.

Reading the script of your February 3 show we note you stated that "Burma now desires United States aid but insists on paying it back and unfortunately there is no category for this."

The script quotes in part the reply of Louis Walinsky, whom you introduced as an American economist employed by the Burmese, as follows:

"The United States has helped Burma -- wants to help her now. Burma wants to pay for the help she gets. To me it's ironic that it is easier for us to extend aid on a gift basis or on a grant plus loans basis than on a loans repayable basis."

The queries we have received, and are still receiving, from private citizens, housewives and businessmen and from members of Congress who have had complaints from their constituents, attest that an erroneous impression was left with a great many people to the detriment of the foreign aid program.

The facts are that ICA can and does make loans to foreign countries, and is under a mandate of Congress to utilize loans wherever possible.

Burma is interested in repaying what she receives, and it is on this basis that talks with Burma are presently under way. We hope and expect these talks to be successfully concluded shortly.

The United States has offered a $25 million line of credit to Burma from ICA funds, to be repaid over a 40-year period with interest; and in addition, the United States has offered to lend to Burma the equivalent of $17.3 million in Burmese currency, derived from the proceeds of the sale to Burma of surplus American agricultural commodities under the terms of Public Law 480.

ICA has concluded loan agreements with foreign countries amounting to $112,500,000 during the first half of this fiscal year.

More than $2 billion in foreign aid funds have been used as loans rather than grants since the Marshall Plan started in mid-1948, and principal and interest collections have totaled over $176 million. Because principal and interest payments do not begin until the fourth year of such loans, these figures represent collections only on loans made from 1948 through 1953.

We are certain that you did not intend either to state our case erroneously or to bring unjustified criticism against the foreign aid program, and it will be greatly appreciated if you can help us get the facts to your "See It Now" audience.

Sincerely yours,

Ward B. Melody

Ward B. Melody
Acting Director of Public Reports

Niven, Paul.
SIN

July 3, 1956

Mr. Paul Niven
Room 1703
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Niven:

Your photographs arrived this morning. I am therefore sending today by special delivery both your passport which is duly visaed for Burma, and the document which you will have to present to immigration authorities on arrival at Rangoon. I also enclose some information materials on Burma which you can read during the voyage.

We have not yet received a reply to the cable concerning your visit to Burma. While we have every expectation that our proposal will go through, the regulations, as I explained to you before, require the approval of the Government for a visit such as yours. Should the reply from Rangoon arrive after you sail on the 5th, I will get in touch with you at your London address without fail.

With Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Than Hla

(U Than Hla)
Counselor

UTHHbac

c.c.
Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

2801

See It now

Confidential

Published by The Economist Newspaper Limited,
22, Ryder Street,
St. James's, London, S.W.1.

December 6th, 1956.

Foreign Report

CONTENTS

Polish Approaches
Washington and the Himalayas
Nepal on the Knife-edge
Who Pays for Salvage?
Burma's Jaundiced View of Barter

Polish Approaches

Three aspects of the Gomulka government's latest activities are being closely scrutinised by observers anxious to assess the future course of Poland's national policy. They are:

1. New attitudes toward Western Germany,
2. New relations with the Catholic church, and
3. New trends in trade with the free world.

The latest development in relations between Warsaw and Rome is the papal announcement that five bishops are being appointed to assist the Polish Primate in regard to Silesia, Pomerania and the other territories taken from Germany in 1945. This is seen as clear evidence not merely of (*a*) the *rapprochement* between Church and State in Poland symbolised by the reinstatement of Cardinal Wyszynski, but of (*b*) Poland's success in getting the Vatican to persuade German Catholics to modify their opposition to any papal action that even indirectly implied acceptance of the Oder-Neisse frontier.

This fits into the pattern of increasingly numerous, practical and frank contacts and exchanges between Poland and the Federal Republic. For several months there have been unofficial and informal discussions between Poles and West Germans, with journalists of both nationalities acting as intermediaries on occasion. Officials of the two governments have also met and talked at private houses in West Berlin.

It now seems possible that in 1957 the setting of Bonn-Warsaw relations on a new footing will get off to a practical start. But an exchange of consular representatives or missions, not of ambassadors, would be the only possible move in the immediate future; the West German government recently declared that it was not possible to envisage full diplomatic relations. Both sides, however, have an obvious interest in continuing to explore new possibilities.

But diplomats at the UN and in western capitals believe there is a long way to go yet before there can be a settlement of the basic German-Polish issues, for these involve (*a*) the definitive settlement of the frontier, and (*b*) the whole broad question of German reunion and Soviet withdrawal from central Europe. But Warsaw is trying to establish some kind of relations with the Federal Republic without reference to the frontier. At one recent encounter, the German asked if an exchange of consuls or diplomats would be construed as implying recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier. The Pole said "no." He cited precedents for full diplomatic relations between nations whose frontiers were in dispute.

Two German inquiries made during these unofficial talks concerned (*a*) a "cultural condominium"—essentially, the reopening of German schools, financed from the Federal Republic, in the territories taken by Poland; and (*b*) a suggestion that some 80,000 to 100,000 displaced German families be allowed to go back to these territories. The Poles rejected both ideas. They might, they said, allow a few Germans to rejoin relatives in the Oder-Neisse territories, just as some Poles had been allowed to join their families in Western Germany. But they argued that to re-admit 100,000 families would revive the national minority problem.

TOO BIG A BITE?

A further Polish argument for refusing to yield an inch on the Oder-Neisse line is that it would be unthinkable to write off the huge effort that has been put into rehabilitating the "regained territories." Some Germans, however, point out that the effort has been too much for Poland. They can quote official Polish evidence of this failure—e.g. a Warsaw broadcast on November 25th which referred to "stagnation" in the territories since 1948, to failure "to raise the new settlers to the cultural level of the local population," and even to the mistake of "treating the western territories as an integral, unchangeable part of Poland."

Gomulka's Poland seems at least to be putting the Oder-Neisse problem in a more realistic light by modifying the picture, dear to communist propagandists, of a Western Germany restrained from making war to recover Silesia and Pomerania only by the might of the Red Army. The new picture is less over-simplified. Thus, on November 23rd, the Polish communist organ, *Trybuna Ludu*, printed an article insisting that "there can be no mention of peace in Europe while German revisionism, if only in thought, reaches out beyond the Oder and Neisse"; but, in the same issue, the paper's own correspondent in Western Germany wrote that:

> "The flourishing prosperity in Western Germany, the almost total absence of unemployment, the great improvement in living standards in recent years, and especially the stabilising of the livelihood of many resettlers (i.e. deportees from territories taken by Poland), means that more and more Germans regard the Oder-Neisse problem as less urgent, and the revisionist and revanchist campaign finds less and less response."

At the same time there is a visible eagerness to revive economic links with Western Germany (while leaving it to Russia to salvage the East German "Democratic Republic," which the Poles are no longer willing to help to keep afloat). The Polish-West German trade protocol signed on November 16th allows for an increase in trade up to $70 million each way, and the Poles plan to switch to Western Germany coal

which was formerly earmarked for Russia. On both sides there is a cautious interest in possible German investment in Poland. The Poles seem fully alive to Germany's obvious interest in helping them become less economically dependent on Russia.

AID, NOT TRADE?

Even before Mr. Gomulka spoke at Katowice this week about Poland's economic plight and urgent need for foreign credits, there was plenty of evidence that his government was anxiously looking not only to Western Germany but also to the West as a whole for help. Mr. Jacobs, the American ambassador in Warsaw, has been discussing trade questions with Mr. Joseph Winiewicz, the Polish under-secretary for foreign affairs. US economic aid has also been the subject of private talks. These have continued regardless of Gomulka's speech on November 29th, in which he demanded the cancellation of Poland's outstanding postwar debts to western countries, and made play with the fact that he had got Russia to write off "debts"—which in fact arose from postwar Soviet exploitation of Poland (see last week's FOREIGN REPORT).

Outwardly, the Gomulka government claims to seek only trade, or, at most, normal short term commercial credits; "aid" is formally spurned because of the political implications. But in private at least one Polish representative has mooted the hope of a US loan of $150 million, a figure which Washington is not ready to accept. Gomulka and his colleagues are daily becoming more realistic both about their need for western supplies and their inability to pay for them. Output of coal, a staple export, has slumped catastrophically. Coal exports ran to 27 million tons in 1950; in 1956, 24½ million was expected but only 19½ million, at best, will be exported; in 1957, exports will be nearer 14 million tons than the target figure, already scaled down, of 16½ million. This week an official commentator derided "wishful thinking" about the prospects of closing the trade gap by doubling exports of chemicals and industrial equipment; it would not be easy, he said, to "find buyers for our equipment, which, to be honest, is not the most modern." With a slight air of desperation, he urged that foreign exchange should be earned by expanding tourism and shipping services. (Yet ships are one of the big items on Poland's new "shopping lists"—and few shipyards today have surplus shipbuilding capacity.)

British and other western firms have lately been struck by the changed character of Warsaw's "shopping lists." Previously, virtually all Polish inquiries had been for heavy machinery or machine tools, many of them suited to armaments manufacture. But during November there were many inquiries about machinery for making consumer goods and for building equipment. One such "shopping list" included machines and presses for producing glass bricks, fire-proof material, and various forms of plastic products. A charge now being levelled at "Stalinists" who are being "purged" from Polish trade organisations is that of acting merely as middlemen for Russia, and, specifically, of buying quantities of copper and similar strategic raw materials on Russia's behalf, often paying inflated prices which contributed to Poland's present foreign exchange crisis.

Simultaneously, however, the Poles are making frantic inquiries in the West for scrap and iron ore. (Unfortunately for them, at this season the market is particularly tight, for big 12-month contracts for 1957 have already been placed.) According to Polish experts, this scramble for scrap and ore is due to the fact that Russia, having

had to abandon its practice of getting Polish steel from Nowa Huta at cut rates, has now stopped supplying scrap and ore to Poland. Some of the big furnaces at Nowa Huta may already have been put out. Meanwhile the Poles face the problem of finding profitable markets for the steel which they are no longer willing to sell cheap to Russia. They hope to get a fair price from China, if possible in dollars; a director of Nowa Huta was among the numerous Polish trade envoys who have flown to Peking in recent weeks.

The questions that confront western officials dealing with Gomulka's economic approaches are:

(i) What chance is there of any credits now extended being repaid by a government which will be under continued pressure from below for better living standards? (There is little optimism about this.)

(ii) Will even the most generous western aid (within the limits of what is practicable) suffice to save the Gomulka government from a collapse, under internal pressures, which might mean that all the aid given to Poland would be lost in the ensuing chaos?

(iii) When there are so many other (e.g. Asian) applicants for help, how much interest has the West in keeping afloat a regime which, while claiming to have " gone further than Jugoslavia in some respects," is still economically and militarily bound to Russia and hostile to the free world?

Thus the western decision must ultimately be a political one. And the course the Gomulka government sets in the next few crucial weeks will be the decisive factor.

Washington and the Himalayas

When Mr. Nehru is in Washington the week after next, he will have more to do than to urge that Communist China be seated in the United Nations and to canvass its latest plan for assimilating Formosa. His decision in October to pay this visit reflected a new awareness of India's need to regain American friendship. Since then, the Anglo-French embroilment in Egypt has made both India and the United States even more eager for good relations. But Washington will not find it easy to agree with some of the Indian Prime Minister's ideas, which are reported to include:

1. The Formosa plan (autonomy until Chiang dies, then incorporation into Communist China).
2. The giving of only economic, as opposed to military, aid to Pakistan.
3. A more understanding American attitude on Kashmir.

Before the Egyptian conflict, Delhi was unruffled by Karachi's new approaches to the UN on the Kashmir question. It was confident that the problem was solving itself (in India's favour) and that Pakistan was helpless to change the course of events. Then the fighting in Egypt led Indians to fear that, in the context of general international disarray, Pakistan would have " another shot at Kashmir." Indian border forces were alerted. Nervousness persisted even after the immediate crisis had passed. Now, Pakistan's latest initiatives on the UN plane have made India eager for maximum international sympathy on Kashmir. But India cannot expect to get far by arguing the case on legal and moral grounds when the Americans are now

preoccupied with the strengthening of the authority of the UN—which India is defying over Kashmir.

A more hopeful line of argument for India is the strategic importance of the whole Himalayan frontier of the free world. It can emphasise the need for stability and security in Kashmir in the light of:

1. Reports that half a million Chinese have already been settled in Tibet, and that five million settlers are "planned" within the next few years. (There are only about one million Tibetans.)
2. The Indian communists' strategy, developed since the Telengana rebellion failed, of building up a northern "stronghold" with its back to the Himalayas.
3. China's wooing of Nepal, and the generally uncertain outlook there (see next article).

If Nepal passes out of India's sphere of influence, Kashmir, which also faces both ways across the great mountain barrier, will acquire even more strategic importance. Even some observers who regard Pakistan's claims as justified believe that Kashmir is probably safer in the hands of the Indian army, which has two crack divisions there. Some also share Delhi's view that a plebiscite would mean communal bloodshed and chaos—and a fresh chance for the communists. They also believe that there would be a popular uprising if Sheikh Abdullah was released from jail, perhaps even if he was given a trial. (Last August, on the third anniversary of his arrest, hundreds of arrests were made after Kashmiri demonstrations in his favour.) Observers who accept these realities do not necessarily either approve of the present Kashmir government's police-state techniques, or believe that India will succeed in winning over the Kashmiris by economic bounty (though some reckon that if a plebiscite were held now, Srinagar, where improvements have been lavished, might already opt for India, while the rural areas would still choose Pakistan). But they do agree that any disorderly transfer of power in Kashmir would endanger the security of this sector of the boundary between the communist and the free worlds.

For the Americans, however, the problem remains (as indicated in FOREIGN REPORT last week) not just how to be friends with Asia, but which Asians they can be friendly with. This problem is very acute in the case of Kashmir. Many normally "neutral" Asians, in general aligned with India rather than with Pakistan, nevertheless condemn India's Kashmir policy. Hitherto, UN discussion of Kashmir has always taken place in the Security Council, where at most only two Asian countries have had to declare their stand. If the dispute now comes before the Assembly, it will have much graver effects than Hungary on the unity of the Asian-Arab bloc.

Nepal on the Knife-edge

A policy of playing off China against India will be adopted by Nepal if elections there next year are won by the Nepalese Congress Party, which is now the main opposition group. Although the NCP recognises the threat from the north, it has also begun to fear that India's hold on the country may become too tight. The following principles therefore dominate its programme:

1. Alignment with India, *but* complete independence from India.

2. Friendliness towards China, *but* suspicion of Chinese intrigues.

3. Acceptance of economic aid from all sources (Nepal has already financed most of its five-year plan with money from India, China and America).

The NCP's chances of winning the elections (if they are held, which is not yet certain) have been improved by the recent reconciliation between its leaders, Mr. M. P. Koirala and his younger brother Mr. B. P. Koirala. These brothers led the bloodless revolution in 1951 which ousted the long-dominant Rana clan, but spoilt their victory by violent quarrels between themselves over Nepal's dependence on India and the powers to be allowed to the monarchy.

Among the many political factions in Katmandu, the party's chief rivals for power are (*a*) the party now in power, the Praja Parishad; and (*b*) Dr. K. I. Singh, the "dark horse from Peking." It views their electoral chances thus:

A.—The conservative *Praja Parishad*, under the leadership of the present prime minister, Tanka Prasad Acharya, holds only two strong cards:

1. The support of King Mahendra, who put the prime minister in office earlier this year and whose influence keeps him there. The young king is worshipped in Nepal, but it is doubtful how far this reflected glory will spread to the government's candidates in an election.

2. The loan of £4½ million (without strings) which the prime minister obtained when he recently visited Peking. The NCP fear that this money will be used to bribe the electorate.

But the party has failed to produce efficient administration or effective land reform, and it has no real hold over the country.

B.—For Dr. Singh, this discontent over the inefficiency of the present regime is a powerful weapon. He has a strong personal following, partly because of his stout opposition to the Rana regime in the old days; partly because of the vigour and skill of his political campaigning since he returned a year ago from three years of refuge in China. His policy since his return has been to: (*a*) deny any connection with the communists; and (*b*) emphasise his friendship for India (he was formerly a violent opponent of Indian influence). But the NCP say that:

1. This posture has been assumed merely to deceive India and prevent it vetoing his rise to power.

2. His long stay in China has, in fact, made him a convinced communist and he is only biding his time to declare himself.

Dr. Singh's chances in the election have been improved by: (*a*) the large funds he is believed to have brought back from China; and (*b*) the fact that the present king is less devoted to alignment with India than was his father (it was King Mahendra who secretly negotiated Dr. Singh's amnesty with Peking). The NCP's worst fear is that the young king's open-mindedness and the people's discontent will enable Dr. Singh to get into power, and that he will then show his true communist colours and Nepal will slip under Chinese control.

Who Pays for Salvage?

Britain, France and Egypt will each be asked to shoulder a large part of the cost of clearing the Suez Canal if the payments scheme devised by Mr. John McCloy is accepted by the United Nations. Since the total cost is unofficially reckoned at $40 million, the burden will be a sizeable one.

Mr. McCloy, chairman of the Chase Manhattan bank, is the financial expert on the UN committee of three organising the canal clearance project (the technical expert is Lieut.-General Wheeler, engineering consultant to the World Bank; the administrator, a South African on the staff of the UN Secretariat, Mr. Alfred Katzin). Before he produced his plan, the United Nations was confronted with two diametrically opposite proposals, namely:

(i) That Britain and France—and perhaps Israel—should foot the whole bill (proposed by the Soviet bloc and some Arab states).

(ii) That Egypt should pay, by allowing the canal tolls to be used for the purpose (proposed by several western representatives and supported by the British and French).

It was obvious that both these suggestions would be turned down. But Mr. McCloy has now propounded a compromise solution, to the effect that:

1. The canal users would pay part of their fees into a special canal clearance fund, *but*
2. Payments would not be calculated solely on the basis of tonnage passing through the canal, *and*
3. Britain and France would have to carry an extra share of the cost.

Although Egypt, as the country directly responsible for blocking the canal, is expected to contribute a large share towards its clearance, there is no suggestion of depriving Egypt of all revenue from the canal. To allow both for some revenue for Egypt and for the clearance fund, toll rates will therefore presumably have to be raised. But a flat increase would put a disproportionately heavy burden on countries, such as Norway, which account for much of the traffic through the canal but are in no way responsible for it being blocked. The implication of the McCloy formula is that the toll will be raised more for Britain and France than for the other canal users. Thus, while all users would contribute, the plan is weighted against Britain, France and Egypt.

Israel's position in this scheme is interesting. If Egypt continued to refuse to allow Israeli vessels through the canal, Israel would presumably pay nothing towards its clearance. This might prove a useful argument for persuading Egypt to drop its veto.

Mr. McCloy's scheme presupposes the raising of a substantial loan, since the salvage contractors cannot be asked to wait for payment until the canal is making money again. The World Bank is the obvious source of a loan of this size, and Mr. McCloy is said to have already been in communication with the bank's president, Mr. Eugene Black. Since Mr. McCloy himself is a past president of the bank, his request will carry weight.

Burma's Jaundiced View of Barter

The Burmese are having long second thoughts about their barter deals with the communist bloc, writes our special correspondent lately in Rangoon. Their disastrous experiences since the arrangements made with Russia and other communist countries last year (see FOREIGN REPORT of August 30th) have led them to wonder whether there is a way of getting out of next year's commitments. Under the 1955 agreements, they are committed to sending 800,000 tons of rice a year to the communist countries, including 400,000 tons to Russia. The cabinet is now debating—not for the first time—whether the communist countries should be asked to settle for only 190,000 tons next year.

Apart from the now notoriously unsatisfactory quality and handling of some of the communist bloc's deliveries to Burma, and the adverse effect on the national economy of long-term deals at fixed prices, the Burmese have three main reasons for wishing to reduce the volume of the barter agreements:

(i) Their rice export surplus next year is expected to be only 1·4 million tons, compared with 2 million in a reasonably good year. The price of rice is expected to harden, and the Burmese do not wish to lose the chance of profiting from any rise.

(ii) Soviet deliveries to Burma had fallen between £4 and £5 million short by the end of September. The Russians have bullied the Czechoslovaks into making up the difference, and an agreement to this effect has been formally reached between Burma, Russia and Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, however, are reported to have been extremely reluctant, and the Burmese are not optimistic about the arrangement.

In comparison with the Russians, the Chinese have been diligent with their deliveries and in fact now have a credit balance with Burma. On the other hand: (*a*) there is a limit to Burma's capacity to make use of such goods and materials as China can provide at its present stage of industrialisation; and (*b*) the Burmese are annoyed by the extent to which China has resold their rice in other countries, where they hoped to find markets themselves. Peking's sales of rice to Ceylon against rubber are an old story; but it is now reported that Burmese rice bought by China is finding its way on to the Singapore market. The Burmese have been stirred to the point of having samples of this rice flown to Rangoon for examination.

(iii) Under the 1955 agreement, the Russians offered to pay 20 per cent of the price of their purchase of Burma's rice in sterling. But they stipulated that the money should be used only for certain specific purposes, such as the upkeep of the Burmese embassy in Moscow and the expenses of Burmese visitors to Russia. The Burmese now see that they are in effect financing part of Russia's propaganda.

Some Rangoon experts would like to reduce Russia's share of Burmese rice in the coming year to as little as 50,000 tons. One well-informed source in Rangoon considers that the Russians are not in a position to raise objections.

The Economist

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"SEE IT NOW"

POLAND, 1957

MARCH 31, 1957

Gauthier, Paul

April 12, 1957

Dear Mr. Gauthier:

I am so happy that you are able to watch our SEE IT NOW efforts.

I have talked over the subject of Dr. Irving P. Krick with my partner, Fred Friendly, and we have come to the conclusion that our schedule for this season is fully booked. We only have two more shows before the summer hiatus. The one in May is on the subject of Puerto Rico and we are in the midst of planning for the June show. However, when we come back in the fall, the weather may be a subject for us to reconsider.

I hope that some time soon again I can get out your way and have a visit with you. Leo Rossi, Ed Scott and the rest of the SEE IT NOW staff send their regards.

Cordially,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Paul Gauthier
The Adams County Free Press
Corning, Iowa

RRM/hlt

T

The Adams County Free Press

5/IV

Paul S. Gauthier, Editor

Corning, Iowa

1 April 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enjoyed your production yesterday on Poland a great deal. In fact, the last two See It Now programs have been masterpieces.

In the midwest and other areas right now, this Dr. Irving P. Krick is one of the hottest items. This might be a source of some sort of program for you some time in the future. I believe this weather modification will be discussed more all the time; am sure it's a coming thing in this part of the country.

Best regards to all including Ed Scott, Leo Rossi and the other boys.

Sincerely,

Paul Gauthier

Paul Gauthier

"SEE IT NOW"

THE PUERTO RICANS - AMERICANS ON THE MOVE

May 5, 1957

J & N

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Friendly

from: Mr. Murrow

April 16, 1957

NOTES ON PUERTO RICO

The men around Munoz are young. There is amazing drive and energy, a sense of mission not unlike the early days of the New Deal -- there is no manana and no siesta -- there is no graft; at least Munoz' principal opponent admitted it was a clean administration, and American businessmen said, "You don't have to pay off anybody down here."

There has never been anything quite like Puerto Rico. It is without precedent, not a state, not a colony, no representation in Washington, no federal taxes. They appear to be proud of their American citizenship, and at the same time conscious of their Spanish heritage, and the leaders at least believe they have a unique role to play in relation to the United States and the Latin American countries.

The variety of topography is staggering. Within ten minutes flying time there is impenetrable jungle, fertile land irrigation, desert, seaside, everything but snow.

The status of Puerto Rico is a tribute to the flexibility of the United States Constitution, and it can move in any direction. I think we should make mention that under certain circumstances the Puerto Rican vote in New York might well determine the election of a governor or a senator.

The reason for the low rate of juvenile delinquency in Puerto Rico is the same throughout most of Asia; namely, that in large families the kids have a job to do, even if it's only taking care of the younger ones.

Munoz estimates privately that there may be a hundred men in both Houses of Congress that may know something about Puerto Rico but not more than a half dozen who are really knowledgeable. Munoz is troubled about his own party, not because of collusion or incompetence but because he has been in power a long time and has tended to grow soft. No one is willing to speculate as to his successor.

The house on stage right of Munoz' residence was started by Ponce de Leon, but he never saw it since he pushed off to Florida looking for the Fountain of Youth before it was finished. Munoz must have come as close to finding the Fountain as any politician I have ever met. I think, by the way, his heart

is still in the hill country because they are the people who brought him to power. I think what he says about both communists and terrorists in Puerto Rico is accurate, although Gene will know better about this.

We may already have it in the New York section, but I think we ought to have someone for a minute or two do a definitive piece on the Puerto Rican crime rate in the city.

E.R.M.

rh

S/N
Sontheimer, Morton

July 1, 1957

Dear Mort,

Many thanks for your cordial letter of May 31st. I am glad that you thought the Puerto Rico program was a good effort. The over-all reaction was most satisfactory.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Morton Sontheimer
P. O. Box 8556
Fdz. Juncos Station
San Juan, Puerto Rico

mec

Puerto Rico News Service

REPLY TO:
P. O. BOX 8556
FDZ. JUNCOS STATION
SAN JUAN, P. R.

CABLE ADDRESS: HAMWRIGHT, SAN JUAN
TELEPHONE: 3-1060

505 BANCO POPULAR BLDG.
STOP 22
AVE. PONCE DE LEÓN
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO

"For the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico"

May 31, 1957

Mr. Ed Murrow
See It Now
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed Murrow:

Now that the din and shouting over your Puerto Rico program has died down somewhat, I would like to say that in my opinion you and your people did a first rate job - objective, interesting and in its over-all effect of considerable benefit to the Puerto Ricans. Thank you for sending me the kinescope.

I enjoyed your visit here and hope that somehow you will be able to arrange to come down again.

Cordially yours,

Morton Sontheimer

ms:s

Sir

16 KNXT- NY 10/16/58

OFFICE OF

FR ~~ED FRIENDLY AND~~ ED MURROW

IS IT NOW POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN PRINT OF PROGRAM "SEE IT NOW" MAY 5, 1957 ON "PUERTO RICANS" FOR PRIVATE SHOWING TO SOCIOLOGY DEPT. OF UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

ALEX RUNCIMAN

STAFF DIRECTOR

KNXT

92

RECEIVED
1958 OCT 16 PM 3:13
C B S TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

"SEE IT NOW"

AUTOMATION: WEAL or WOE

June 9, 1957

COPY: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

S I N
Abbott, Charles + Assoc.

Charles Abbott and Associates
MINERALS - ORES - INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

Cable Address: "CHARABBOT"

29 WEST 74th STREET • NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • Telephone SChuyler 4-5531

2 January, 1958

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Friendly:

I wish to thank you for your letter of September 6, 1957, and for the information on Automation you sent. In having the opportunity of reseeing the program on October 20th I wish to again express my thanks for the wonderful program. And, in addition may I offer my verbal accolade for the most wonderful program "The Lady From Philadelphia" presented last Friday evening.

With reference again to your letter of September 6, 1957, that Automation "also seems to hold out the possibility of a richer life" and "letters such as yours encourage us to investigate subjects of this type, and we look forward to your comments in the future", I wish to present for your consideration the following thoughts for a series which could greatly assist in international understanding and would, I believe, have a large reception in the United States and through your distribution and service facilities in many countries. This would be a series I believe which could easily obtain sponsors, and obtain complete cooperation from overseas governments, banking and commercial interests, etc.

The series could be called "See It Soon", or some other title.

In a report I prepared at the request of BBD&O titled "A Plan For The Establishment of International Advertising & Public Relations Facilities", the following information was included.

> "A large potential foreign business exists for a unique film series which would be jointly sponsored by American firms operating in overseas territories and countries, and local firms in such countries who sell to the United States, or who have branches and subsidiaries here, and the respective governments of the countries. As new investments come into foreign countries, it assists in giving employment, develop technical skills, raises the economy, increases savings, encourages local and joint investments, advances the culture of the country, etc. Therefore, many firms operating overseas are always receptive to new foreign investments in the country because of the increase of their potential market for their products.
>
> Therefore, I believe there will be many U.S. and overseas firms and governments who would jointly sponsor such films. One series could be for "spectacular" TV presentations (90 minutes per program per country), and a series of "shorts" for motion picture, club, organization distribution. All films could be done in color. The films would portray the economic, social and cultural life of the country, as well as the benefits which have accrued due to investments in the country. Since all governments and companies have potential and projected plans for expansion, the final portion of the film could be aimed along the theme of "Things Soon To Come."

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
New York 22, New York

January 2, 1958

"There are many American companies operating abroad through subsidiaries, branches, and distributors. Each month new companies are formed and will go into production within the next 6 to 12 months. In every instance, these firms will require advertising, publicity, promotion and public relations; and funds will be allocated for such purposes not only for the local market and country, but also in other foreign markets. The following gives a brief picture of such factors in a few countries:

AT PRESENT
800 U.S. firms operating in Great Britain
125 U.S. firms in Argentina
700 U.S. firms in Australia
126 U.S. firms in Western Germany
165 new industries established in Venezuela in 1956. During the last 2 years well known U.S. rubber manufacturers have established 3 new plants in Venezuela. General Motors has just purchased property for construction of a new factory, in addition to their plant in Caracas which has been operating for several years. Autolite recently started operations to manufacture batteries. Sudamtex (United Merchants & Manufacturers of New York) expect to start shortly making nylon yarn. Mc Gregor Sports Wear is to open a factory in Caracas, and Giuseppe Sacchi, an Italian firm plans to establish a subsidiary to make silk yarn.

"Brazil: The Manaus Refinery will furnish butane gas for which there is expected to be a large market. As soon as an appreciable inventory of its products is built up, they will begin to distribute its petroleum by-products, including liquid gas.

Germany: Auto Overdrives: Borg-Warner International Corp. has licensed the manufacture of Borg-Warner automotive overdrive by Adlerwerke. They have 3 major manufacturing divisions today, (1) Automotive, (2) Machine Tools, (3) Office Machines. The company will produce units for German automobile manufacturers who are expected to turn out almost 1 million cars in 1957. Potential demand in Germany alone for cars equipped with overdrive is estimated at 200,000 per year, or 20% of that country's current annual output.

Mexico: Pharmaceutical Manufacturing: Laboratories Lederle, S.A. has opened a new manufacturing plant near Mexico City. The new plant covers 70,000 square feet of floor space and are employing 200 Mexican workers. They are manufacturing a variety of drugs and pharmaceuticals including aureomycin, achromycin, etc.

Mexico: Du Mont went into production in Mexico on November 26, 1956. The plant is operated by Corporacion Nacional Distribuidora, S.A., Licensee, who also manufacture Kelvinator refrigerators."

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
New York 22, New York

January 2, 1958

There is, undoubtedly, keen and serious interest on the part of many Americans regarding the international picture and development as well as investment. Of course, not as much as many people would desire, but this could be because people are not presented the facts.

As the special issue of Life Magazine pointed up there are now 580,000 American civilian residents abroad alone or one in every 300 Americans. The bulk of financial involvement, $420-billion has been built up over the past decade. And Mr. Keith Funston, President of New York Stock Exchange stated in a speech within the next 5 years there can be expected something like $90-billion of American investment abroad.

I believe that if a series of TV presentations along the lines outlined would do a great deal in awakening America and be a major step toward international peace. The programs presenting the cultures and background of the peoples, their aims, desires and ambitions, and the results which have been achieved say in the last decade and what is anticipated would go a long long way in a "crash" educational program in America; and would strongly point up the great responsibility America has toward the rest of the world.

I trust the idea for such a series may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles A. Abbott

Charles A. Abbott

cc: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Sim
Cope, W.E.

July 2, 1957

Dear Mr. Chope:

Thank you for your gracious letter of June 14th.

It is always satisfying to receive commendation from experts, particularly when we are dealing with a field in which our ignorance is monumental.

Thanks again for the assistance of yourself and your colleagues.

We have some hope that the program will be repeated in the autumn.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. W.E. Chope
Industrial Nucleonics
1205 Chesapeake Avenue
Columbus 12, Ohio

fc

Industrial Nucleonics Corporation

1205 Chesapeake Avenue
Columbus 12, Ohio

HUdson 8-0671

Office of the President

June 14, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I wish to compliment you for the "bang-up" job you did on the difficult subject of automation. We are proud to have played a part in the over-all story. Your treatment was technically correct and at the same time highly informative and interesting--a blend which is often difficult to obtain.

You have performed a service, I believe, in pointing out the various aspects of this involved subject. Not only was the need for automation made clear, but also the collateral needs, such as proper educational facilities and proper understanding of human values, were adequately covered. We were happy to cooperate in this outstanding program.

Yours sincerely,

W. E. Chope

W. E. Chope

WEC:mw

MERLE S. JONES

Florence:

These are the letters that Mr. Jones asked me to send Mr. Murrow.

He has written letters to: Messrs. Watson, Dunn, Ford, and Diebold, and prints are being sent to them via Paul Rosen's office.

Nancy

To

From

Station

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

Jones, Merle

F-559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

See Dr Now

Prog. Bus.

Mr. Merle S. Jones

Fred Friendly

RECEIVED
JUN 1 8 1957
MERLE S. JONES

June 18, 1957

These are the names I promised to send up to you:

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Chairman of the Board, I.B.M., New York City
Mr. Bert Chope, President, Industrial Nucleonics, Columbus, Ohio
Mr. John Diebold, President, John Diebold & Associates, New York City
Mr. Frances Dunn, Ass't to President, Bell Aircraft, Buffalo, N.Y.

The Ford letter should go to Henry Ford II and should mention the contribution of Nevin Bean, the Ford engineer who reported so graphically on Russian automation. Incidentally, the mimeographed copies of the script have gone into three runnings, and I thought perhaps you might like to have a couple of copies before we run out all together.

Fd

TO: .....

To discuss .....
Return for file .....
F.Y.I. .....
(Record) .....

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Merle Jones

cc: Messrs. Mickelson, Friendly

from: Robert Lang

June 19, 1957

Mr. Seay of Westinghouse has requested the loan of a print of "Automation" through Ed Donaldson of Ketchum, Mac Leod & Grove.

When I requested Mr. Friendly's cooperation in this matter, he informed me you were interested to know of requests for prints of this film and that your office would service same.

Mr. Seay had planned to set up a series of viewings for the principal corporate officers. If, through your office, he can obtain a print for a longer period of time, I am certain Westinghouse would make good use thereof.

RHLang

REL:ad

TO: .....

.....

.....

To discuss.....

Return for file.....

F.Y.I. .....

(Record).....

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Merle Jones

from: Mr. Fred Friendly

June 14, 1957

Money to see Friendly prog

Attached is a list of the organizations' representatives of SEE IT NOW's report on Automation. Thus far, the principal requests for films have come from the I.B.M. people who want to buy a minimum of one hundred, which McGraw Hill is prepared to sell them (as you may know, we have a secondary rights deal for 16mms with McGraw Hill). I do think it would be a good idea to give Mr. Watson a personal copy from either you or Ed, or both. The other peoples who have officially asked for prints thus far, are Bell Aircraft, Ford Motor Company, John Diebold Associates, Industrial Nucleonics and Minnesota Mining Co.

Ed has a considerable amount of personal mail which he has not passed on to me, but I am sure some of them will have requested prints.

Will keep you posted.

— Thomas Watson Jr —

hlt

Ed mention this urgency of IBM

TO:

To discuss

Return for file

F.A.I.

(Record)

ORGANIZATIONS FEATURED ON "AUTOMATION: WEAL OR WOE" May 27, 1957

SUNDAY, JUNE 9, CBS TELEVISION, 5:00-6:30 PM, EDT

Following is a list of 28 industrial firms and allied organizations that will be featured on the special SEE IT NOW program described above:

ORGANIZATION	LOCATION	PROGRAM INTEREST
Airborne Instrument Co.	Mineola, L.I.	Cytoanalyzer
American Can Co. (Bradley Container Corp.)	Maynard, Mass.	Polyetheline containers
American Cancer Society	New York	Cytoanalyzer
American Tel. & Tel.	Englewood, N.J. Teaneck, N.J.	Direct Distance Dialing
Aramco Steel	Middletown, Ohio	Rolled steel, Charles Hook Board Chairman
Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International	Philadelphia	
Bell Aircraft (U.S. Navy)	Buffalo, N.Y.	Automatic pilot for carrier jet landings
Boeing Aircraft	Wichita, Kans.	Making B-47 wing sections
Cornell Medical College	New York	Dr. Papanicolaou, cytodiagnosis
Cross Manufacturing Co.	Detroit	Automotive equipment for auto industry
John Diebold Associates	New York	John Diebold
Ford Motor Company	Dearborn, Mich. Detroit, Mich.	Ford Museum Nevin Bean, Engineer Assembly lines
Freihofer Bakery	Philadelphia	Bread-making, old and new Ross Miller
General Electric Co.	Louisville, Ky. Washington, D.C.	Operation XPC-1 Program Cooking Stove
Giddings & Lewis	Fond Du Lac, Wisc.	Automatic milling machines routing out tail stabilizers
Industrial Nucleonics	Columbus, Ohio	Atomic energy in industry
I.B.M.	New York Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Giant computers: SAGE
Kaganovich Roller Bearings	Moscow, Russia	Fully automated bearing plant
Minn. Mining & Mfg.	St. Paul, Minn.	Manufacture of magnetic tape
North American Aviation	Columbus, Ohio	F-100 stabilizers
Panellit Corp.		Alfred Sperry Automatic oil refinery
Pennsylvania Railroad	Conway, Pa.	Automatic humping
Tidewater Oil Co.	Delaware City, Del.	Automation in oil refinery
U. A. W.	Detroit	Walter Reuther Shop stewart meeting, Local 7
U.S. Air Force (Lincoln Labs)	Lexington, Mass.	SAGE computer system for Air Defense
Westinghouse Electric	Bloomfield, N.J.	Light Bulb manufacture
Wight Grist Mill	Old Sturbridge, Mass.	Restoration of Oliver Evans type grist mill
Wurlitzer Co.		Early one-man band device

TELEPHONE
NIAGARA FALLS · 7851

OFFICES AND FACTORY
NIAGARA FALLS AIRPORT

BELL Aircraft CORPORATION
POST OFFICE BOX ONE BUFFALO 5, NEW YORK

June 14, 1957

Dear Ed:

As far as we here at Bell are concerned, your special automation show was a huge success. The carrier landing people are especially happy about it.

Fact is, we would like to take advantage of such professional work and if possible use two prints of the carrier landing bit as an aid in our program. Is this possible?

My very best to Charlie and the crew.

Cordially,

Swede

A. Gordon Manson
Assistant Director of
Public Relations

Mr. Ed Scott
"See It Now"
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

AGM:dlp

INDUSTRIAL NUCLEONICS CORPORATION

MEMORANDUM

June 11, 1957

To: H. R. Chope

From: D. A. Bossen

Subject: "See It Now" Program

I was informed by Mr. Chester Haug, of Warner and Swasey Company, that the "See It Now" automation program was not shown in the Cleveland area last Sunday. Is it possible that CBS is scheduling this program for showing at other times in other areas?

D. A. Bossen

DAB/jp

cc: W. E. Chope
W. VanHorne
P. Werth

THE OHIO BOXBOARD COMPANY

RITTMAN, OHIO
June 11, 1957

Industrial Nucleonics Corporation
1205 Chesapeake Avenue
Columbus 12, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

We planned on viewing the Edward R. Murrow show "See It Now" on Sunday on C.B.S. Television, in accordance with the announcement you were kind enough to send us.

However, the C.B.S. station in Cleveland did not carry this program.

We were interested in it as possible material to be shown in local high schools for interesting students in studying Science courses. We therefore wondered whether it would be available in film form. If so, we would very much appreciate a copy of the film which we can view here with the idea that we might want to purchase a copy if it were suitable for showing in local high schools.

It is possible that it is too technical for such showing and if that is the case, we would appreciate your advice.

Very truly yours,

L K Burnett

L. K. Burnett, Assistant
To Senior Vice President

LKB/dd

June 13, 1957

Mr. L. K. Burnett
Assistant to Senior Vice President
The Ohio Boxboard Company
Rittman, Ohio

Dear Mr. Burnett:

Thank you for your letter of June 11, expressing interest in the Edward R. Murrow show on Automation. I am sorry that the Cleveland CBS affiliate did not carry this outstanding report as we found it to be most factual and interesting. I can assure you that it would not be too technical for high school audiences.

I would suggest that you contact the program director of your CBS outlet for information as to whether or not there will be a re-telecast at a later date.

Unfortunately, we are unable to inform you as to whether this program will be produced on film; however, I have sent a copy of your letter to Mr. Scott, of "See It Now," for reply. I am certain you will hear from them shortly.

I might also advise you that the United States Chamber of Commerce has just completed production of a film entitled, "The Atom Comes To Town," which I had the privilege of viewing in Washington, D. C., a few weeks back. While this program does not deal with the subject of automation, it does give an excellent report on peaceful uses of atomic energy. Also, it is designed for public consumption and would be excellent for high school viewing. We have this film on order, and while it is committed for perhaps a month to 6 weeks, we may be able to loan it to you about the first of August. It can be purchased through the Chamber of Commerce at a cost of $140 or may be rented at the rate of $15 for 4 days.

By copy of this letter, I am informing our sales engineer, Mr. Jim Smith, of your request. Please call upon Jim for any assistance that our company may give you.

Yours very truly,

Paul M. Werth
Director of Public Relations

PMW/fd
cc/ Mr. Edmund Scott

GENERAL ELECTRIC
COMPANY

INDUSTRIAL ELECTRONICS DIVISION

1103 NORTH CENTRAL AVENUE, PHOENIX, ARIZONA . . . . . TELEPHONE ALpine 4-3171

June 12, 1957

M.S.J.
This one just came in.
F.H.

Sir

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your program this past Sunday -- "Automation - Weal or Woe" -- was splendid. The entire personnel of the GE Computer Department, one of the newest departments in the General Electric Company, was alerted to watch the program. Most of them seemed to have done so. Without exception their comments are not only complimentary but filled with thanks for the insight your program supplied into this problem.

We have a request. It may not be possible for you to fill it. If not, we understand. We would like to get transcripts of those portions of the program which included the comments of Mr. Watson of IBM, Mr. Brown of MIT, and Mr. Reuther of the AFofL-CIO. In addition, we would like to have a copy of those parts of your commentary which discussed the automation problem. That is, the parts other than the descriptions of specific machines or processes.

6/17
Receipt sent.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

R. E. Widmark

Robert E. Widmark
Specialist-Communications
General Electric Computer Department
Phoenix, Arizona

rew/1

PANELLIT, INC.

7401 NORTH HAMLIN AVENUE • SKOKIE, ILLINOIS • ORCHARD 5-2500

ALBERT F. SPERRY
PRESIDENT

June 11, 1957

Miss Natalie Foster
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Foster:

Mr. Merle S. Jones advised Mr. Sperry there would be a 16 mm. film available of the "See It Now" program which appeared last Sunday, June 9 on Automation.

We would very much appreciate receiving this film to show to our people here, since they are very interested in seeing it. Mr. Sperry, who was in Europe at the time the program appeared, would also like very much to see it.

Will you please arrange for this film to be made available to us? Thanks very much.

Sincerely yours,

H. Campbell

H. Campbell

c

ENGINEERING • INSTRUMENT & CONTROL PANELS • INFORMATION SYSTEMS

PANELLIT

S i N
Reuther, Walter
Automation
June 1957

WALTER REUTHER - MURROW QUESTIONS

MURROW: Mr. Reuther, let's begin with a simple question. What has automation done and what is it going to do to the automobile industry?

MURROW: Well now, Walter, if these machines are going to replace men, the machines aren't going to pay any union dues. What is going to happen to your union?

MURROW: Well, if machines are going to replace men, what is going to happen to your union and the dues?

MURROW: What is going to happen to these men who are replaced by machines?

MURROW: Well, now, this retraining and the relocation of plants, the movement of the working force, would be involved there too. Wouldn't it?

MURROW: Are you saying that Management ought to pay for the retraining of labor?

MURROW: Well now, as I understand it, what you are saying is that fewer men will produce more goods?

MURROW: All right. What then is going to happen as a result? Is --- is this a shorter work week or earlier retirement, or what is it?

MURROW: More hospitals, more schools, more recreation facilities?

MURROW: Well now, Walter, what about the little manufacturer who can't afford to automate? Isn't this likely to get bigger and bigger and the individual be more and more removed from the .....?

END OF REEL

REEL 2:

MURROW: Well, what about the little manufacturer - the man who can't afford to automate? Isn't this going to result in having - getting bigger and bigger labor unions manufacturers - everyghing else?

MURROW: Can this matter of retraining and relocating plants and so forth be carried out across the bargaining table? Is it going to involve added government interference or supervision?

MURROW: Then as I understand it, what you are saying is - that as of now not all of the actual facts have been assembled and put together in one fist, so to speak, much less in a forecasting of what the future might hold or imply?

MURROW: Do you think the four-day ~~in~~ week is somewhere just over the horizon?

MURROW: Are the Russians ahead of us in the field of automation?

MURROW: Now, assuming that, what should we do about it?

MURROW: Well now, we are struggling against the Communists in technological field and idealogical field as well. What should we do in this

MURROW: country in order to produce more engineers, more scientists, in order to meet the increased output of the Russians?

MURROW: Well, Walter, you seem to be more interested in the human mind and its development than you are in these mechanical minds that are spouting things all over the place?

MURROW: Well now, if these new plants turn out more and more gear of all kinds, with less and less labor, more and more people have more time to play, to learn, to buy the gadgets. Isn't all this going to increase the inflationary pressure?

MURROW: There were some facts hidden in the .....?

MURROW: Of course, there were some facts hidden in the labor union movement too. Weren't there?

MURROW: You spoke a minute ago about television and radio. What kind of a job do you think they are doing?

MURROW: You served on the committee that studied the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and a moment ago you spoke about prices and various things being rigged. Are you worried at all about the whole peaceful uses of atomic energy being rigged or distorted?

MURROW: I conclude from what you have said so far that as automation develops and progresses, there is bound to be conflicts and controversies between labor and management. In your view, would this be solved across the bargaining table or will labor have to resort to the

MURROW: acquiring of more direct political influence?

MURROW: What I meant to say - do you see the possibility of labor moving directly or overtly in the political field?

MURROW: Well, you don't seem to be worried about the prospect of automation. Is that a fair statement?

MURROW: WELL, if the introduction of automation should result in considerable unemployment, do you anticipate any difficulty in holding your union in line?

MURROW: All right. You did this once before, but I'd like you to do it again. Just specify what would you do in concrete terms in order to avoid this dislocation that you see in the future?

MURROW: You are not suggesting, when you mention the government, that the government should make the decision, but merely that government experts. Would it be fair to say that the government should provide neutral grounds on which labor and government meet and pool all their resources?

From Swing

Swing, Raymond G.

7

AUTOMATION

Introductory Comments on a Documentary

A documentary on automation can be just a good feature film with many diverting moments -- a kind of factual science-fiction report -- or it can be an important event, a profound, disquieting and even startling view of our civilization at a decisive turning-point. It can show it on the way to a high and universally established standard of living, but in the early future there is sure to be a showdown between free world economy and authoritarian economy, in which automation plays a key part. And in this showdown it is not certain by any means that we shall win.

Many people think of automation as something that is more or less desirable, that can be chosen or not, as we please. But we are sure to automate. That is, we must if we are to maintain a rising standard of living. There will not be workers enough at the present level of mechanization to provide an increasing volume of goods for a growing population. But the question is not only national. Unless we automate enough, and wisely, we are not sure of being first when the climax of automation is reached. Nuclear war on a universal scale is now ruled out. That leaves automation the chief weapon in the economic rivalry that takes its place, and this rivalry may well lead to the decisive conflict between a free and a controlled economy.

Automation is a coined word that already means different things to different people. This documentary should be about the broad changes that are coming in industry and business, as a result of machines taking over some of the

functions of the human control of mechanisation. Automation reduces labor costs; also, it enables products to be made that require more precision than human controls can provide. Further, automated machines can do much of the paper work in vast corporations such as merchandising, banking and insurance as well as all corporate management, do it much quicker, and supply data on which accurate planning becomes possible for the first time.

The dividing line between mechanisation and automation is blurred. But we must assume it is there so as to tell our story. For we are looking ahead. Mechanisation no longer seems revolutionary to us; that is, the first phase of the industrial revolution is over and we are adjusted to it. Now the second phase is unfolding. In some particulars it is not new. But it is sure to produce revolutionary changes just as drastic, formidable, and even dangerous, as the first phase.

The first phase of the industrial revolution produced today's America. When the steam engine was developed, nobody could have imagined what the America would be like. It has been estimated that without its present mechanisation, the population of the United States would be about 40,000,000, primarily agrarian. Industrialism not only has given us a much higher standard of living, it enables us to support 125,000,000 more people.

What the second phase of the industrial revolution will bring may be as unconceivable to us as the consequences of the first phase were to the contemporaries of James Watt. In a sense it is arbitrary to speak of the revolution having two phases. It always has been one revolution. Automation was part of it from the start. But mechanisation had to spread out and become universal before automation -- the mechanical control of mechanisation -- could begin to move to its full meaning.

Indeed, Watt could not have built his steam engine had not a machine tool come first. It enabled him to make a cylinder valve that was accurate, as he said triumphantly, to the fineness of a thin shilling. His first competent steam engine embodied the fly-ball governor, a self-regulating device, which IS automation. Thus, those who cry out against talk of automation as something new are right. It was a necessary part of the concept of effective machine power. It also is right to say that not everything can or should be automated; neither should everything be mechanised ~~either~~. But it is a reasonable to assume that the second phase of the industrial revolution will make as tremendous changes as the first. Critics who say that automation by itself will not produce these profound changes are correct. The revolution will be due to modern science and inventiveness in many fields. But to be fully expressed, science and inventiveness require an automated technology if they are to come to fullest service. And this now is at hand.

These thoughts are not set down as guides for the text of the documentary, but to set the channels for our own thinking in planning the program.

A word of warning needs to be said at this point. Automation is not very photogenic. It is more so than the human brain, since it does some of its work externally, where it can be seen. But much of it is INSIDE machines, and can only be told about briefly while the exteriors of the machines pass quickly on the screen. Moreover, the highly intricate devices and principles by which machines regulate themselves defy simple explanation, and where electronics are used they cannot be explained, or understood, without a fairly advanced degree of technical knowledge. This specialized presentation has to be omitted. That is a loss, for this is the heart of the story, but the technicalities are too abstruse for a mass audience program .

For this reason, the temptation in planning this documentary will be to limit it to showy things that amaze and startle the viewer. But we have a more important opportunity. Without being too technical we can give our viewers a first inkling of the scope of automation today and what it will be in America and Russia. We can challenge the viewer to face the problem of labor displacement, which can be solved without disaster if faced in time. And we can ~~face~~ present him with the challenge of providing scientific and technical training in this country, a respect in which Soviet Russia already is far ahead of us.

An effective, easily understood report has never been given the American public of the full meaning of automation. I have not found it in any book, publication, committee hearing or speech. Thus, this documentary has a unique opportunity of being the first report of this kind.

POSSIBLE SEQUENCE

First section

We can start with the most up-to-date product of automation, the SAGE operation. We should set out by showing Murrow taking part in the radar and computation test of SAGE.

Having begun with the computing machine we can go on to tell briefly a little more about it. We can demonstrate how a machine "learns" and "has a memory". We can quote from the documentary done in THE SEARCH program by CBS in November, 1954 showing the "mouse in maze" sequence. (2½ minutes?)

And while about it we can show how a computing machine processes data, doing it much more quickly than humans, so that a rapid analysis of vast problems can be made for purposes of business, weather, census, and patent research. etc

(An automation purist will object to our starting our documentary with the computing machine. But to do so is attention-getting, and excusable. Indeed, we can apologize for doing it.)

And then, having shown where automation has brought us, we should go back right away to where it began. This is to show the Watt steam engine, with the fly-ball governor. (There have been many self-regulating inventions before, but the fly-ball governor of the Watt engine is the true beginning of automation.) (Shall find where a working model can be filmed)

Second section

Then should come a series of the very best examples of automation:

1) An oil refinery, the most automated industry in existence. (Recommend McMurray Refining Co. plant in Tyler, Texas. As shown in Scientific American this is highly photogenic. An oil refinery is a huge plant almost wholly controlled from an

instrument panel by a few men. Crude oil is made into final products without any other human controls.)

2) As an example of things made by automated machines that couldn't be made by manual controls, show factory (in Boston -- details later) where plastic bottles are made.

3) The great Bell Telephone long distance dial set-ups in Englewood and Newark, New Jersey. Rapid sequences can show what happens when a person dials LD any city in America: machines will be seen receiving calls seeking out proper route, registering when every call started and concluded, computing rates, and finally ending by typing out the bill.

4) Automation in big industry. Show Ford engine block plant in Cleveland, or Plymouth in Detroit. (We can quote from Ford film if we want.)

5) The automatic machine tool is most advanced industrial use of automation. Bendix (South Bend) has one. We must also should show automatic machine tool molding a jet-bomber wing electronically by tape, which makes it possible to do job in few hours absolutely accurately that takes days or weeks by hand, always subject to error.

6) We can show what automated appliances can do that humans cannot. The "Slave hands at GE" (Schenectady)

(public debut at Geneva nuclear conference) are essential to nuclear development, and will make a good shot.

7) We can show how automation can help small business. The Murray plant in Brooklyn, which is beginning this month to make an electric current-breaker by automation. In an adjoining room a similar device is being made by manually controlled machinery.

8) We can show automated assembly of computer machines and TV and radio sets. Shots possible at General Mills Autofab, Minneapolis, which assembles computing machines and/or American Locomotive Plant at Arlington, Virginia, where TV's are assembled using celebrated module developed by US Bureau of Standards in "Operation Tinkertoy."

PART TWO

(Social Consequences)

Interview Don Mitchell, Chairman of Sylvania, to get him to repeal some of his testimony (before Joint subcommittee) on coming labor shortage as population grows. His was the best analysis of the future on this subject. (We either fail to maintain a rising standard of living, or work longer hours, or automate. Or we take some of our better living standards in increased leisure. Suggest you read his testimony in the committee record.)

Here we might interpolate an anecdotal shot from the Cleveland engine-block plant of Ford where Reuther was being shown the electronic control center by a Ford vice-president, and the Ford executive said: "You won't collect union dues from this machine, Walter" and Reuther made the already classic retort: "And you won't sell it any Ford cars, either." This sums up the social problem. It is historically correct, and there can follow at once:

Interviews with William Carey of International Union of Electrical Workers and Joseph Bierne, President of Communication Workers of America. (These are leading critics of management's snubbing of unions in facing displacement problem from automation but both are ready to speak out strongly in favor of automation and regard it as good for the country and for labor.)

THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE WHICH HELD THE AUTOMATION HEARINGS IN OCTOBER IS READY TO GO TO ANY INDUSTRIAL PLANT WE WANT TO HOLD BEFORE OUR CAMERAS AN INQUIRY INTO METHODS USED IN FACING DISPLACEMENT PROBLEM. THE COMMITTEE WANTS TO GO SOMEWHERE WHERE FORESIGHT <u>IS</u> BEING SHOWN.

PART THREE

(Political Consequences)

Murrow tells of Soviet government establishing ministry of automation in January, 1956. At once we go back to Ford, Detroit for

Interview with Nevin L. Bean, general manager of automatic transmission division, one of three US engineers admitted to Soviet factories, in December, 1955, in reciprocity for visit of three Russian engineers to this country. These three US engineers were the first competent authorities ever to see Soviet automation. He will have in his hand a smallish box containing a polished casting holding a dozen large ball-bearings. He will say: "You see this box. When a girl put the casting into the box and sealed it with wax this ball-bearing was touched by human hands for the first time." The Soviet factory is the first completely automated ball-bearing factory in the world. Bean will say the plant is one of the prettiest pieces of engineering he has seen. He will speak of other plants and machines. He will want to stress the quality of educational training in Russia, which he thought "generally at level of MIT" and give (if not used later from Benton) figures of Soviet students in pipe line, compared with our own. See February issue of MACHINERY for Bean article. This Bean interview could be high point of the program.

This interview can be followed by one with Bill Benton on Russian education, and where we and the Soviet Union will be 20 years hence at the present rate of education.

At this point Murrow (or someone else) should show that the Soviet Union is to be automated methodically, so that with the completion of the five year plan the essential automation of industry can go into full development. The objective is a) to give the home market so long starved for goods an adequate supply of

consumer goods; and b) the underdeveloped countries can be supplied with the consumer and capital goods they need; and c) the Soviet Union at the present rate of training and expansion may well become the only industrial power with enough engineers and technicians to service its own economy and that of the non-capitalist world. For our part, we may not have engineers enough to service our own economy.

The final interview could be by Walter Reuther, who sees the benefits and scope of automation, knows the dangers, believes they can be averted by foresight and wisdom in dealing with labor displacement and education, and WHO BELIEVES A FREE AMERICA CAN AND WILL ULTIMATELY SURPASS A REGIMENTED AND AUTOMATED TOTALITARIAN RUSSIA.

The program might close with a swift recapitulation of key shots in the program, and end with Murrow, again in the SAGE setting, bringing as the final shot this thought: This is where we are today. What of tomorrow? It would seem to be up to this generation. If we intend to benefit most fully from the completion of the industrial revolution, automation will have to be more than a new word to us or an undigested addition to mechanization. It must become an element in our political and social thought and life. It is something to fear only if we fail to prepare for it.

(There can be innumerable other shots of industrial processes, also interviews as with Senator Flanders, who has made machine tools all his life and knows more about automation than any man in Congress; Vannevar Bush, who is a wise-old-man of engineering and speaks well; John Diebold, the best known automation consultant (who has helped us generously) and Peter Drucker, one of the most respected thinkers in the field.) I have not tried to be definitive about a program, but only to indicate the ground that can be covered, the shots we are fairly sure to get, and the message we have to offer.

Watson, Thomas
SIN

July 2, 1957

Dear Mr. Watson:

Many thanks for the kind words about the piece on Automation. We just made you look and talk the way you do naturally.

There appears to be some chance that the program will be repeated in the autumn.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
590 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

fc

(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.
590 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

June 17, 1957

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Your recutting of the film taken of me here at 590 Madison was extremely well done and resulted in a very fair presentation of my beliefs concerning the future of automation.

I appreciate the sympathy with which the job was done and congratulate you on the overall program which I thought was terrific.

Sincerely yours,

Tom Watson Jr

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

WATSON SIN ~~Watson~~ ~~Automation~~

June 1957

SPEECH ON AUTOMATION

I. Introduction

President Pierson and gentlemen of the International Chamber of Commerce: I can't tell you how delighted I am to be with you in Paris this afternoon and particularly glad to be representing, with others, the United States of America at this meeting. My memory of this organization dates back to the middle twenties when my brother and sisters and I used to follow our father and mother into various parts of Europe to meetings of this organization. In fact, as we grew up, the International Chamber of Commerce was almost a household word in the Watson family.

It wasn't until 1931, however, that I began to realize the great international implications of this organization. Many of you were members of the ICC at that time and were in Copenhagen during the Congress. You will remember that war was in the atmosphere.

War came but I remember so well the struggle of the members of the International Chamber at that time to bring about international agreements which would prevent war. For many years, my own father has felt that if sufficient knowledge and friendship were built up between the businessmen of the world, if many of the barriers to trade were lowered or done away with, and if each of the countries in the world became dependent on many other countries for raw materials for their finished goods, in fact for their economic way of life, that a tremendous deterrent to war would be built up. The motto of our World Trade company - "World Peace through World Trade."

The aims of this organization today are not greatly different from the aims of sixteen years ago. The international climate for bringing these things about is, however, today much more compatible to our aims than ever before. It seems to me that the International Chamber of Commerce now should become stronger and stronger and should be entering on its most fruitful period in its history.

II. Introduction of Automation

I have been asked to introduce a debate on economic consequences of Automation. To try and tell you what I think it is - what it is doing in the United States. I suspect that it was seldom heard of three short years ago. Some Americans say it's 90% emotion and 10% fact. You will judge for yourselves.

.../

The word means "Automatic Manufacture" - "Automatic Action" - "Automatic Control." And when one understands its meaning, one can certainly imagine how vitally interesting this is to everyone in industry. "Automatic Manufacture" has been the dream of industrialists, businessmen and economists over the history of the industrial revolution.

Automation means a great many things to many different people. To the businessman facing rising labor rates, it means lower costs through automatic processes, doing more of his work by machine power and less by manpower. You may say, of course, he does a great deal of his work today by machine, particularly in the highly industrialized countries, but besides each machine stands a man who runs the machine, and Automation means that many of these men will be replaced by machines - machines running machines, if you will.

To the treasurer or accountant, it means the speeding up of the entire bookkeeping and analytical processes, the figure fact process of running a business. It means balancing out the company's books on the second, third or fourth of the month rather than on the tenth or the fifteenth or even the twentieth. It means bookkeeping departments with relatively few people and with relatively large numbers of machines, bookkeeping departments which can supply factual answers to queries from company executives in a matter of minutes rather than a matter of days. It means a great and brilliant promise for the future.

To the labor leader, Automation is perhaps a nightmare. Yet, I submit to you that it is a nightmare only because it isn't fully understood.

III. Examples

It has been going on since about 1790. When James Watt invented his steam engine, he found very quickly that power alone - power uncontrolled - was not enough. The throttle of his engine had to be adjusted constantly depending upon the load that was imposed on the engine. I suppose the first application may have been sawing lumber. As the saw reached harder parts in the wood, it was necessary to give the steam engine more steam, more power, and so he invented a governor - actually put to use around 1787. The governor saved the use of one man and did a better job than a man could do. A machine running a machine. Even today the same general type of governor is used on steam engines and other types of engines throughout the world.

It's the old two-ball device that stands and revolves on the top of the steam engine. As these balls revolve faster, centrifical force pulls them apart, and in pulling them apart closes the throttle of the steam engine so that the faster the machine goes, the less steam it gets and it slows to a controlled speed. As the machine slows down under load, the spinning balls lower themselves because centrifical force is reduced and the throttle opened for more power and the machine is stabilized to carry itself at a certain given revolutions per minute under the varying load conditions.

.../

This simple device illustrates all of the things that any automation device has whatever its application - whether it be in bookkeeping, in automatic factories or in automatically tracking aircraft in the skies. And so you can see since this machine was invented some 250 years ago that automation has been going on almost since the advent of power.

Here in France, Joseph Marie Jacquard, a man who perhaps all of you have heard of, exhibited here in Paris in 1801, an automatic loom controlled by punched paper cards. This had such a tremendous impact on the textile industry at the time, that by 1812 eleven thousand of these looms were operating in France. This was controlling a machine by a machine. The card feed fed in the various designs that were supposed to be woven and the machine sensing what was punched on the card thereby controlled the second machine, the loom and the shuttle, and told it what to weave.

Back in 1784, in George Washington's time, a man named Oliver Evans in the U.S.A. built a flour mill that was just about as automatic as any mill can be. A system of conveyors, run by water power, picked up the grain, carried it through all the grinding operations, and delivered the finished flour. This machine was not a great success - the market for the flour was not large enough. The commodity was not very expensive when made by previous methods.

In metalworking too, automation has a history. In 1920, A. O. Smith Corporation in Detroit, U.S.A. began to produce auto frames in an automatic factory: a little later, Budd Wheel Company in the same city built one for car wheels. These were pretty close to automatic factories - the products were simple and the market wide and expanding.

Likewise, in the field of accounting and computing, as long ago as 1830, a man named Babbage in England was designing machines using punched cards with automatic input and output. These machines at the time were considered impractical and too expensive to market, but his 1834 machine, capable of doing one addition per second was strikingly similar in concept to recent super accounting machines.

Now let's take a look at some typical automation machines of today. There is a machine in wide use in Detroit, Michigan, which is called the "Transfermatic." This machine does 553 operations in the production of an automobile motor block with no help or adjustment from humans at all. It drills holes, it bores cylinders and every operation that it does it checks so that if it produces the right kind of a block, it is shunted into a carrier to roll it onto the production line of the automotive plant, and if it produces a block which has some errors in it, this block is thrown into the scrap or reclamation pile. The Renault company here in Paris has developed and is using a similar machine.

.../

In our own IBM plant in Poughkeepsie where we build electric typewriters, we have a machine which takes a raw casting for the base of an electric typewriter, and it does about 200 operations on this typewriter base. It produces the base ready for assembly with the rest of the typewriter without the intervention of human hands or human thought. We make these bases in a period of about 60 seconds, where formerly it took us 3 to 4 hours, and with an overall average wage rate in our plant and many other plants in America of $2.20 an hour, you can well imagine how quickly one can write off the cost of automation of this type. You have other automation machines at work in Europe which many of you know of.

Let's take a look at automation in accounting. The most modern type of accounting until very recently has been done with punched card accounting machines. Our own company has made punched card accounting machines and there have been a number of other companies making them. This principle to a degree is automation because the machines sense cards and put the cards in certain order and do certain additions subtractions or multiplications. Now with the advent of electronics, the companies in this industry have learned how to put data formerly put in punch cards on magnetic tape. All of the data that can be put on one of those punch cards can be put on one inch of magnetic tape - a very tiny inch of magnetic tape, not very wide, and very, very thin. And then, where these punch cards formerly could be handled in our ordinary machines at around 100 per minute, we can handle these inches of tape representing one punch card at 75 per second. And so, we have gotten a tremendous lift in speed. You can compute a 5,000 man company payroll, which perhaps formerly took in processing time a matter of three or four working days, in a matter of 3 or 4 hours using that super automation machine.

One of the interesting things to conjure with in this whole process of automation is to realize that to some degree, one is trying to build into a machine some of the functions of a human brain. This is controversial and I don't wish to be misinterpreted. I believe very firmly that no one but God can make a brain which can create, can take one or two known thoughts and combine them together and come out with an entirely different new thought but for many years certain very simplified functions of the brain have been able to be duplicated on machine. This does not have to do with the creation of anything by a brain and never will. In the U.S.A. our new IBM machines are called "Giant Brains." This is an error. They are flexible storehouses of vast amounts of information. They are terribly fast. They multiply one 9 digit number by another in 3 millionths of a second. But they never can produce anything which is not derived from facts placed in the machine earlier.

"They are singularly unoriginal."

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IV. The Status of Automation in the World

Since automation is such an important subject today and since it is a subject that seems to be on everyone's tongue, I think it important that we take a look at the status of it. First, is it new? If you read articles written in America and other places about automation, it begins to sound like a monster created in the last three or four years which is rapidly swarming over industry in America and may swarm over industry in Europe - something that is new and is tremendously powerful and that will cause a very immediate revolution in industry. Nothing could be further from the fact. Only the word is new.

A very large part of the Industrial Revolution was based on automation. Automatic shoemaking machinery is automation to the very highest degree, and all of this equipment was designed 50 to 75 years ago. Textile machinery is truly automation. Most of this equipment was designed 50 to 100 years ago. So, automation isn't anything very new, we just have a new term, and so we must look for another reason why it is getting all of its publicity and attention today.

And there is a reason, gentlemen. That reason is the understanding of the use of electronics as it applies to automation. If one was willing to spend enough money, one could have created an automatic factory to produce simple articles 40 to 50 years ago, but the automatic devices, would have been built of rods, gears, and levers, and the machine to run the machine would have certainly been as big as the factory itself, if not bigger. And that is why automation, to a very advanced degree, did not take place except in those areas where a very large amount of product was being produced and the profit or the volume on this product was sufficient to justify a very substantial investment in automatic devices for the manufacturer.

Now there is a new tool in industry, and that tool is electronics. It was developed largely during the war. But it is through electronics that hope of the future for the automatic fabrication of radios, television sets, to some degree even of automobiles, is promised. Now instead of a very, very large machine to run a machine, it is possible to build a relatively small machine to run a machine -- we call them "black boxes" in America. It is now possible to build a machine which will store a million characters or perhaps give a million instructions to another machine. You can begin to understand with this ability of storage and this ability of rapidly getting to this stored information, that the machine to run a machine, the automation, becomes much simpler and much less expensive than it ever could have been before the advent of electronics. So now we have taken a great leap forward. Let's look at it for a moment in the manufacture of accounting machines where I have some knowledge.

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In the United States at the present time, our organization is making accounting machines with a device called Autofab. Autofab means "automatic fabrication." In this electronic process, we project a picture of a circuit on a plastic board photographically - we develop this circuit photographically - and then we etch away the copper covering to this board so that we leave on the board only the wiring that we want, and this automatically. We bore holes in this circuit to receive tubes, diodes, translators, resistors and all of the other things that one uses in an electronic circuit. And then we automatically feed this board under hoppers containing these various electronic elements. We drop these elements into these holes again automatically, and we dip these boards in solder which automatically affixes all of these elements to the board; and then we put these boards automatically in packing cases from which they are assembled at another point in the factory into the final IBM machine. The components are varied - the wiring changed automatically at will. This replaces a process that was completely done by hand, where soldering and running of wires was a very laborious proposition, and where our cost is probably one-tenth former cost. Automation here becomes a tool for profit.

We have been consistently, ever since the early 1800's, producing more product with proportionally less people. The application of automation in factories as I said in the past has been slow because this new means of doing automation through electronics just wasn't known. Nevertheless, the factory output in the last 35 years has increased through the efficient application of power and automation so that the individual factory man is producing now four times what he produced in 1915 and total employment has steadily climbed. In the last century, 1850 - 1950, the United States work week has been reduced 41%, from 69 to 40 hours.

I am not an economist as you know, but it seems to me that automation holds a greater promise for the future industry than any other thing that has come to the industrialist in the last few centuries - more promise than anything that has been handed to the manufacturers of the world since the application of the water-wheel to do part of the work of man. At home and abroad one gets the erroneous impression that automation will have very adverse effects on labor. In the United States I have been told that even if we apply all that we know about automatic control or automation at the present time, regardless of costs, and each one of these applications has to be balanced against cost, only a very small segment of our laboring force, perhaps 8%, would be directly affected.

In some cases automation can revive an industry that is in difficulty, actually put people back at work. A coal mining machine has been developed in the U.S. which will do the work of many miners and it is expected that this coal mining machine instead of putting people in the coal industry out of work, will put people back to work. For the reason that coal mining, particularly hard coal mining, has become so expensive because of the high labor factor as to render the price of hard coal so high that it is being rapidly replaced in the U.S. by oil and gas. With the introduction of this very highly automatized machine, the whole hard coal industry may be revived. Since this machine can perhaps do the work of ten or twelve former workers, coal mining becomes profitable once more.

.../

We are producing very complex computers for our Armed Forces in the United States. Without much automation in manufacture, these machines would simply be too expensive to contemplate. This is an industry created by automation.

We are fanatics in the United States on automation. We are continually pushed by costs. The average wage rates in our own plants have risen from $626 per hour in 1930 to a total of $2.20 today, and in order to pay that wage we just have to make our machines work in the most automatic way and the fastest way possible. The result - 45% of the machines tools in the U. S. are less than ten years old and this age is constantly decreasing.

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I think actually what we do is go through an economic cycle. It is well to think about it here. It seems simple, it seems rudimentary, and yet in my own industry, and I think in industry generally in America, this had happened. In the first place by the application of automation one needs less manpower. One produces the same or greater product with less manpower. In using less manpower, one lowers one's costs and broadens the market. This creates a need for more product. Therefore, more factories must be built. When we have more factories, we need more manpower. So we go from less manpower by the application of automation to more manpower because of greater output and greater demand. Sounds like magic but it works.

Remember the Industrial Revolution involved a great deal of automation. With all this automation, the total employment of the countries of the world that were being industrialized was steadily increasing and it still is. Don't forget this very significant fact when one speaks of automation putting people permanently out of work.

The automotive industry, which most Americans consider the ultimate of modern production methods, offers good example. In spite of dollars invested in automatic machinery each year, the number of workers in this industry has doubled since 1941. In General Motors Corporation alone this represents an increase of well over 200,000 workers.

I could cite as examples any field where automation is making inroads, provided there has been the time for necessary readjustment of individuals and groups temporarily affected. Today we have over 1,000 companies engaged wholly or partly in the manufacture of automatic control or automation equipment. It is one of the fastest growing industries in my country - last year it sold more than 3 billion dollars worth of equipment.

We in America have a very real problem confronting us in the next decade. Automation is the best and only solution. The problem can be outlined quite simply.

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1. Due to the wonders of modern medicine, our people are living longer. They are increasing the market.

2. At the same time, our birth rate is climbing faster than ever before.

3. To meet these increased markets, our available manpower short term is forecast to increase only slightly. Due to the low birth rate during 1930 - 40 (the depression years), and due to the longer schooling period which our youth is now able to have, there will be a dearth of labor to man our factories.

To me the answer is obvious. Skilled management engineers have estimated that to meet the challenge of the next ten years, each U.S. worker in America will have to produce 50% more goods on an average than previously. This can only be done through automation.

Automation is going to take over the uninteresting, drab industrial jobs on a machine basis and allow the interesting jobs to be handled by men - the complicated jobs, the jobs that require real thinking. Many of you in this room run factories. I wonder if in walking through these factories you have thought of the utter boredom of the worker who is working, for instance, a punch press producing washers all day long. Think of being confined to a machine that produces a little ring of metal five or six or eight times a minute. Think of how this person feels about his job against how you and I think of our jobs. Think of the personal satisfaction that we get out of doing our jobs well, and think of how missing this personal satisfaction item must be in the job of the repetitive worker in the plant doing a very drab job. All of these drab jobs can be taken over by automation very, very simply and very, very cheaply, and think of what will happen to the morale,of employees when many more employees have interesting jobs.

And now in conclusion, I want to say that I think automation has come about to date by evolution. It has come about over 300 years - it has come about very slowly. Actually there is very little automation comparatively in the world today. There is a lot of application of power. I think we have learned to apply power to almost everything that conceivably power could be applied to. We have even applied power to the brakes of a car - to the steering of a car. We have applied power to our simple lawn mowers, and in the United States even though you are cutting a lawn 50-feet by 50-feet, you often find a gasoline driven lawn mower. We have power-driven washing machines, power-driven dryers, power-driven ironers, power-driven dish washers, etc. So, power has really been applied on a very wide basis.

Now the next step is applying automation to that power, making the power automatic. Certainly the lawn mowers will be automated before very long and will be caused to cut around a perimeter of an uncut area and keep cutting and closing that perimeter until the whole lawn is cut, and then the lawn mower will automatically stop itself. The same applies to farm machinery in general.

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You will find automated automobile driving, I am very confident, on the super highways of America in the next 25 years. You will drive your car or conduct your car to a super highway, you will buy a ticket or pay a toll, and you will decide at what speed you want to drive. If you want to drive at the rate of 80 to 90 kilometers per hour, you will accelerate your car up to 80 or 90 and when you arrive at that speed you will pull a lever which will automatically control your car at that speed and follow an invisible line caused by an electronic impulse emitted by a wire laid down in the middle of that highway. Your car will continue to follow that, automatically putting on the brakes if there is something ahead, accelerating back to speed when the road is clear, using more power up hills, and less power down hills completely automatically until you arrive at your destination, at which point you will pull your automatic control lever to OFF and you will turn your car off the highway.

Gentlemen, you may smile at this, but this is an absolute reality in America's future, and I confidently predict this will happen. I think exactly the same thing will happen with airplanes. Not that the airplane pilot is particularly tired or challenged by his job today, but that he is human. I think that with the controls that can be put into the automatic flying of an airplane, it can be made more reliable and safer than a physical being can be made to be safe. And, therefore, I confidently expect the jet airliners of the future will take off automatically, will climb to altitude automatically, will land automatically in fog, rain or sleet and that pilots will simply be monitoring the automatic equipment to make sure that none of it fails, in which emergency the human might take over.

To me, automation has no perils. I have not even mentioned the shorter working day or even the 4-day week which I think eventually will become a reality. I look forward in my life span to witnessing a remarkable and astounding future.

Automation will bring into being new products and new methods absolutely impossible formerly. Since these applications will be opening up new fields, I do not foresee any overall unemployment, even in the relatively short term in any country where more automation is used.

Automation gives hope to everyone:

Hope to the manufacturer for lowered costs - greater volumes - more efficiency and most important greater profits.

Hope to labor for shorter hours - more interesting jobs - better working conditions.

Hope to the consumer - to all of us - for more things for everyone with better quality and lower cost.

.../

And so, by continued evolution - automation is going to bring us a safer and better world - an increasing standard of living for all - greater output per individual and cheaper consumer goods for all to buy.

In truth, I think automation is the great economic promise of tomorrow.

LET US NOT FEAR IT

LET'S EMBRACE IT FOR

AUTOMATION MEANS PROGRESS

Thank you very much

Diebold, John
SIN June 9, 1957
Automation

September 21, 1960

Dear Mr. Diebold:

Your recent letter and testimony arrived during Mr. Murrow's absence from the office.

I shall bring it to his attention upon his return in a few days.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Mary Cecchini
Secretary

Mr. John Diebold
John Diebold and Associates, Inc.
40 Wall Street
New York 5, New York

Program on Automation
S/N

JOHN DIEBOLD & ASSOCIATES, INC.

40 WALL STREET, NEW YORK 5

Dear Ed:

The Joint Economic Committee of the U. S. Congress recently asked the witnesses of the 1955 Automation Hearings to present new testimony. I am pleased to enclose the statement that I have prepared at the request of Representative Wright Patman.

Sincerely,

John

Statement of Mr. John Diebold

Prepared at the Request of the
Subcommittee on Automation and
Energy Resources
of the
Joint Economic Committee
Congress of the United States

August 1960

Statement of John Diebold,
President, The Diebold Group
of Management Consulting Companies

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, it is most appropriate at this time to consider the role of automation and technological change in our economy. The Committee is to be commended for once more turning its attention to this subject - a subject which has assumed increasing importance as a domestic issue and powerful force in the entire world.

The original hearings of this Committee marked the first national recognition of the important role of automation and technological change in our society. The proceedings of those hearings have been widely read and liberally quoted from. Those hearings provided one of the first comprehensive publications containing the views of many persons representing different sectors of the economy, all concerned with automation.

The present compilation of testimony is perhaps of even greater import in view of the present economic and world political situation. I welcome this opportunity to bring my original testimony up to date.

INTRODUCTION

Many of the promises, and certainly some of the problems of automation, have become realities in American life. The uses of automation that we predicted in 1955 have, for the most part, come to pass. No longer must we speak of the "Advent of the Automatic Factory." Automation has "arrived." During these few years, since the hearings in 1955, "Automation" itself has become an industry. The increases in manufacture of automatic equipment for machine and process control in the factory have been complemented by the phenomenal growth of the electronic data processing equipment industries servicing both factory and office. The whole new field of computer technology has passed from its infancy stages to one of high complexity and sophistication. It was only several years ago, when I first testified before this committee, that the first computers became available for office use. Yet, today, electronic data processing equipment is a common tool of industry.

Both office and factory automation have been most instrumental in increasing our productivity and national output. In fact, their importance in the economy has made it necessary to transcend our present thinking of these techniques as simply "tools" of production. Automation, and the concepts that it embodies, has become a national resource - a source of strength to the nation and a stimulus for technological change.

It is questionable whether we have used this resource as effectively as we should or could, although our achievements seem spectacular. The uses to which we put our energies and the results derived can no longer be compared only with our own historical performance. The world has changed too fast for that. We have seen very graphically in the last few years the results of efforts in the technological area. We have watched our chief competitor, the Soviet Union, make remarkable gains both militarily and economically. If we do not make the fullest use of the techniques we have developed, you may be sure that the Soviets will do just that.

Neither technical nor economic reasons have prevented us from making optimal use of automation. Perhaps, the most important single fact surrounding automation has been the fear it has engendered - fear of the human consequences of automation. Much of it has been irrational; some of it reasonable. The fact remains that we must improve the environment for achieving technological changes. But we must also recognize that in order to reap the benefits of technological innovation, we must be prepared for innovation in the social environment. We must be willing to consider new solutions to human problems we can't solve with old methods.

We are in a critical economic war. The United States Government should do all it can to stimulate private enterprise to produce cheaply and efficiently, and increase business' re-investment rate. This calls for a positive national policy toward productivity and technological change.

At the same time, government, business and community must work together to minimize (and hopefully eliminate) the human hardships that may locally appear due to rapidly changing economic conditions.

The fact remains that we still don't know enough about the effects of automation, or indeed technological change, to intelligently deal with it. This lack of facts stimulates the fear. In the five years that have elapsed since the initial hearings on automation and technological change, no concerted effort has been made on a national basis to overcome our ignorance. Certainly the efforts of this Committee will do much to help meet this need.

REFLECTIONS ON MY ORIGINAL TESTIMONY

Chairman Patman in his recent letter inviting me to submit testimony before this Subcommittee asked for my views on:

-the progress which automation has made since the earlier hearings in 1955

-the growth of the automation industry

-the extent and type of employee displacement

-and the problems of retraining and reallocation of workers.

Representative Patman specifically asked where I felt that events had reinforced my earlier views and where my views had changed in light of current trends. I will address myself initially to these questions. I believe it would then be helpful to discuss in more detail various aspects of automation of interest to this Subcommittee -- to attempt to "bring automation up-to-date." My discussion will include the following sections: Automation Today, more on the concept of automation; Applications and Uses for Automation; The Automation Industry; and Economic and Social Aspects of Automation. The statement will conclude with my views on the need for a national policy to deal with automation and technological change.

Changes in Views

In 1955, I stated before this Subcommittee that I did not feel that "automation requires any special legislation." I still think the legislation should not be directed specifically at automation, so much as it is necessary for government recognition of the total problem of coping with technological change.

The hearings, which this Subcommittee inaugurated in 1955, stressed the potential impact of automation and technological change on the United States. During the intervening years, this "potential" has partially been realized. The introduction of automation technology has resulted in changes within industry and government. It is not difficult to determine the importance that industry places in automation; the growing amount of industrial capital expenditures for automatic equipment speaks for itself. Unions have recognized automation and have made an issue of it at the collective bargaining tables. The Federal Government, in its various agencies, is continually installing substantial amounts of electronic data processing equipment to obtain greater efficiencies

(and, indeed, recent Congressional committee hearings were devoted to measuring the effects of electronic data processing in government.) Individual state governments have held conferences to consider the economic and social consequences of automation for their states -- the Governers of both Massachussetts and New York convened such conferences recently. Automation has become a national issue.

In these last few years other issues have become crystallized in the public's eye: our rate of national economic growth, the political and economic competition with the Soviet Union, the growth of the free world as a source of competition and as a market and the problems of bringing underdeveloped countries into the twentieth century economically, technologically, and socially. All these issues seem to me to be interdependent with each other and with the issue of automation and technological change. We cannot sustain a high national growth rate, we cannot compete effectively in the world markets, we cannot adequately aid foreign countries, unless we make the fullest use of our productive capabilities. We have not accomplished this in recent years. I believe we will have continued difficulties in overcoming our domestic and international problems unless we tackle this issue: how to employ automation and technological change most effectively.

To my mind, there is a clear need for national policy aimed at making the most effective use of technological change. It is not a question of dealing with automation alone. Automation is part of a complex pattern of continuing technological sophistication within our economy. In fact, it is most difficult to isolate the effects of the uses of automation techniques from other change. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, correctly recognized this difficulty when they recently announced the sizeable productivity increases in 1959 over 1958. They pointed out that this increase could not be attributed to one factor alone but to "the combined effect of a number of interrelated influences, such as skills of workers, managerial skill, changes in technology, capital investment per worker, utilization of capacity, layout and flow of material, and labor-management relations."

The problem, it would seem, is much broader than the "control" of automation through special legislation. We cannot "legislate" automation into existence, just as we cannot legislate its disappearance. Automation is a philosophy of technology - a set of concepts. In itself, it only makes available to us the knowledge of how to better satisfy our material and intellectual desires. Automation does not "cause" anything. To attribute any inherent evils to automation or technological change is like aiming at the shadow instead of the object.

For years we have allowed the turn of phrases, such as "Automation causes---", to erroneously direct our approach to the subject. These phrases are really shortcut ways of saying "When we apply a set of automation techniques, these set of results occur." Our own actions or inactions actually cause the results.

It has been frequently said that "technological change causes unemployment"; but if a person literally believes what he has said, it is like saying "atomic energy causes war." Atomic energy does not cause war and technological change does not cause unemployment.

We know, for example, that the economy is going through a period when the unemployment rate is much higher than the national average for the unskilled, uneducated worker. This state is expected to continue for a long time to come. Is automation or technological change keeping the unskilled unemployed? Or rather is there a more basic problem of the failure to eliminate substandard education and training?

My personal belief is that the prevailing fear of automation and technological change is totally misdirected. If there must be concern over change, it should be directed towards our own actions in coping with change. We have not even devoted sufficient efforts to examining the "change" phenomenon - and this is necessary before we can act properly.

Ironically enough, the nation presently finds itself in a state in which it is not making the fullest uses of the available labor manpower and productive capacity; this at a time when there is an international economic necessity to do the opposite. The national productivity and output has increased only rather sluggishly in recent years. My original views on the rate of speed at which automation would be introduced were that it would "take a long time to effect." I believe that the problems of application are even greater than were anticipated at the time of the initial hearings. Much of the difficulty has not been technological as much as it has been the human problems encountered: introducing new concepts within business organizations not readily adaptable to change, consciousness on the part of management and labor to minimize decreasing employment opportunities within the company and such. These kinds of problems have not been solved to a sufficient degree to substantially increase the rate at which automation will be introduced into industry.

In connection with the above problem is the one of education and reeducation. This problem seems more impressive to me now then during the original hearings. The question of what are the changing skill requirements of industry still goes unanswered. On a national scale, we still have not given this question sufficient study, though it has already become a problem among large localized groups of unskilled workers.

Greater understanding of the extent of the problem is needed. A recent study by the State of New York dissected the problem of its future manpower needs and showed what the educational requirements would most likely be in the near future. The Bureau of Labor Statistics through its fine case studies has shed further light on this problem area. I would think that more research is needed on a national scale to determine our needs in this area.

Because of some of the difficulties that have developed in the introduction of automation, some of the benefits that I anticipated earlier may not come to pass so readily. I do not expect that excessive leisure will be of concern to us in the near future. The problem of increasing our national output would seem to me to take precedence over this. In the same view, I would not expect any drastic reduction in the average work week figures. In some industries, I would expect that my earlier estimate of decreases in the work week to the low thirties may come to pass. (Some industries have already achieved this level). However, the greater reductions in work week will probably continue to occur in those industries with high work week levels, agriculture and services.

Views that have been Reinforced

I began my original testimony by emphasizing the need "to derive some factual information about automation and its impact upon the economy." This need is more urgent than it was before. While I don't feel that automation has been introduced at as high a rate as has been technically possible, its introduction and its impact have far outstripped what little we have learned about it. My original recommendations included "an outline of a factual study of automation." I have submitted a more complete "Guide" to such a study, once again, in the following section in this statement. Studies are still vitally necessary. Academic groups and governmental agencies have effected fine studies in this area, but they have been limited by serious lack of funds to carry this work further. This would seem to be a proper area for supportable research by all levels of government; Federal, State and local. Private Foundations could also do more to support study in this field. A solid, comprehensive body of facts on the economic and social effects of automation is still non existent!

Though we are far from making the best uses of automation, I am most encouraged by the greater recognition that it has received as a new set of concepts rather than as an extension of mechanization. I previously referred to automation as "a basic change in production philosophy... a means of organizing or controlling production processes to achieve optimum use of all production resources - mechanical, material and human."

While industry is far from being organized along these lines, more people are beginning to understand the concepts behind it. We learn of more imaginative uses for automation technology everyday.

Many of the feasible applications for automatic controls that I talked about in 1955 are already operational facts. Especially in the process industries, optimal control is now closely approachable. "It makes it possible to do things that you could not do before, in addition to doing the things we have been doing more efficiently." This still seems to me to be the greatest contribution automation can make to our economy.

The new levels of achievement and doing present tasks more efficiently have not been limited to large business organizations. "Small business" can make extensive use of automation techniques both in the factory and the office. Manufacturers have given attention to the design of electronic data processing systems specifically for the use of small business. We have also experienced in recent years the widespread application of the service bureau concept. These bureaus have been designed to care for the needs of smaller organizations without their own computers (I have discussed the service bureaus in more detail in the section on "Applications", also, data on the extent of usage of small electronic data processing systems is found in the section on "The Automation Industry"). In the factory, the availability of flexible machine tools with numerical control may serve to increase the competitive power of smaller business. My initial opinion that numerical controls would be slow in coming seems to have been borne out. Only recently this technique has started to catch hold in industry, but its rate of acceptance will increase rapidly for years to come (I have included growth estimates of the numerical tool controls industry in the section on the "Industry").

The total automation industry has grown to major proportions within the economy. As I recall, the growth potential of the automation industry seemed doubtful to some witnesses on account of what was considered the high investment needed to obtain automation equipment. However, versatile systems, special designs, lower cost per operation and the service bureaus have succeeded in making automation available to practically all sectors of the business community. According to my firm's estimates there were more than ten thousand computer systems installed by July 1960. When the initial hearings were held, the systems in operation could be numbered in the dozens. Of this July 1960 total, about twenty-eight hundred were small computer systems. We have estimated that more than forty-five hundred systems are on order. My firm's long run projections for this industry put electronic data processing equipment annual sales well into the billion dollar category.

Other sectors of the automation equipment industry, machine and process controls, are expected to grow at comparable rates.

As the installation of these equipments are accomplished, I think we will begin to notice "where automation is introducing changes in our concepts, our ways of thinking about management. The organizational structure of business (will) start to shift." This opinion, that I stated in 1955, I still hold today. My feelings now are that the restructuring trend will continue in business organizations. "This makes for many changes in the requirements of what people are doing in firms. It again calls attention to education, and to areas where it is necessary to understand precisely what is happening."

The issue of education has taken on major proportions with respect to business needs: greater need for the professional college-trained scientist, engineer and technician; less need for the unskilled. New applied sciences have developed in the last few years which have centered about the concepts of automation; these sciences have synthesized the worlds of mathematics, electronics and business. As business grows more sophisticated in its applications of automation, the demand for management personnel trained in these sciences will grow. Now is the time when these people should be trained. I feel quite strongly that this task - of training management personnel who can make the fullest use of automation concepts and techniques - is not being carried out. With all the profusion of data processing courses and surveys of automation attached to business school curriculums, we have few examples of institutions of higher learning in business which fully integrate the concepts of automation into the entire course of study. One of the bottlenecks, then, in making the fullest use of automation may very well be the lack of adequately trained management manpower.

No doubt, the most prominent aspect of automation is how industries' use of this technology affects employment levels. I pointed out earlier that automation is part of the continuing process of technological change. As part of this change, it has contributed to the "dynamic movements from one industry to another" within the civilian labor force. The long term trend of a decreasing percentage of the labor force engaged in manufacturing will most certainly continue. In the last decade, the manufacturing sector has not only shown percentage decreases, but has decreased in terms of absolute number of employees. Following both the recessions of 1954 and 1958, the manufacturing employment highs have failed to reach pre-recession levels. The heavy capital equipment expenditures to further automate and mechanize facilities certainly contributed in some part of this trend.

Most of the manufacturing employment decreases were taken in the production work force. This was accompanied by higher employment levels for non-productive workers, those in the managerial and clerical work force.

Recent estimates for this latter sector show it to be perennially behind production workers in raising its productivity and in its absolute productivity as well. In the years to come, I would expect productivity in this sector to rise at a faster rate than it has previously; this should result, to a great extent, from the increased (and more skillful) use of automatic data processing equipment.

The major employment opportunities can be expected in the services and non-manufacturing, non-agricultural industries. I would expect that in some sectors of the latter category - transportation, public utilities, finance and insurance - further increases in productivity may affect employment opportunities somewhat.

I would like to re-emphasize here my earlier comment that if we are to adequately cope with any human problems arising out of dislocation of industry, minimized employment levels in certain industries, new skills and education requirements, we must direct attention to the basic reasons why these problems exist. If industries relocate to new areas, there is a basic problem of stimulating economic growth in the vacated area. If certain industries recede their employment roles, facilities and manpower must be made available to help the displaced develop new skills and obtain different employment. Technological change cannot be encouraged, any temporary problems that may develop in its path cannot be solved, by dealing symptomatically with the change itself.

BRINGING AUTOMATION UP TO DATE

Automation Today

Applications and Uses for Automation

Growth of the Automation Industry

Economic and Social Aspects of Automation

A Guide to a Study of Automation in the U.S. Economy

AUTOMATION TODAY

Throughout the testimony submitted before this Subcommittee, you will come across definitions of automation. Though views will differ, depending on the background of the witness, I think that the concept of automation as a new way of analyzing and organizing work will be more heavily stressed than at the original hearings.

As I pointed out earlier, I still feel that the concept of the system is most crucial in describing automation. It is the main contribution that automation will make to business organization. If automation means anything at all, it means something more than a mere extension of mechanization. I believe that it marks a break with past trends, a qualitative departure from the more conventional advance of technology that began with jagged pieces of flint and progressed up to the steam engine. It implies a basic change in our attitude toward the manner of performing work. Perhaps because we see things more easily than ideas, this meaning of automation as a way of thinking has been obscured by a fascination with the machines of automation. As a result, when we hear the word "automation" we tend to think of electronic computers, massive transfer machines, numerical tool controls, or perhaps the instrument panel of an oil refinery - machines that new concepts have made possible. Automation, however, is much more than machines, and it is important to understand this if the full social and economic implications are to be understood.

Unquestionably, industrial progress began hundreds of years ago. Great strides were made in the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. This was the period of mechanization. Mechanization provided power-driven tools, eliminating many manual tasks and freeing labor from much of the physical work required in production. But no matter how small a portion of brute strength was involved in running a machine, a human worker was always needed to operate and control it. Production processes, therefore, were necessarily designed around the human worker as operator. His reaction time, his powers of perception and concentration and discrimination, his height, his power to withstand heat and cold, his two arms and ten fingers and his ability to coordinate them dictated what could and what could not be done.

Now, through systematic application of the principle called feedback, machines can be built which control their own operations, so that production processes do not have to be designed to take into account the human limitations of a human worker. To me, this is one of the distinctive facts about automation. It is no longer necessary to think in terms of individual machines, or even in terms of groups of machines; instead, for the first time, it is practical to look at an entire production or information-handling process as an integrated system and not as a series of individual steps. It is through the new technology of automation that we are now beginning to possess the ability and the tools to build such systems.

In the past our limited knowledge of the nature of feedback and control made their application dependent upon the ingenuity of individual inventors who used these principles for the sporadic construction of individual machines or segments of overall systems. Even if we had been inspired by the idea of integrated systems, as some men have certainly been at different times in history, we did not in the past possess the technical knowledge to turn this idea into reality. Today, because of advances in the theory and technology of control, communication, and information, we do possess that knowledge and, equally important, we are beginning to apply it in many fields of endeavor.

Automation is more than a series of new machines and more basic than any particular hardware. It is a way of thinking as much as it is a way of doing. It is a new way of organizing and analyzing production, a concern with the production processes as a system, and a consideration of each element as part of the system. It is something of a conceptual breakthrough, as revolutionary in its way as Henry Ford's concept of the assembly line. Indeed, it may in the end have an even more widespread effect on business and industry, since its technology rests on a firm theoretical foundation rather than on a specific method of organization or particular kind of machine. Automation is, therefore, adaptable to many different kinds of operations - office work as well as factory work - in small concerns as well as large.

I think that a good part of the confusion which has resulted in attempts to describe automation has come about from defining the word in terms of the nature of its applications. Many of the definitions offered in the past have not conflicted with one another as much as they have neglected one another. That is, they have defined only one segment of what can properly be considered automation (this is the difficulty one encounters when a definition is attempted in terms of "hardware," or machinery, instead of concept).

Chart A, produced by the International Labour Office, shows very graphically the evolution of automation. Very properly, I think, automation is shown phased into the continuous development of work processes.

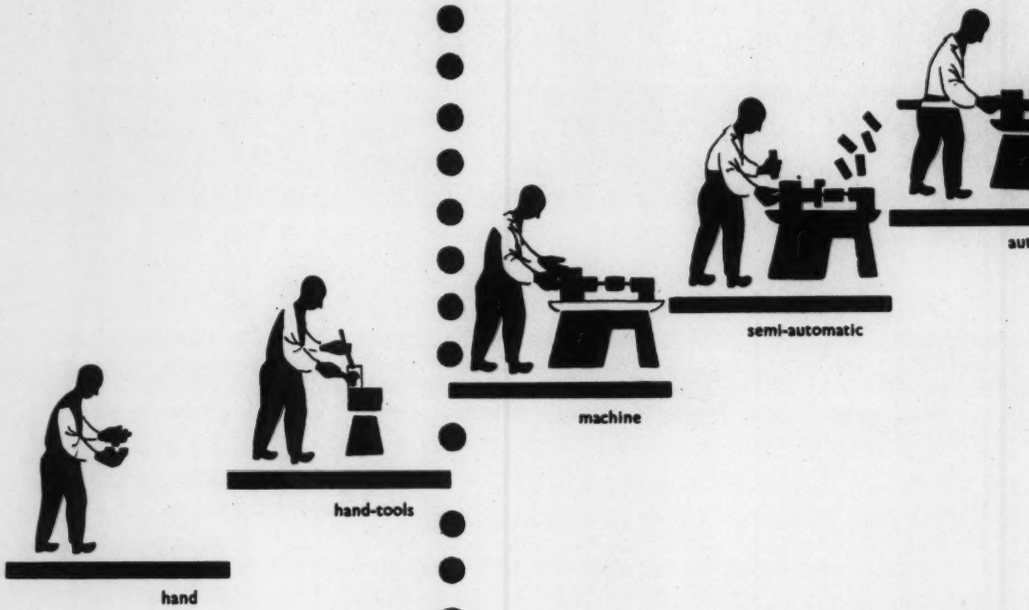
Although we are in a position to draw some valid conclusions from an adequate study of today's manifestiation of automation, we must remember that automation has not really got off the ground. The concept of automation is what is important. Future machines and hardware will undoubtedly be different from anything that we can presently envisage, but I feel that for a long time to come they will simply be extensions and realizations of the concept of automation.

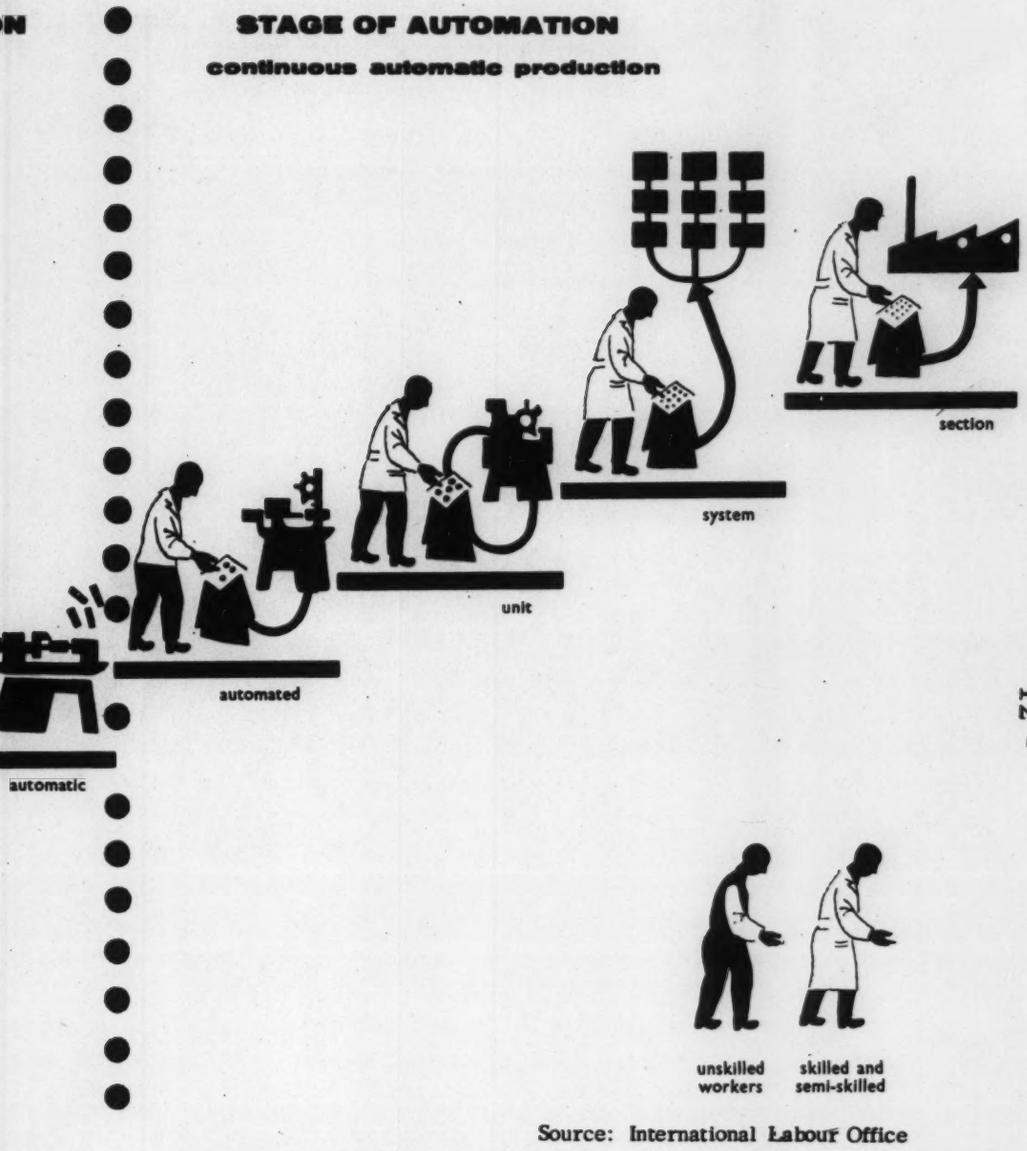
MANUAL STAGE

production by units

STAGE OF MECHANISATION

assembly line controls





Source: International Labour Office

CHART A

APPLICATIONS AND USES OF AUTOMATION

As it has developed in the United States, automation takes many forms and can be classified in several ways:

One such classification is as follows:

Computers: Automatic handling of information by use of electronic systems.

"Detroit Automation": Integration of machines; linking together, by means of automatic transfer devices of the machines of production.

Process Control Systems: Computer and integrated control systems for operation of process (oil, chemical, atomic) plants.

Numerical Control: The use of tape and other automatic control devices to direct operation of machines and machine systems.

The mechanization of what we already do today is the part of automation that has received the most attention. The automated engine lines in automobile plants, and massive transfer machines are familiar examples of automation. These machines and the jobs they do are important, for they contribute to increases in productivity. But they represent the least significant way in which automation increases productivity.

Eight or ten years ago, I was inclined toward this definition of automation, but with more practical first-hand experience, I soon changed my mind. The more I have been engaged in the actual application of automation to industry and government, the more convinced I am that the fundamental importance of automation is not so much the connecting of machines as it is the ability to create automatic information and control systems. The machines change from year to year, but automation is important as a combination of theoretical understanding, information handling, and of the practical application of this theory to build self-correcting systems.

The truly great gains from automation come when it extends the range of man's capability by permitting him to undertake new tasks and reach hitherto unattainable objectives. It is in this area that man's productivity is multiplied, not a few times, but by many orders of magnitude. And it is here that the greatest difficulties are encountered in determining automation's economic consequences.

For example, the principles of long-range weather forecasting are well understood, but digesting the mass of data necessary to produce accurate long-range forecasts has until now been beyond the reach of man or machine. Just recently, a computer was designed capable of doing more than 100 billion arithmetical computations a day. A giant like this will soon be able to provide accurate long-range forecasts, with repercussions for agriculture, construction, transportation and other industries that are breathtaking to contemplate.

Our experience has shown that the motivations for automating have been very diverse. Apart from the fact that many considered it a band wagon on which they should climb, the overriding factors dictating a decision to automate usually were, and still are, (1) to cut production costs (2) to reduce labor requirements (3) to do existing things faster (4) to do things not possible before (5) to increase productivity and (6) to aid in decision-making by providing fuller and faster information.

Probably the most common, and the worst reason for embarking on an automation program is to save labor costs. Office management in particular has been bedeviled for years by rising clerical costs and the difficulty of hiring enough clerks to get the work done. Mindful of claims to the effect that one man can be taken off the payroll for each $5,000 invested in automatic equipment, management has looked on automation as the answer to a nightmare.

At first glance, this looks like a good enough reason. Ordinarily, an automatic machine does reduce labor costs, though seldom as much as management had hoped. Here is a simplified example of the economics of the situation which shows why.

Computer Economics

A computer system with tape, tape printer, and peripheral equipment may rent for about $20,000 a month. In addition, the cost of going from the old to the new system can easily reach $275,000. It may cost more if the old system is particularly antiquated. The new system, therefore, has to relieve enough clerks to pay for the equipment and to yield a return on the investment. For a three year payout on the investment, annual savings above machine costs must be $92,000. To produce this savings from personnel alone, these costs would have to be reduced $332,000 a year. At $5,000 a year per clerk, this means a net reduction of 66 clerks for the investment to be barely justifiable. And this net reduction has to absorb the extra personnel costs for programmers and machine operators.

The main trouble with this approach is not that savings usually fail to match expectations.

When labor saving is the main goal, it automatically demotes to second place what should be the primary aim of any company installing automation equipment; to exploit fully the potentialities of these machines for doing things that cannot be done well, or cannot be done at all, without them. But even so, automation can cut costs in other less obvious directions.

A Department of Labor study of an insurance company, which installed a computer in the classification sections of one of its divisions, reveals where some of these savings lie. The computer reduced personnel in this particular area from 198 to 85 workers and freed more than 15,000 square feet of floor space for other uses. It reduced the number of punched card machines from 125 to 21, and the yearly rental for these machines from $235,000 to $19,000. Monthly punch card requirements have been cut by nearly 2.5 million. Altogether, the computer is expected to cut the classification section's budgets in half.

Indeed, management has often introduced automation largely to reduce labor costs and then finds that it has done the right thing for the wrong reason. One chemical company figured that for every dollar saved by reducing the man-hour content for each unit of product, it saved at least three dollars because it could produce a better product more efficiently and with less waste.

"Detroit" Automation in Practice

Among the first examples of the Detroit type of automation are the two Brooks Park engine plants of the Ford Motor Company, near Cleveland, which since 1951 have been turning out six-cylinder engine blocks from rough castings. The castings which are first produced in an automated foundry, are fed into a broaching machine, which then "just goes 'whoosh' and it is done," as one startled observer described the process. Altogether, 42 automatic machines, linked together by transfer devices that automatically move the blocks through the complete process, perform 530 precision cutting operations and borings. A rough casting goes through the line and emerges as a finished engine block in just 14.6 minutes, as against nine hours in a conventional plant.

From the start to finish along the 1,545 foot line, no operator touches a part. "I don't do nothing but press these two buttons," the operator of the broaching machine on an automated Ford Line at Dearborn remarked. "Sometimes I use my thumbs (to push the buttons), sometimes I use my wrists and sometimes I lay my whole arm across. The only time I sweat on the job any more is when the sun is 100 and something outside."

All too often today the economies expected of automation do not bear fruit in actual practice. The expected savings from high cost installations may turn into unrealized hopes.

The following, by now famous, case story clearly illustrates that automation can be a two way street, if the moves are not properly planned.

Late in 1952, a well-known Midwestern automotive supplier began planning a new and highly automated plant that was to prove almost disastrous.

This new facility was an industrial automation scheme designed for the production of body frames for the 1955 model of a popular low-price automobile. The heart of the plant was a 39-station riveting and welding transfer line for assembling the frames. Anticipated rate of production was 200 frames an hour, which represented 40 per cent of the customer's total requirements.

A new plant in northern Illinois, specially designed to house the machinery, was scheduled to go into production in the Summer of 1954 - allowing a lead-time of eighteen months between preliminary design and full operation. Although the machinery was installed on time, a continuing series of mechanical defects prevented the line from working properly. For example, the lack of complete drawings and proper references from the equipment vendor resulted in misalignment by one-fourth of an inch of a 30-foot station, which, in turn, prevented transfer through the station. Similarly, a number of transfer clamps had to be redesigned because original plans proved inadequate.

Mechanical problems continued to hold up production throughout the Summer of 1954. By Autumn, the body frame manufacturer was forced to install manual machines in order to meet delivery commitments for the beginning of the 1955 model year. This meant hiring 2,500 workers, rather than the originally planned 1,000. Because of local labor shortages, unskilled workers were hired. Although the plant was located in an area which had a history of labor trouble, little weight had been given to this fact when an automated facility had been planned. As things turned out, the company was faced with severe jurisdictional disputes and slowdowns.

The company succeeded in meeting production schedules with the manual equipment while debugging progressed on the automatic line. The line ran at reduced speed during the Spring and Summer of 1955, but in the Fall, the machinery began to have frequent breakdowns. Pressure for production prevented, for a time, the shutdown needed for correcting the engineering defects, but the line was finally shut down and rebuilt, with redesigned parts substituted for the ones which were faulty. This work took more than a year to complete. In the Spring of 1957, the line was finally started up again. It ran almost perfectly for four months, turning out superior frames at better than the originally planned rate of production.

The 1957 production year then ended. The 1958 model of the automobile was redesigned on a new frame, which was all welded. The original investment in the automatic line was about $4 million.

The estimated cost of retooling for the 1958 frame was about $2 million. In the meantime, because of the frame manufacturer's poor delivery performance, the automobile manufacturer cut his order by about 40 per cent. The economic justification for the automatic line was destroyed. As a result, the 1958 frames were produced on a semi-automatic line in one of the supplier's original plants. The estimated loss on operation of the automated plant was almost $10 million.

Why should all this have happened? The series of difficulties this manufacturer experienced - unanticipated mechanical trouble, labor trouble, insufficient time for debugging the new equipment, severe pressure for production - might at first glance be put down to nothing more than a run of plain bad luck.

But it was not bad luck. Every one of the difficulties that made automation a fiasco for this company can be traced to inadequate planning and insufficient lead time. In short, the company grossly underestimated the magnitude of the change it was undertaking.

Process Control

When the material being processed is not a rigid, solid object but something that flows by its very nature - a liquid, a gas, electric energy, a solid in crushed or powdered form - continuous flow is a good deal easier to achieve. Thus, it is not surprising that automation began earlier and has gone much further in the processing industries than in manufacturing, although these industries are still a long way from full automation.

In chemical manufacture and oil refining - the industries that have gone the furthest in automating - entire systems of control instruments regulate the production processes, making it virtually automatic from raw material to finished product, and sometimes to finished by-product as well. A modern oil refinery, oil men estimate, is 80 to 90 per cent automatic. In Esso's refinery at Fawley, England, six men on any one shift operate distillation units processing 5.5 million gallons of crude oil a day. In another plant in Iran, one operator in a central control room regulates 50,000 barrels a day, the total output of four wells singlehanded. "A man may work for months on a pipeline, or in a refinery, or even in the production fields and never see or touch oil," an official of the Oil Workers Union has said.

Here are a few more examples that further illustrate the advantages of more automated process control:

--The chief instrument engineer of a chemical company stated:

"Our most significant improvements in purity, increases in throughput for existing equipment, and increases in product

uniformity have been brought about by the addition of either analytical instruments or by rearranging the existing instruments into tighter control loops, or by the combination of both. When we have studied the economics after installation, it has not been unusual for us to find savings to the company of anywhere from $50,000 to $150,000 per year by adding instrumentation that costs from $10,000 to $15,000."

--Installation of automatic product gauge controls in a plastic film extrusion operation yields savings on materials of $33,000 per year. The cost of the controls was $24,500.

--The installation of computer to control a catalytic polymerization unit in a refinery, in conjunction with chromatograph stream analyzers, other new sensing elements, and pneumatic to electric and electric to pneumatic transducers yielded an increase in yield from 86% of theoretical maximum to 93% plus an annual savings in cost of catalytic material of $75,000. Total annual savings are approximately $350,000. The total cost of the control installation was $300,000.

--The installation of new instrumentation system in a pulp plant resulted in increasing the yield of one cord of wood from .57 tons to .8 tons of pulp.

Numerical Control

Numerical control automation, which has just recently begun to be applied on a widespread basis, is especially applicable to small shops with short runs of greatly varying products--typical job shops. There are roughly 750 of these tape fed machines in existence today. As I mentioned in earlier testimony, the bulk of U. S. hard-goods production is in lots of less than 25 identical units. But today's plant automation is largely of the "Detroit type" - large transfer machinery, suitable for only a small portion of our national production. The solution of this problem is on hand in the numerically controlled machine tool. The development of smaller versions of this equipment will be of principal importance to the factory in the future. Such machines will be capable of producing a short run of one product and then, with a change of tape, producing a few more units of an entirely different product, all from the same tool.

Individual companies adopt automatic control because they expect to benefit from its use by doing existing things better through cutting labor costs, increasing the yield from a facility, reducing in-process inventory, facilitating change in product characteristics or for other reasons. However, the greatest gains in productivity from automation will come from being able to do altogether new tasks and achieve previously unattainable goals. Manufacturers have stated that: -using a new numerical controlled machine tool, the total cycle times in the fabrication of an assortment of different parts are reduced from one-half to slightly more than one-tenth the cycle time using conventional tools -tools are two to four times more productive under numerical control than comparable tools under manual or tracer control.

Just recently a large manufacturer announced that it already had put into operation seventy-five "program-controlled machines" in the last few years. The company was specifically interested in applying automation to its job shop operations.

The next decade will see the spread of this kind of system in the plant, as the last decade has seen the spread of the computer in the office.

For several years now, my firm has conducted comprehensive surveys of users of automotive data processing equipment to find out what have been their experiences. We have generally found that proper uses of the "hardware" through careful planning has opened possibilities of great control and analysis than ever existed before.

Chart B shows part of the results of a survey we took 3 years ago of two hundred and eighty users of computer systems. The areas of greatest satisfaction occurred where the inherent speed of the equipment led to satisfaction. There seemed to be less feeling of success applying the computer where more complex management problems arose (improvement in employee morale, for example) and where there was greater need for management science (long-range decisions) techniques. These problems rather than the equipment have been the major stumbling blocks to successful automation - these, rather than any technical problems that may have developed. Technical developments, new machines, and all the results of competition and new ranges of equipment are all of no avail unless they are properly applied. For a long time, it has been this area of application that cast a shadow over the data processing field. The lag between technical achievement and actual application was, say two years ago, so significant as to be almost dangerous. The lag still exists, but at least there have been worthwhile developments in the application of computers. Information instead of paper work is becoming the raison d'etre of more and more machine systems, and the imaginative developments in 1959 have been quite interesting.

Expectations vs. Experience

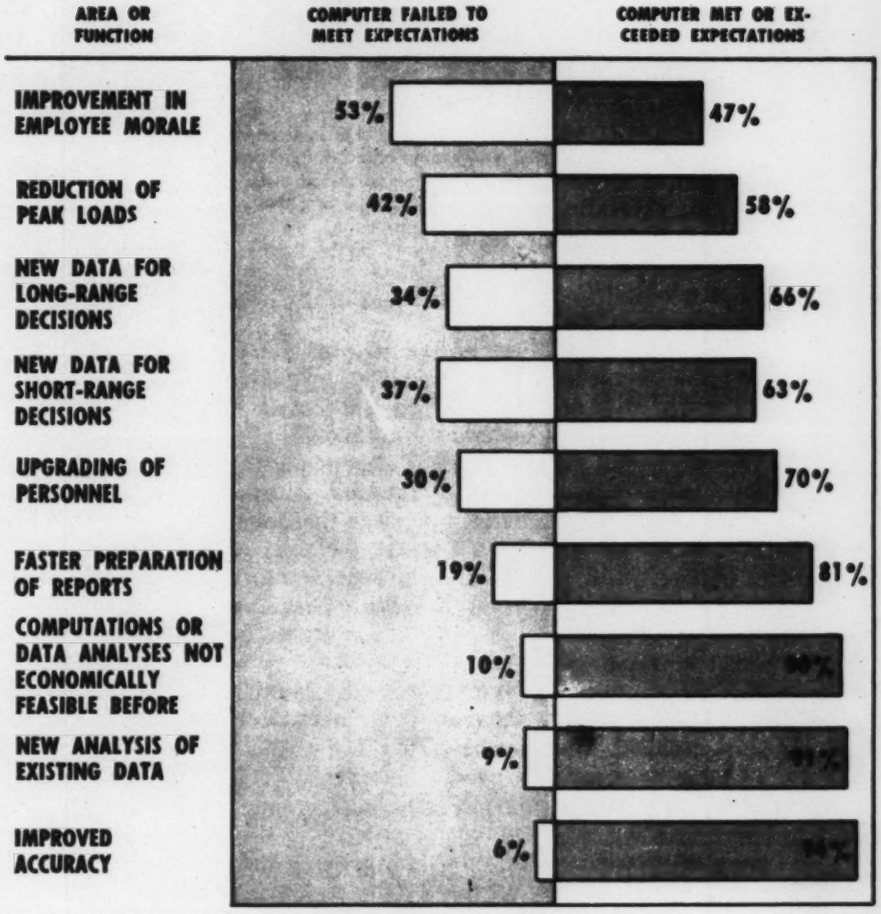


CHART B

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

A textile manufacturer in New York uses a computer almost entirely for information on inventory, sales analysis, and material available for sale. Not only has this been found to be profitable, but the company is developing new applications and further information requirements that will require a larger system in the next two years. A major oil manufacturer is developing a complete program for marketing accounting that will not only reduce costs, but will provide marketing managers with up-to-date information on sales and sales tendencies all over the country. A drug and consumer goods manufacturer is using a computer to keep constant track of area sales in relation to a national index of purchasing power for a given area. As soon as discrepancies are detected between actual sales and sales that should be expected, corrective action is taken and the results can be measured on a week by week basis.

Another producer of consumer goods has been able to use a computer system to determine the effect of money spent for advertising and promotion, and to test the probable effect of expenditures on different types of advertising. The result has been a significant change in his advertising and promotion policy.

A chemical company is developing a program for patent searches and classification that will save large amounts of the time of skilled research workers, while the computer is also being used to provide the company's customers with optimum mixes of fertilizer for specific conditions. A utility company will use one of the new generation of computers to overcome the problem of providing customers with up to date, accurate answers to inquiries, in addition to performing the basic data processing work. The Boeing plant in Wichita, Kansas, is using direct connections from the factory floor to the data processing center in order to gather production data as part of an integrated system of production control.

There are many other examples, but it is enough to say that, although they remain the exception rather than the rule, many companies have made significant progress toward utilizing some of the real potential that computers offer.

The present uses for electronic data processing can be summarized under three headings: (1) Business Data Processing, (2) Analysis for Management, and (3) Scientific and Engineering Applications. This is similar to the breakdown we use for our computer surveys.

In Chart C, I have reproduced the categories under which we collect data for our surveys. It gives a good picture of present kinds of uses for computers in industry. Generally, payroll and accounting functions

Survey Categories for Electronic Dat

-Business Data Processing-

1. Payroll
2. Accounts Receivable & Billing
3. Accounts Payable
4. Cost Accounting
5. General Accounting
6. Production Control
7. Production Scheduling
8. Inventory Control

Scientific and Engineer

-CHART

Sc

ata Processing Equipment Users

-Analysis for Management-

1. Expense Distribution
2. Budgeting and Estimation
3. Sales Analysis
4. Linear Programming
5. Simulation
6. Market Research
7. Statistical Surveys
8. Prediction & Forecasting

ering Applications

T C-

Source: John Diebold & Associates

are most often cited as EDP applications. Production and inventory control is becoming widely accepted for computer utilization as well as are operations research techniques (used in simulation, distribution and routing problems and production and inventory controls - to name just a few).

One of the areas of discussion prominently raised at the previous hearings was the application of electronic data processing techniques to small business. Though most small businesses are far from knowing the fruits of automation, many have already tasted it - and many more will do so in the near future. This has come about due to two developments. One, the addition to computer manufacturers' product lines of small scale computer systems specifically designed for the capacity needs and pocket books of smaller businesses; second, the expansion in number of service bureaus and data processing centers. The latter only rents its customers time on computer systems. The service bureaus mostly offer complete services in addition to renting machine time to customers; these services include programming, systems design and consultation.

The service bureau has significantly opened up automatic data processing to small firms. Though they could not justify equipment of their own, use of the service bureaus has been proven economical for such continuing applications as payroll, sales analysis, inventory control, and particularly beneficial for special problems in the operations research category involving linear programming methods.

One of the largest computer center networks, the Service Bureau Corporation, a subsidiary of IBM, has reported that the backbone of its business is from small firms, most of whose gross sales are under five million dollars annually. Their customers include insurance agencies, schools, hospitals, union locals, small manufacturers, medical clinics, dairies, banks, mortgage companies, independent telephone companies and other smaller utilities.

The impact of the service bureau concept on business should be even greater within the next few years. All the leading computer manufacturers have opened large numbers of such centres, and are continually opening more of them. These companies include IBM, Remington Rand, RCA, Minneapolis-Honeywell and Burroughs.

In addition to manufacturer-run service bureaus, independent service organizations are cropping up all over the country. The independent service bureaus do not have the built-in contacts and customers that manufacturers' service bureaus have. They must offer results at rates reason-

able to the customer, and at the same time, must operate a profitable business.

Entirely independent service bureaus are in most cases offering punched card tabulating services. They will usually have punched card calculators or small computers for jobs which require more complicated analyses. In order to provide a low-cost service, these companies will specialize in one application, design a standard program which can handle simple variations of that application and will sell this to small firms at an economic rate. The large volume obtained through many customers makes this possible.

An example of this type of operation is located in New York City. This company has standard punched card equipment and a small punched card calculator. They have designed a payroll application on this equipment which can be used for several of the companies which they service. One of these companies has a 1,000-man payroll, a fairly large operation. It is a construction firm which found it very difficult to prepare accurate payroll records under their working conditions. This service relieved their accounting office of a big problem and also prepares the payroll checks and records at a lower cost.

This company has recently installed a computer which will increase its capacity considerably. The company expects to be processing payrolls for companies employing as few as 25 and as many as 1,000 employees. The significant factor in the economics of such an operation is that a standard payroll is designed and the equipment is set up to process a series of payrolls in one run. Only the imprinter changes so that the check and journal headings will show the proper company name. This provides the means for very small companies to take advantage of savings available through large volume processing.

It seems that the small independent service bureaus will be specializing in particular areas, such as payrolls, or insurance calculations, for assisting large companies during peak periods, or survey results analysis, or general accounting functions. Through standardized systems, they will be able to provide low-cost service to the small companies and not only increase their own business but also provide benefits to their customers. The customers, in so many cases, cannot afford their own equipment and even cannot afford specialized treatment, including systems design and programming on a large computer, at a service bureau.

The service bureau concept has gone beyond specific applications to

small business. Large service bureaus operate high speed computers for use of the larger corporations to solve highly complex problems. Cooperative service bureaus have also been formed. While many companies are solving their data processing problems through the use of outside service bureaus, a number of companies have found it more feasible to buy a computer on a cooperative basis with other companies. In most cases, the companies who have banded together have done so because their competitors were able to buy computers of their own. In order to compete, the smaller companies had to have the use of computers and had to have them close enough geographically to perform their daily requirement.

One of the earliest groups of this type is SPAN, a group of fire and casualty insurance companies in Hartford, Connecticut. These companies installed a computer system in early 1958 for processing their paper work.

A similar arrangement was accomplished and is operating in the midwest, except that the companies involved are seven engineering firms.

A third group which has seen the need for electronic equipment is a group of banks in Texas. This group of banks will buy equipment and establish a joint computer centre.

The important economic fact to recognize is that each cooperative group is applying the computer for the same type of application - banking, insurance and engineering. The hardware of the system can, therefore, be designed for the application. The computer operation also has a steady flow of customers. These factors make for a more economical operation than service bureaus who are soliciting different kinds of business.

All these factors - the service bureau, the data centre, the cooperative bureau, the new small-scale computer systems - would seem to indicate that what can be called "small business" will have an economic opportunity to make use of automative techniques. It may be further concluded that it will be an economic necessity for them to do so.

Who Uses Automation

Despite the burgeoning use of automative techniques, both in the factory and the office, woefully little quantitative data are available as to usage by industrial and commercial sectors of the economy. The extent of penetration of automation equipment within any industry group

is still not clearly ascertained.

As a firm, we assemble this kind of data. We are presently in the process of updating past computer surveys. From a qualitative standpoint, the bulk of computer installations can be accounted for among the following industries: aircraft manufacturers, transportation, insurance companies, computer component manufacturers, financial firms, public utilities, other manufacturing, military and research, science and engineering.

More data is available for the controls and instrumentation industry. I will show in the following section, The Growth of The Automation Industry, that this industry can be expected to grow at a fast rate.

During the next decade, the developments in automation should have a growing impact on American industry. Research now being conducted by electronic equipment manufacturers should yield these results. I think it is only fitting to conclude this section on "Applications" with a short discussion of the kind of developments we can expect in these next ten years.

The most immediate progress will be made in the area of communication equipment. Large corporations, which took the lead in initiating the use of large-scale computing equipment for data processing, will give more management attention to integrating accounting, purchasing, inventory control, and shop scheduling through centralized processing.

Until now, automatic data processing has been largely confined to batch processing. This means collecting data during the day, usually in the form of punched cards. These cards are then sorted and processed against a sequential file in a daily processing run. However, several improvements in the punched card system soon to be introduced should speed up the operation and reduce the input preparation costs.

Faster Fact Gathering

As is indicated in Chart E, equipment will be available this year for card-to-card transmission of data over regular long-distance telephone wires. Relatively inexpensive sending machines installed, for example, in a company's branch plants and sales offices will be used to send information at the rate of 40 cards a minute (and for the price of a phone call) over the telephone lines to headquarters where a receiving machine will produce the data on another card.

TIMETABLE FOR AUTOMATION

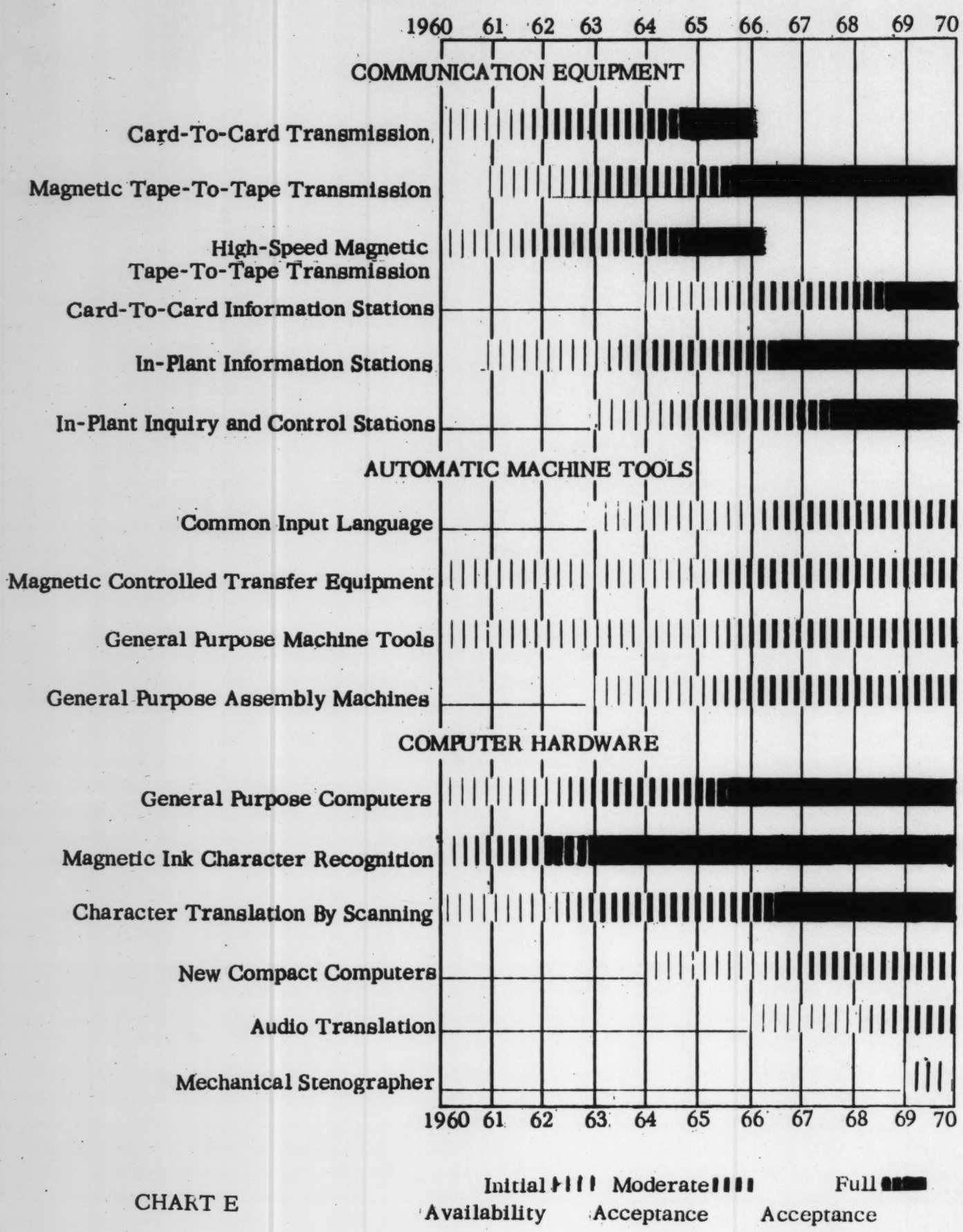


CHART E

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

An extension of this system, the card-to-card information station, also will be available. It would work like this:

A production worker drops his time card into a "remote station" computer located on the production floor and, using a keyboard, inserts such variable data as employee number and quantity produced. This information is then transmitted over cables to a central information station which punches a transaction card. The transaction cards transmitted from this and all other remote stations are accumulated and subsequently converted to magnetic tape and fed into the computer.

Improvements in magnetic tape transmission, however, will eventually do away with the extra operation of converting punched cards to tape. By 1961, tape-to-tape transmission utilizing long distance telephone lines will be available. Even higher-speed tape-to-tape transmission will be possible with the use of coaxial cable. This advance is expected about 1964.

Before the decade is out, it will be possible to feed information from remote stations in plants and offices directly into a central computer, which will maintain an up-to-the-minute file and will immediately feed back answers to requests for any data contained in the file.

In-plant information stations, which will be introduced in 1961, will permit direct, continuous transmission of punched-card data from the remote station into the central computer. The computer will be able to maintain an up-to-the-minute file. It will also produce daily summary reports of operations.

By 1963, continued advances will make possible the in-plant inquiry and control station, which could automate the whole scheduling process. A medium-size computer will do the basic file maintenance of incoming data, but it will be attached to a bigger computer which will draw its information from the file, coordinate such complex processes as scheduling, and relay any changes back to the remote stations.

Service industries, such as banks, will use inquiry stations, for example, to check customer accounts and to record transactions. Airlines will be able to make and confirm reservations quickly, and at the same time, record billing information. Department stores will check credit, and account balances automatically.

Automating the Plant

The truly automatic factory is still far from a reality today, but

during the next decade, improvements on existing equipment and systems will bring it closer to realization.

With existing tape-controlled machine tools, extensive calculations are required to prepare the instructions for the coded magnetic tapes. Today, these calculations are performed on a computer using specially prepared programs for each specific part. By 1963, a common input language for computers will simplify this job.

A few companies, both here and abroad, are already using tape-controlled transfer equipment to link together several of these automatic machine tools into an assembly line. Further development of this equipment can be expected in the next ten years.

To be efficient, automatic tools today can perform only one specific function. But automatically controlled tools which can perform a number of different jobs, such as cutting and stamping, will be in use by 1962. The next step after the development of these general purpose machine tools will be the development of general purpose assembly machines.

Versatile New "Brains"

Behind all of these advances are a number of major improvements in in the computer itself.

General purpose computers, installed this year, will be able to handle equally well such business functions as inventory and scheduling, and such engineering functions as the design and development of new equipment.

New compact computers, which will be available by 1964, will be smaller, faster, and more flexible. They will be able to do more jobs simultaneously and will make a bigger file of information easily accessible.

Wider usage of magnetic ink character recognition systems will take place during the decade. Many banks are already using magnetic ink account numbers, which can be "read" electronically, on their checks. Character translation by scanning is another development in this area. In this process, a photo-electric eye scans the numerals and records them.

By 1966, it will be possible to instruct a computer verbally by means of audio translation. In another four years, a mechanical stenographer attached to the computer will give back the recorded data on a sheet of paper . To get the most out of its investment in this revolutionary equipment, management will give more attention to finding broader uses for these new tools of industry.

GROWTH IN THE AUTOMATION INDUSTRY

In the last five years, the growth in the use of automation techniques has certainly been great. But it is my guess that this billion dollar automation equipment industry of today is still in its infancy. I don't think this statement is optimistic. On the contrary, it is quite realistic. In the late 1940's I remember hearing of a statement that "fewer than a dozen electronic computers will be able to satisfy the entire computational requirements of this country." There is no need belaboring this prediction.

I said earlier that I felt that there were real problems in application, that automation would be slow in coming. But "slow" is a relative word. Automation will be "slow" in being applied as compared with its potential applicability. In absolute terms of dollar value of equipment delivered, diversity of machines introduced and number of units installed, the growth rate of the automation industry will generally outstrip that of the entire economy for a while to come.

Several factors can account for this growth. Continual interest on the part of business men in methods which may lead to cost reductions and better management control, technological development within the automation field, and more competition in the industry itself.

One department in my organization is specifically concerned with analyzing the automation equipment market. We are always in the process of updating our estimates and projections. It is significant that projections of the future market usually must be revised upwards as we receive more data on present market conditions!

This section will mainly include some of my firm's data on the industry's historical growth and some projections for future growth.

Process Controls and Instruments

This industry should grow threefold by 1970. Chart F illustrates my firm's estimates of the potential market for automatic controls and instrumentation. We may expect that expenditures for this type of equipment can approach and even exceed three billion dollars a year by 1970.

The process industries, such as chemicals and food processing, have been the major users of controls and instrumentation. Companies dealing with products manufactured in continuous flow systems have been quickest to adopt the use of this equipment. We can expect spectacular growth in process industries during this next decade. Chemical production is estimated to rise more than 125% by 1970, for example. Not only will process

ACTUAL & PROJECTED EXPENDITURES FOR CONTROLS & INSTRUMENTATION

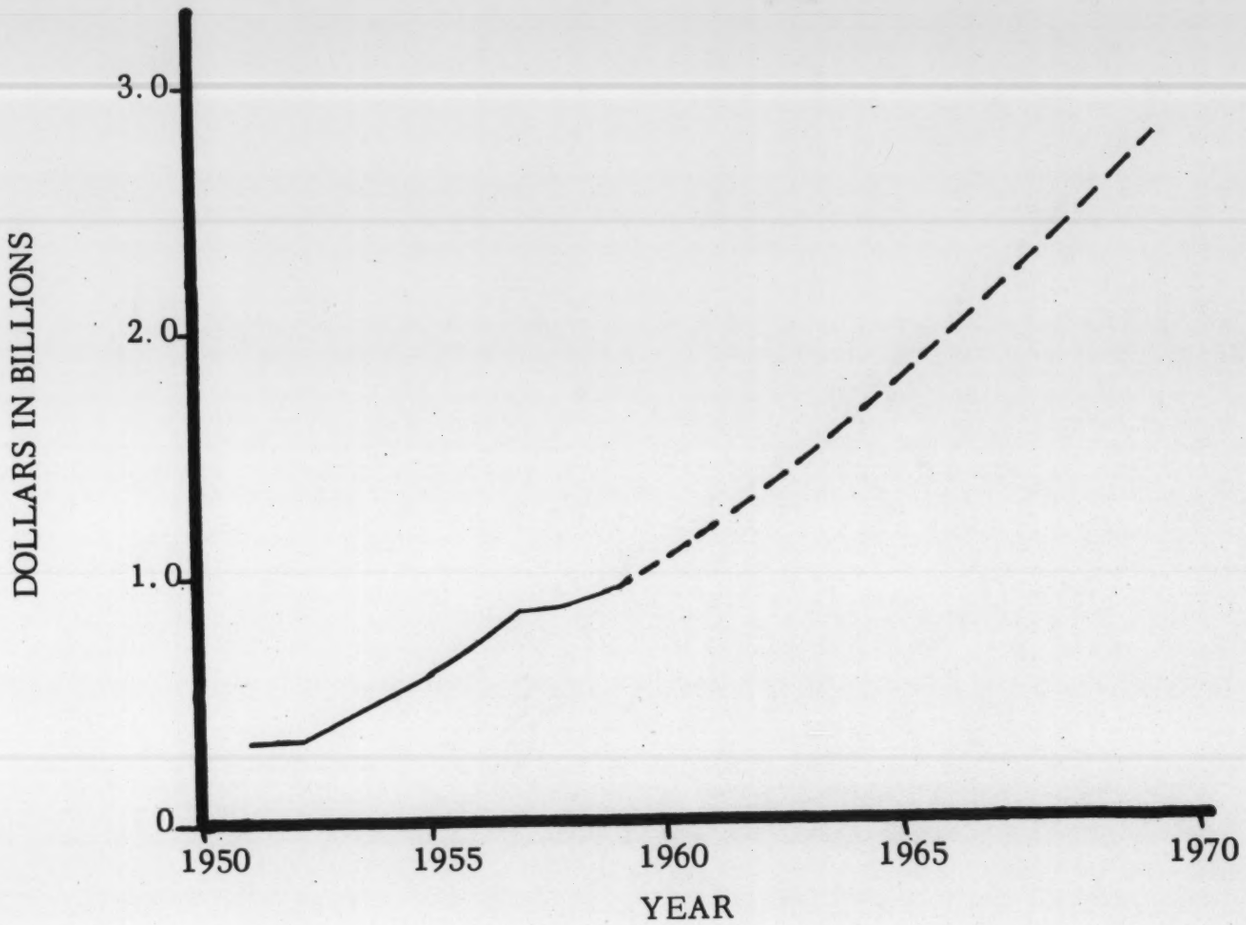


CHART F

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

control equipment production grow due to growth in its market, new technological developments yielding new uses will expand this market to an even greater extent. Of the total expenditures in 1970 for controls and instrumentation, that equipment going to the process industries may account for about two thirds of this total, or about two billion dollars. Chart G is a graphic comparison between the rise expected in Gross National Product and a projection of process control and instrumentation expenditures. The growth rate in these industries' expenditures will be greater than ten per cent per year during these next ten years. Most certainly, it will outstrip our national growth rate rather dramatically.

Numerical Control Equipment

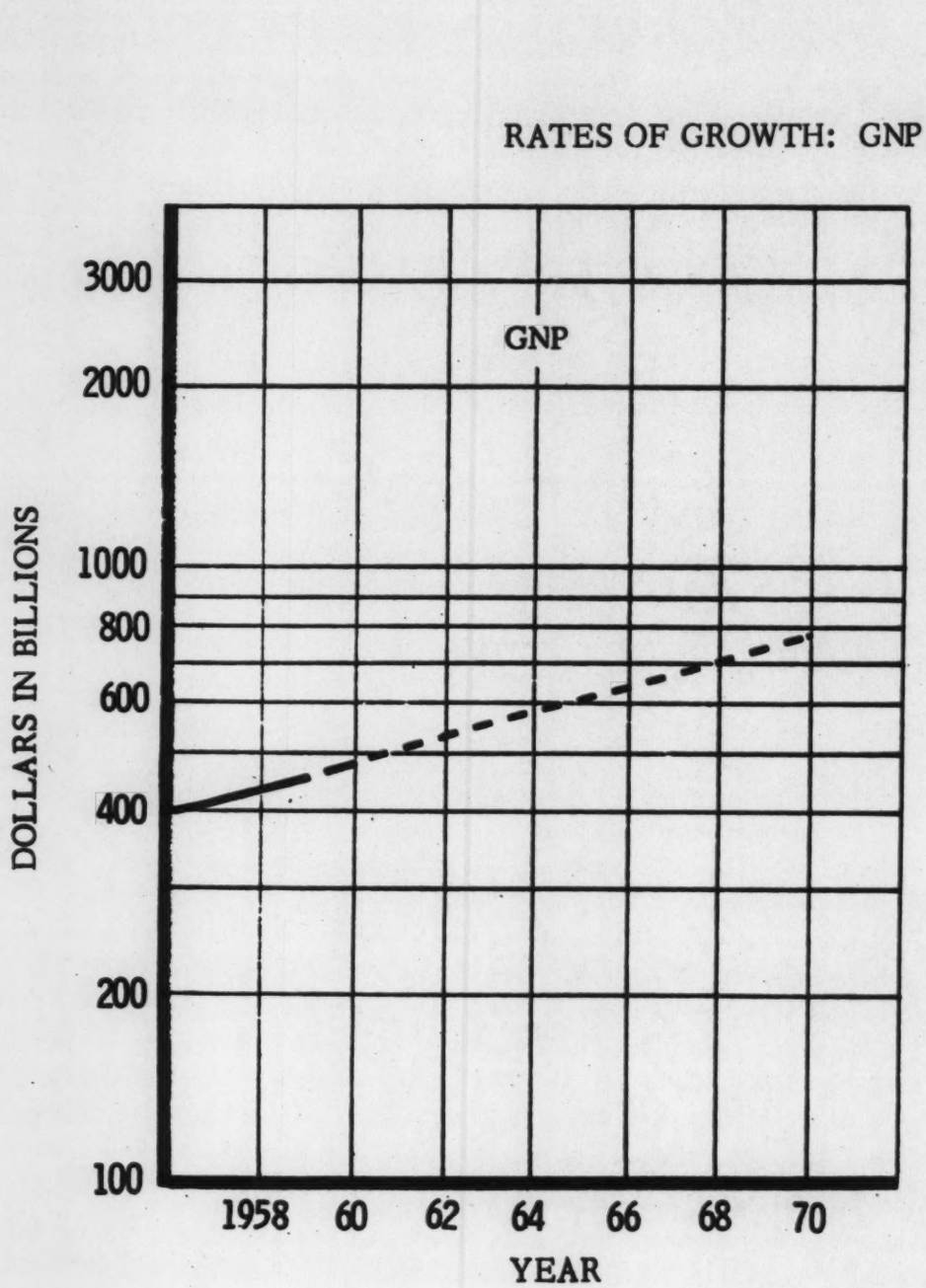
Numerical controls have shown the greatest growth rate of any sector of the automation equipment field, largely because it is the newest of commercially acceptable automation techniques - and there are relatively few actual units installed. Numerical control is only six years in existence, but its acceptance by industry seems complete.

In the last few years, annual sales of this equipment have been doubling the previous year's sales record. We can expect this high rate of growth to continue for years to come. In the next three years, my firm's estimates show this industry growing by five hundred per cent to within the one hundred million dollar range. Chart H shows our projection, again with a comparison to a gross national product estimate.

Already, more than forty companies have developed numerical control equipment and are promoting its sale. The technique has demonstrated distinct advantages over conventional machine tools that outweigh its initial high cost: large potential reductions in production costs, greater accuracy and more speed - to name just a few.

Undoubtedly, the large capital outlays needed to install numerical controlled machines will keep many small businesses from employing them at this time. Many may simply be reluctant to lay out money for new tools when it would seem that the ones they have are perfectly good. Eventually, competition may drive the smaller businesses to use of this technique. Making these automated tools economically feasible for them will require that the machines have great flexibility - which they are technically capable of - and good service on the part of the manufacturers. I think the latter will certainly occur. The analogy may be made here to the role of the manufacturers of computers who have done a great deal in bringing the technical know-how to the equipment users.

RATES OF GROWTH: GNP & PR



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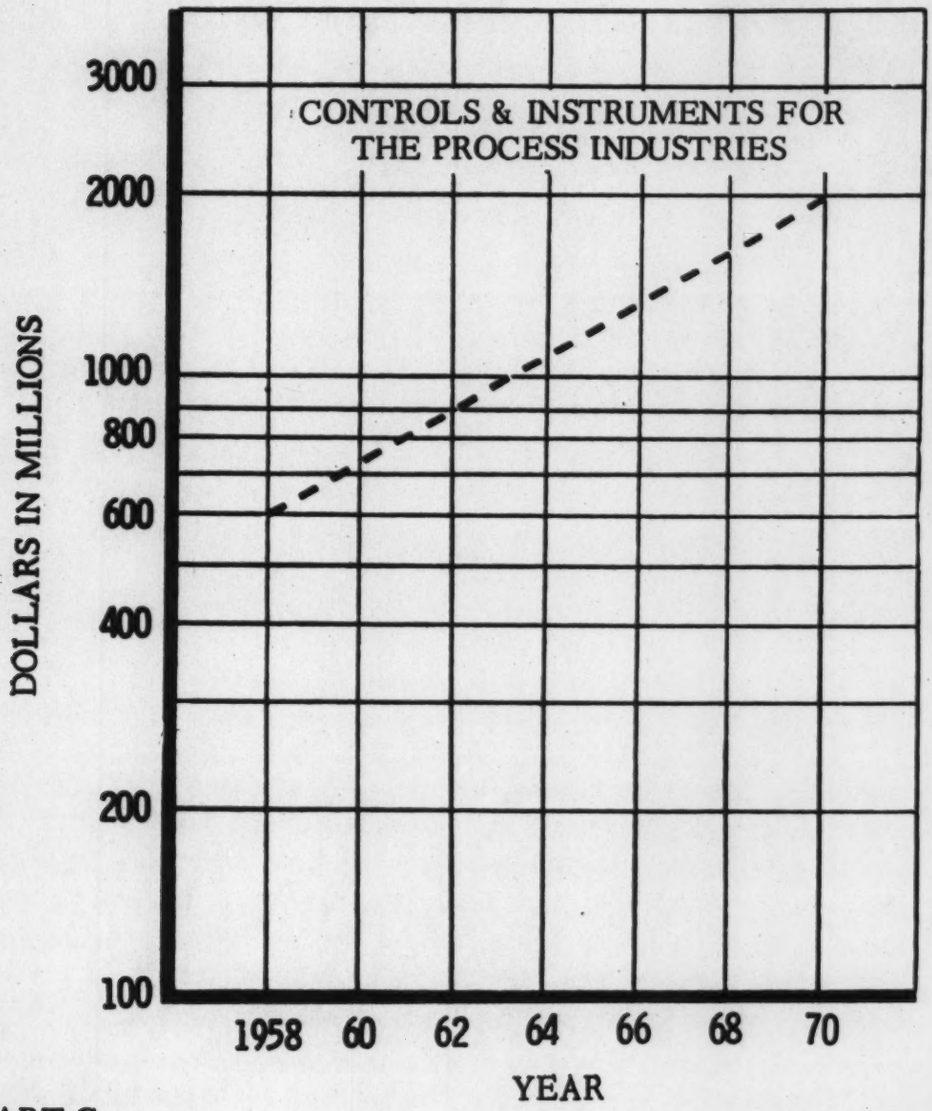
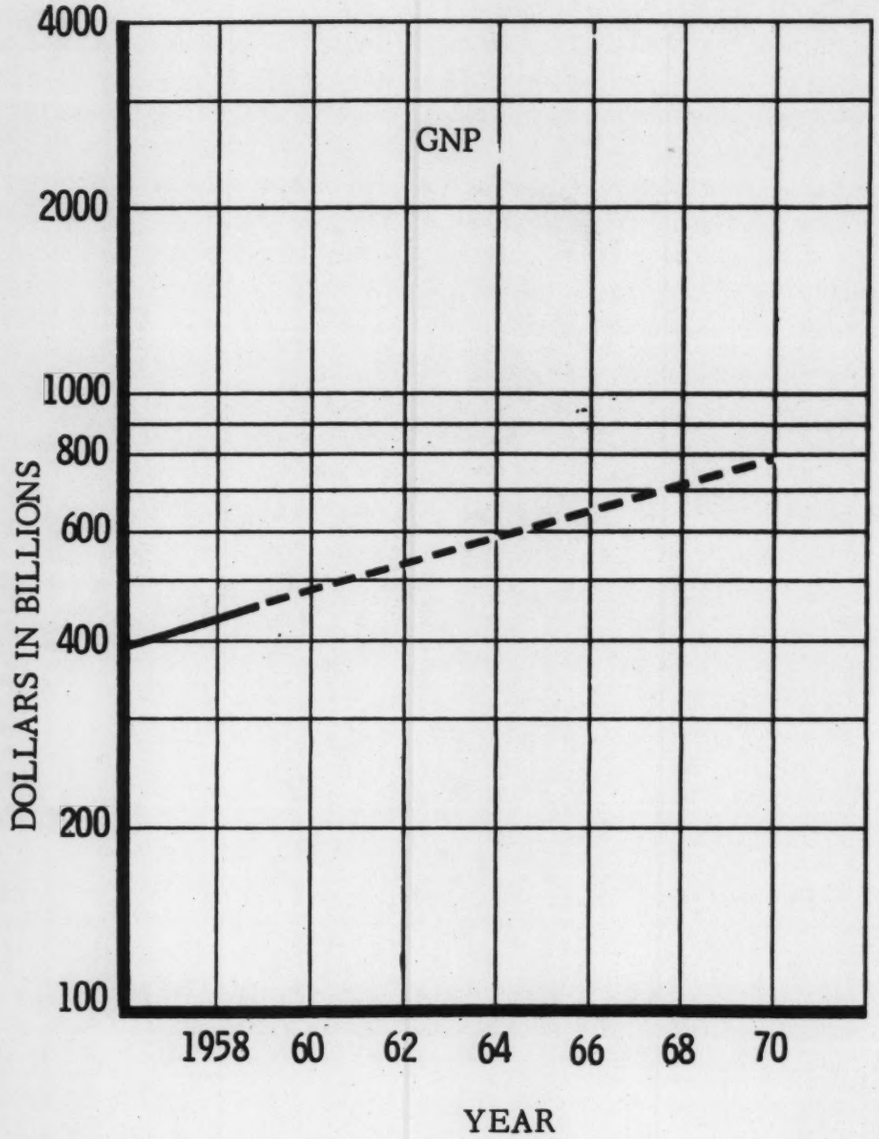
PROCESS CONTROL EQUIPMENT



HART G

RATES OF GROWTH: GNP &



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& NUMERICAL CONTROL EQUIPMENT

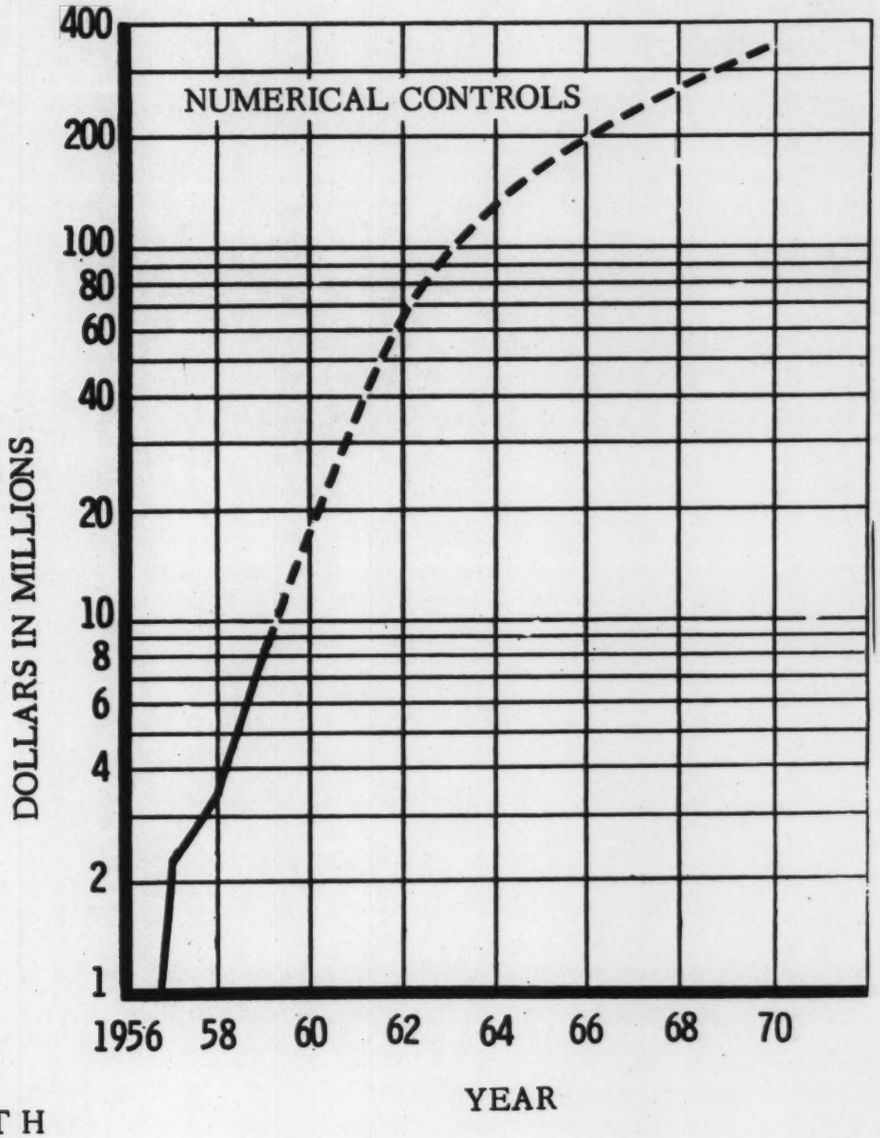

CHART H

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc

The impact of numerical controls on the economy has yet to be strongly felt. This aspect of automation has not received the wide public attention given to computers and transfer equipment; but this phase of the industry alone may well have a most significant impact within certain manufacturing industries. When you consider that about 70 to 80% of the metal-working industry deals with production runs of twenty five units or less and that these operations have been the last to yield to cost reduction efforts, numerical controls are bound to have a major effect on this manufacturing industry. One prognosticator says that "within five years, fifty per cent of the new machine tool facilities will be represented by numerically controlled tools." No doubt this subcommittee will hear other estimates of future numerical control usage from witnesses identified with that industry. Suffice to say, that growth in the application of numerical controls even to twenty five per cent of new machine tool facilities will have national economic consequences.

Electronic Data Processing

I think that it can be safely said of electronic data processing that it is the most extensviely used technique developed within the concept of automation; there seems to be little doubt that the influence in our economy will grow even greater. The intelligent use of electronic computing machinery and its peripheral equipment hold out promises of productivity which we do not, at present, even know how to measure - the "productivity" found in accomplishing things we never thought of doing or simply could not do before. There is still a long way to go, however, in extending the use of this equipment within industries to accomplish day-to-day business functions - payroll processing, inventory control, production control and other such applications.

The number of companies that have computer systems is still a minute fraction of total American industry. Chart I is a summary table of our latest estimates of the number of computer installations. Total installations, as of July 1960, were almost eleven thousand. This is more than a 34% increase over last year's total. These figures only denote computer systems delivered; hundreds more are on order.

I think I can summarize the basis for this recent progress by considering three factors that have had far-reaching influence in automatic data processing. First, development and introduction of new machines and new technical developments. Second, significant developments in automatic data processing for the small and medium size company. Third, the growth of competition in the computer field, and fourth, the improvement of the use made of computers through better planning and better applications.

ESTIMATES OF COMPUTER INS

(As

Large-Scale General Purpose
Digital Computer Systems

Medium-Scale General Purpose
Digital Computer Systems

Small-Scale General Purpose
Digital Computer Systems

Miscellaneous Digital Computers

CHART I

*NOTES: The figures here are on a systems classificati
peripheral equipment as defined below. Ther
bilities in terms of large, medium and small.

Large-scale: The system uses magnetic tape
arithmetic speeds. Price in general is in the
more.

Medium-scale: The system uses magnetic tap
arithmetic speeds. In general, the price rang

Small-scale: The system does not use magnet
grammed. Miscellaneous computers are carc
not fall into one of the above systems classific

Source: Automatic Data Processing Service
John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

NSTALLATIONS*

-Delivered-		
As of July 1960)	(As of July 1959)	% Increase over 1959
607	383	58%
840	444	89%
2810	1691	66%
6717	5636	19%

tion, based on the computer and its associated
ere is no implied evaluation of machine capa-
ll. Minimum requirements for each class follow:

pes and the computer operates at microsecond
e order of magnitude of one million dollars or

tapes and the computer operates at millisecond
nge is from $500,000 to $1,000,000.

netic tapes, but the computer is internally pro-
rd calculators and other machines which do
fications.

Technological improvements in electronic computers have been made in such areas as data storage and retrieval, computing speeds and a host of developments leading to special capabilities of "hardware" to cope with specific problems. The most recent important development has been the transistorized computer. We are now faced with a new generation of computers with new capabilities. Generally, the new computing machines have the following attributes:

a) Greater Reliability. Machines will make even fewer mistakes (if this is conceivable) and they will be in operating condition in a greater proportion of the time.

b) Costs of installation will be lower, partly because the machine systems are smaller and partly because of the fewer environment requirements for the installation.

c) Lower Cost Per Unit of Performance. This has several additional implications. The greater speed of processing will permit applications that were impossible before for economic reasons.

d) Greater Flexibility. One machine is now able to serve many more functions than before. For instance, it is, at least from a technical viewpoint, much more reasonable to combine scientific and business applications than it was before.

The development of smaller machines has opened up new areas of business to the computer manufacturers. As can be seen in Chart I, in terms of absolute increases in number of installations and percentage increases in number of installations and percentage increase, small scale computer systems have shown the most impressive growth. Many of these systems have gone to the smaller and medium-sized companies. The growth in the use of service bureaus, discussed in the previous section, has also expanded EDP usage considerably.

The third major development has been a healthy increase in competition among the computer manufacturers. This has resulted in a direct increase in number and kinds of systems available. There is also considerable pressure for the computer companies to provide even better service to customers.

Competition in computers has gone through three stages. Several companies have entered and then withdrawn from the field to leave three or four dominant firms manufacturing business data processing equipment. The

third stage began in 1958-59 when a whole new group of powerful firms entered the computer field. Chart J shows the initial announcement dates by major manufacturers of commercially available computer systems.

The industry presently is still dominated by a few companies. IBM, which has maintained its position as the largest in the industry in terms of sales volume, may find it difficult to hold its share of the market in the face of stiffer competition from the rest of the industry. Estimates of IBM's share of the computer market have declined from approximately 80% levels more recently to about 75%. Other computer manufacturers are predicting that this percentage will fall even further. In terms of dollar volume of the market, this should increase for the next few years. Chart K contains our estimates of the annual incremental value of installations since 1955. From an installed value of about seventy-five million dollars worth of equipment in 1955, 1960's installation value should be about six hundred fifty million dollars. The industry is capable of doubling this 1960 figure within five years. However, projections vary considerably, but even the conservative projections for annual installation values are higher than those presently. Personally, I expect the computer market to achieve its high growth potential.

INITIAL ANNOUNCEMENT DATES OF COMMERCIALLY AVAILABLE COMPUTER SYSTEMS

Manufacturer	Announcement Dates										
	1950	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1960
Remington Rand	X										
Teleregister		X									
IBM			X								
National Cash Register			X								
Bendix Corporation				X							
Burroughs				X							
Monroe					X						
RCA						X					
Minneapolis-Honeywell						X					
Royal Precision							X				
North American Aviation (Autonetics)							X				
Philco								X			
Thompson-Ramo-Wooldridge										X	
Control Data Corporation										X	
Packard Bell											X

CHART J

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

Approximate Value of Installations
Yearly Increments
Commercial Business and Scientific Data
Processing Electronic Computer Systems*

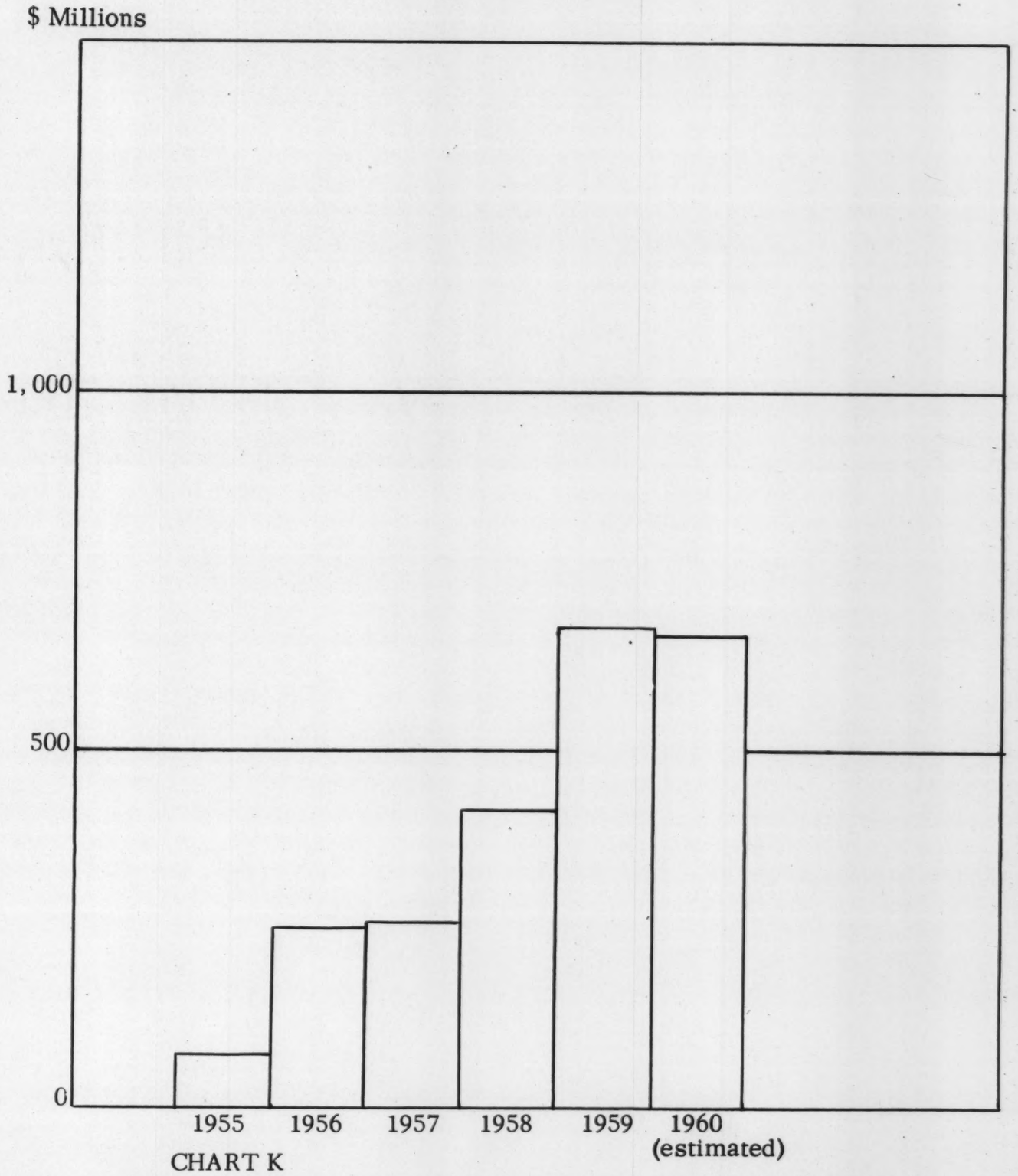

CHART K

*does not include punched card calculators or punched card system unless associated with a computer as peripheral equipment.

Source: John Diebold & Associates, Inc.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF AUTOMATION

I do not believe that we are presently experiencing the full economic and social influence of automation -- that is, of fully utilized automation concepts and techniques. The acceptance of automation technqiues by industry has been more gradual than it might have been. Technical or economic feasibility did not hold back the introduction of automation; lack of understanding the new technology, fear, improper planning and other human mistakes are more likely reasons. I think it would not be too great an exaggeration to say that the economic and social environment had a greater limiting impact on automation than the impact of automation on the environment.

An inspection of the aggregate productivity figures would not reveal any abnormally high productive influence in the post-war economy. Even if the recovery year 1959 is included in productivity calculations, total U.S. private industry still only had an annual rate of increase in output per man-hour of about 3 per cent for the entire post-war period 1947-59. The non-agricultural sector of the economy had an annual average of about 2-1/2 per cent for the same period. More recent average productivity growth is even lower. The annual average increase in productivity from 1953-59 in non-agrictural industries is slightly less than 2.3 per cent. In terms of impact on the total economy, it would be difficult to discover where any revolutionary element had been introduced into the works. Of course, substantial productivity gains have been made in a number of individual industries as a result of the introduction of mechanization and automation equipment; in some cases, human hardships have developed; in others this has not been - so. But in the aggregate sense, automation has not so greatly affected the economy that it can be isolated from advances in technology that we continuously experience.

I do not want to give the impression that I intend to minimize the economic effects of automation. The Subcommittee will, no doubt, be provided with many statistics documenting the dislocations of workers and job eliminations attributed to technological change. However, I want to avoid incorrectly attributing these results to automation. I made the statement earlier that automation is a set of concepts and techniques; it is a body of knowledge making available to the nation more efficient means for producing goods. This technology does not cause anything; how we use it yields the results. In other words, how the economy is operating has an influence on what the results will be.

If normal technological change takes place in a rapidly expanding economy, usually the benefits of change are only noticeable: increased productivity, higher wages, new products, etc.

When these same changes take place in a slow moving economy, disruption may occur. The basic problem in this case is not attacking the problem of "change". Clearly, the problem here is the slow growth of the economy.

This may seem like a most academic point, but I believe that it is very important to realize when dealing with the difficult problem of integrating technology in our highly complex economy. There have been times in the history of man when technological developments were so potent and their introduction so rapid that normal economic growth could not accommodate the changes without much human suffering. But I would suggest that in our case we may not be suffering from too rapid an introduction of technology as much as we are experiencing a slow rate of economic growth -- the recent average of about 2.5%.

Economic Aspects of Automation

Automation has continued to be most strongly utilized in the manufacturing sector of the economy. The transportation, communication, utilities, finance and insurance industries are also making use of these concepts to a growing degree.

In terms of the effects on total industry employment, automation has probably most affected the manufacturing sector; I say, "probably" because whether the use of automation or mechanization has been more responsible for the decreases in employment needs is still a moot question. The Federal Government has also made extensive use of automation techniques; the effects on government employment were investigated recently by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of the House of Representatives.

The economic effect on individuals in an industrial situation experiencing the introduction of automation has varied greatly from industry to industry. A lot has depended on what kind of automation technique was being employed, whether it was electronic data processing, "Detroit" automation, process control or machine tool control. Labor - management relations have also played an important role in affecting the outcome. The versatility of the work force, age levels, education levels, all influence what will happen after automation has been installed.

I have generally found, from my firm's experience, that the installation of automation equipment does not lead to mass layoffs of company personnel. Through the means of retraining, natural attrition, transfers and retirements, dislocation of personnel is minimized. In all cases of successful introduction of automation, management planning for the installation was carefully executed.

Not in all cases could layoffs be avoided. In certain instances, employees were not capable of learning new skills that would be required of them. When transfer possibilities were not available, termination of employment eventually proved necessary. Even here, I found, in several instances, where management maintained the employment level of an operation significantly above what was necessary after the automation equipment was installed. Though it is difficult to generalize that this is standard practice, I have heard others in the field relate this same experience.

Within the last year or two, automation seems to have become a national issue on two counts. First, on the domestic side, it has caused a good deal of fear. To be more precise, I should say that automation has been used to create fear, specifically, fear of unemployment. Secondly, on the international front, we recognize that we need the production efficiencies that automation allows us if we are to compete effectively in the free world markets; we also need increased productivity if we are to maintain our defense position and yet increase our standard of living. These two positions would seem to contradict each other, but they simultaneously exist.

In some of those industries where it is recognized that displacement of labor has and will continue to occur, some action has been taken. The Armour "automation fund", set up last year, attempts to study the "automation problem", tries to find opportunities for employment for workers displaced by automation and inaugurates retraining programs. This company-financed program is paid for by a levy of one cent per hundred weight of meat shipped, up to a maximum of $500,000 in the fund. The Armour fund has been referred to as having "set a pattern" for other industries. Several other companies are actually setting up study committees in the Armour fashion. Judging by the publicity received by a company when it embarks on such a program, there seem to be relatively few companies attempting this. However, a start has been made.

It is also encouraging that other institutions have begun to take steps to train both those who are already in the working force and those who will one day join it for the new jobs that automation creates. Several universities, for example, are now offering courses in computer programming, and a number of computer manufacturers are training clerical personnel on the job. A technical high school in Buffalo offers a course in which students build a digital computer and then learn to solve problems with it. At least one union, Local 1 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in St. Louis, in cooperation with the Federal Office of Apprentice Training and a local vocational school, has set up what it calls a "postgraduate school" for training in new electrical techniques.

Within a short time, 400 members had signed up for a three-year course and were attending 38 different classes four nights a week.

Two state governments, as I previously mentioned, held conferences to discuss the economic and social implications of automation. Both in New York and Massachusetts, the problems of coping with the effects of technological change and automation were aired. At these conferences, at others and in private discussions, I have usually found recurring arguments in both the "optimistic" and "pessimestic" camps of automation.

Here is a summary of some of the arguments most generally used by those who consider automation a blessing rather than a menace.

Automation is nothing new, so there is no reason for concern. Technological changes have occurred throughout history without dire results, and automation is just another technological change. There is no more need to legislate against automation than there was need to slow down the introduction of the assembly line. Technological change is progress and should be welcomed.

Everything will work out in the long run. The natural forces in the economy will make whatever adjustments may be necessary to the introduction of automation. This can be brought about through the movement of displaced workers to other industries, through the expansion of output of industries that automate, or through the introduction of new industries into the economy. If the industries that apply automation expand their output, there may be the need for the same number of workers, but they will be producing a great deal more than before. The introduction of new industries, through invention and research, will take up whatever slack may develop in the economy.

Automation is the key to a shorter work week. There is an unmistakable trend towards less work and more leisure. To realize this goal without sacrificing our real standard of living, we must increase productivity. And automation is the means to increase it. The result of automation will not be forced idleness or unemployment but the enjoyment of more leisure.

Unlimited demand for goods and services will prevent unemployment from automation. Since human wants are unlimited, increased productivity and production through automation will find a market in satisfying these wants. Through greater productivity, earnings will increase to such an extent that there will be a tremendous rise in our standard of living. These increased earnings can come about through higher wages or through lower prices or through a combination of the two.

Automation will create a bigger pie, so that everybody's slice will be larger. This is far better than trying to limit the size of the overall pie and then fighting about how the smaller pie is to be distributed.

Automation will come slowly and in limited quantity. It is neither big enough nor fast enough to warrant concern. Its speed is limited by the long-range planning it requires, the shortage of trained personnel, and the huge investment required. At best, it will affect only a small segment of the total economy, and even those who are so affected will have plenty of time to adjust.

Automation is the only means of maintaining our standard of living in the face of a significant labor shortage. The future problem will be unavailability of labor, not unavailability of jobs.

Employment has been increasing. While everybody is shouting about the harmful effects of automation on employment, there has been a steady increase in employment in the past few years during which the impact of automation should have been at its highest. What unemployment there has been can be attributed to cyclical swings similar to those which occurred before the advent of automation.

Automation brings about lower prices.

A more responsible management will not permit automation to have harmful effects on employment.

Development and growth may occasionally mean hardship, but it is a small price to pay for progress. (This is a rare argument, but as an attitude it may be prevalent).

The growth of the automation industry itself will provide employment for a good number of those put out of work by the products of the automation industry.

Automation is the key to national survival. The only that the United States will be able to stay ahead of, or keep pace with, Russia is through a strenuous increase in productivity. At the same time, more leisure, more comfort, and more consumption goods are the goals of American economic policy.

Automation will bring economic stability. In an automated plant, labor costs will be so low and capital costs so high that it will pay to continue production and lower prices rather than to cut production and lay people off. And even if production is cut, the cut in employment will not be proportionate, because most of the work will be indirect labor that does not vary with volume of production. Furthermore, automation programs must be long-term in nature, and their completion will not depend on short-term changes in sales.

This means that investment expenditures will be more stable. In these ways, cyclical fluctuations will be reduced.

Some of these arguments or points of view are sound. Some are false. Others are a mixture of fact and fancy. The dilemma is increased because there are contradictions and disputes even among those who agree that automation is a blessing and should not worry anyone. The most significant characteristic of all these approaches is that they are weak arguments for the point of view they espouse. The strongest arguments are those that are founded on world politics, rather than on economics.

The reason for the weakness of these arguments as they now stand is that there are no facts to back them up. There are no facts on which to base an evaluation of their worth, and there are no structures of theory within which the facts can be developed, sorted, and evaluated. The only strength that these viewpoints have is the fact that the counter arguments are also weak and unfounded.

The more common arguments for concern over automation are indicated below. The wide diversity of appeals that they have and the difficulty of evaluating them without greater knowledge - of facts and theory - can be seen even from this limited presentation.

The boom has helped up to now. The advent of automation - which is still in its infancy - has been accompanied by the greatest period of boom that America has ever experienced. A backlog of wartime demand and huge government expenditures have created the boom. This cyclical upswing has masked the effects of automation on unemployment because the temporary factors of a boom have enabled the economy to absorb those technologically displaced.

Automation is an accelerating phenomenon. As yet we have not seen its real effects. There have only been instances of complete automation, and some factories that can be considered partly automated. But the real impact will come in the future, when the gestation period is over, and the technical difficulties have been overcome. At that time, there will be a sudden surge forward, at an accelerating rate, and the resulting unemployment will wreak havoc with the economy.

There will be no purchasing power. As automation replaces workers and permits the manufacture of products without labor, these workers will be unemployed. As a result, they will not be receiving the wages that permit them to buy the products of American industry. The result will be the piling up of stocks in warehouses and the biggest depression that we have ever had.

And like every depression, it will spread to those areas of the economy that are not directly affected - the non-automated areas.

The growth of job opportunities cannot grow as fast as necessary.

Markets will become saturated. There is really no sense in pretending that automation will permit the same number of workers to turn out more products, because there will be no desire for these additional products. After everybody in America has two cars, he will not want a third. The truth is that there will be fewer workers turning out the same amount of products, because there is a certain point beyond which additional units will not be absorbed. In addition to the sufferings of those workers who are actually displaced, the drying up of their purchasing power will create a national depression that will eventually have repercussions on those who were not displaced by technology.

In comparing the pessimistic point of view with the optimistic, two things become clear - and without any need to pass judgments on the validity of either point of view. In the first place, the pessimistic side - or those favoring control and mitigation - is much the more powerful. It is on the offensive, it has much more active advocates, and it can appeal to the emotions much more effectively. Secondly, the pessimistic side has a definite program which it can champion. The higher minimum wage, the guaranteed annual wage, the four-day week, the granting of specific guarantees, and eventually the control of investments in automation - these are all specific points that can be put forth as a constructive program to avoid the dire consequences that are predicted. The opponents of these viewpoints have nothing concrete to offer, and they are constantly on the defensive.

The issues are, most closely drawn by organized labor, as they have a direct stake in employment movements. Chart L is a summary of some of these key issues, and how labor wants these issues resolved.

Social Aspects of Automation

Automation's social consequences are broader than its economic effects. Results in the social sphere also depend on the speed and degree of automation. Although automation can influence nearly every phase of our life - from what we do, to how we are governed - there is as great a lack of factual information as there is for the economic questions. Even the immediate effects of automation at the work place are hard to ascertain. There are only a few thorough studies of this subject. The few that exist are not sufficient to come to any generalized conclusions.

CHART L

Automation: How Labor Sees The Issues And The Action To Be Taken

Major Issues	Action To Be Taken
Industrial	**by Industry:**
-Decreasing job opportunities in manufacturing, mining and transportation industries. -Workers are being "dislocated", they need more job security. -Change in wage structure and job evaluation systems. -Labor not sharing in the gains of productivity from automation. -Industry's labor needs are changing fast, workers must be retrained.	Through collective bargaining establish provisions for: -Shorter work week. -Stronger seniority rights. -Severance payments and other supplementary benefits. -New systems of compensation, eliminating incentive-type wage payment plans. -Higher wages. -Earlier retirement. -Retraining Programs. -Special Funds to cope with Automation problems.
National	**by Government:**
-The slow rate of Economic Growth: The GNP should be growing at a 5% annual rate as opposed to the recent 2-1/2% growth trend. -Rate of increase in real earnings per per worker is too low, not as high as early post-war growth rate. -Increased Number of Economically distressed communities. -High sustaining unemployment levels, the possibility of automation leading to a "wholesale unemployment and depression."	-Stimulate Economic Growth through increased Federal spending, foster "job creating, job-inducing programs." -Promote a Federal Training and Retraining Program. -Government legislation inducing lower work week levels. -Greater aid to Economically distressed communities. -State Governments should increase unemployment benefit. -Change Social Security regulations to provide retirement benefits at earlier age.

The individual studies come to different conclusions, depending on the kind of automation that was introduced (factory automation or electronic data processing), where it was introduced and the conditions under which the change to automation took place - to name a few. There have been cases reported, for example, where the introduction of automation in a process plant led to higher morale among the workers, a more highly developed social unit in the plant and an upgrading in skills. But these reactions have not been true in all cases studied - or even in a majority of the ones that I have seen. A study of an automated assembly line operation reported "increased feelings of tension" among the workers; nor is this an isolated case. Recent studies of automatic data processing installations report a high level of routine work - as high or higher than before the introduction of the automatic equipment. In other establishments, routine work decreased in a comparable situation.

From my own experience, I find that one generalization holds true for the entrance of electronic data processing into an operating unit: there is an increase in the percentage of skilled personnel for the given operation unit after EDP is installed. At the very least, we can see that newer skills are needs - programmers, systems analysts, systems engineers. Certain valid generalizations can be made about the needs for retraining programs and, especially for education.

On all levels of working and living we will need more education. Beyond retraining those who already have jobs to prepare them for more highly skilled work, we must face the larger problem of how we are to increase our resources of engineers, scientists, and trained technicians. At present, a good part of our most talented raw material goes to waste every year. About half of the high school students in the upper 25 per cent of their classes do not attend college at all, and another 13 per cent drop out before they finish. All told, almost two thirds of those best fitted to exercise scientific and technical leadership are not being trained to their highest capacity.

This problem will grow more acute in the years ahead, and not only because the need for trained men will grow. We are still drawing heavily on the knowledge and the trained personnel developed under the pressure of military needs. But we cannot go on living off our hump indefinitely. We will have to develop ways of making higher training available to those best suited to make good use of it.

On the high school level, where technicians are trained and where the decision for or against science as a career is often made, the situation is equally acute. High school programs must be reassessed and so must the supply and quality of high school teachers.

As Dr. Allen V. Astin, Director of the National Bureau of Standards, has pointed out, "with the great shortage we now have of scientists and engineers, it is difficult to get anyone with any competence to do the teaching in the high schools at the present time."

But the question of education goes far beyond better training for work in specialized fields. Many of the new jobs that automation will create (supervising the intricate workings of delicate machines, for instance) will require an increasing ability to think and to judge, increased understanding of mathematical and logical methods, in short increased education in the largest sense of the term. Management will need these abilities on a higher level. And all of us, if our increased leisure is to mean something more than just another day when we can sleep late, will need to develop some of these qualities. In view of these needs, one of the great mistakes we could make would be to concentrate all our attention on the specialized problems of educating scientists and technicians.

More than that, the fact that the new machines are capable of providing us with more information than we have ever had raises questions of the highest importance. Just as they can provide answers to scientific questions that could never be answered before, so machines can provide answers to questions outside the field of science that could never be answered before because no one person or group of people could comprehend all the facts. Man could become a cog in the machine, accepting, in Norbert Wiener's words, "the superior dexterity of the machine-made decisions without too much inquiry as to the motives and principles behind them." It is here that our ability to think, to judge, and to understand will stand us in best stead. For machines are only machines. It is up to men to decide how to use them.

Foreign Aspects of Automation

In the practical application of automation concepts and techniques to industry, the United States leads the world, at the present time. In terms of growth rate in application and absolute number of automated installations we are ahead of any country in the free world. I have not included the communist-block nations because there is no substantial data to estimate their progress accurately.

Qualitatively, we know that they are moving ahead at a fast rate. To the extent that they are employing automation, it is interesting to consider Premier Khrushchev's report to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He gave some indcation of the widespread applications intended for mechanization and automation under the Soviet Seven-Year Plan for Economic Development (1959-1965).

Mr. Khrushchev reported that, "Integrated mechanization and the automation of production processes constitute the chief and decisive means for ensuring further technical progress in the economy and, on this basis, a new rise in labour productivity, the lowering of cost prices, and the improvement of the quality of products." This theme is further amplified in Mr. Khrushchev's statement of the "target figures" with regard to level of automation to be obtained. Of particular note was the indication of plans for the "establishment of more than 50 experimental model enterprises where the latest patterns of integrated automation will be put into effect."

In a final section, in a discussion of specific provisision of the 'plan' as it pertains to educational development, it was stated that "the greatest increase in the number of engineers graduated (during the years of the 'plan') will be in the specialties of chemical technology, automation, computing engineering, radio-electronics and other branches of new technique." Stress will also be placed upon scientific development and, "in particular the successes of computing mathematics (which) are directly connected with the development of automation."

I would suggest that it would be sheer folly to take these words lightly, in view of the Soviet Union's accomplishments in the field of engineering education, and the science of mathematics. Recent reports point to a gap between "theory" and "application" in the field of automation in the Soviet Union. I would not expect this state to last very long (if, indeed it is an accurate picture of present achievement levels).

It would also be a mistake to take a complacent attitude toward European business. Though we "out-automate" Europe by sheer volume alone, the level of sophistication in automatic techniques is high, especially in factory automation.

My company continually surveys the Western European electronic data processing market. We have found the European attitude to be more cautious of EDP hardware than is true in the United States. The cost factor of automatic equipment is given heavier emphasis. However, we have found that the average European computer user can be expected to make better use of the hardware's capabilities than his American counterpart once it is installed. He has been pre-disposed by his educational background to more easily accept the theoretical capabilities of the electronic hardware.

Western Europe has a total of over 2,000 computer installations, or about 20% of total United installations. However, over 90% of this total are small computer system installations. What is most significant is that France and Germany, between themselves, have almost 70% of total European installations. Orders for computer systems number in the hundreds for all Western Europe.

Between the Russians on one hand and Western Europe on the other, we literally "have our hands full." It seems to me that we are in a most tragic plight as a nation when we must worry about the ill-effects of introducing automation -- even at a slow rate!

GUIDE TO A STUDY OF AUTOMATION IN THE U. S. ECONOMY

In my final recommendation before this subcommittee in my initial testimony, I suggested that a study of automation be undertaken on a comprehensive basis. This study is still needed. Other witnesses will no doubt make this same suggestion to this subcommittee; I have seen testimony of people who have made this recommendation at other Congressional hearings.

Some excellent studies concerned with automation have been accomplished. Certainly, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor is to be congratulated on its Studies of Automatic Technology series. The Bureau's recent studies on the introduction of office automation was most welcome. People in the academic world have also produced some significant work in this field. Quite frankly, I still feel that the problem of gathering adequate data has not been surmounted.

The following discussion and "Guide" is taken from a planning pamphlet that I prepared last year for the National Planning Association:

Automation is only one of the many complex interlocking factors that shape the economy. While it may not be practicable or possible to study all of the factors that make up the economy, we can make an industry-by-industry study of what automation has meant so far, and thus foresee with some certainty what it is likely to mean in the future. We do know that the potential impact of automation is such that we cannot disregard planning for it. We need complete enough information to plan for the kind of action automation will require from industry, labor and government. It is for the purpose of obtaining this type of information that I here propose an initial study of the economic consequences of automation.

In making a study of automation, we must also give emphatic attention to the education problem in all its aspects - a problem that is corollary to the economic one. I feel very strongly that the educational problem is the most challenging one we shall have to face as the age of automation advances. We must first determine what the economic direction is likely to be, and then meet it with reasonable human foresight. We must ascertain in some detail the nature of the industrial, managerial, labor and social problems experienced by the industries that have already begun to automate, if we are to determine just how we are to train people to meet them.

It seems to me that, at this point, the most useful way of collecting, organizing, and analyzing the information necessary to such a study as this is a detailed case-by-case approach to a number of specific industries that are representative of the several types of applications of automation practiced today. It would be valuable also to study a few typical industries where there is some especially interesting aspect to the way automation has been applied or has affected them. The following list should provide a good starting point:

The Automotive Industry

This industry has solved some immense problems in automating some of its processes and illustrates well the kind of automation that has come to be called "Detroit automation." A study of the industry should develop useful information on how workers and working conditions are affected in factories which have learned how to handle long runs with specially designed automatic machinery.

Paper Manufacturing

This is a processing industry which is just beginning to use feedback control systems. The effects of automation on labor here are likely to be slight, since there will probably not be much reduction in working force, but there are other interesting aspects to be studied. A change in the productivity of the capital equipment is one of these. In addition, the technical problems in this industry give a good deal of insight into the fundamental technical problems that must be overcome before automation can become complete in the processing industries. For example, present methods of measuring or testing paper consistency involve actually tearing the paper and letting water seep through it. If this area of the industry is to be effectively automated, this method, which is now an art, must be turned into a science.

Food Processing

This is one of the traditional automatic machinery areas and would be an interesting study from the standpoint of determining whether there are really any differences between the social and economic effects of introducing the older style of automatic machinery and the newer developments.

Airframe Manufacture

Since production runs are very short and engineering changes are frequent, the airframe industry has many of the problems of job shop manufacturers, even though it is dominated by a few large companies. In a sense, it could be said that the airframe industry is pioneering in job shop automation. Appropriate case studies, therefore, could shed considerable light on the potential forms and the pace of job shop automation.

The airframe manufacturing industry is again worth studying because it relies heavily on computers for scientific calculation. From my own experience, I suspect that there has been an enormous increase in employment as a result of these techniques and it would be important to see whether the situation in this area is applicable to the wider problem of employment opportunities. In addition, the aircraft industry is starting to use computers on a wide scale for office use. But perhaps an even more valuable study could be made in this field on insurance companies, since this industry is already using computers and is certain to be one of the heaviest users of them in the future.

Oil and Chemical Processing

These industries are highly instrumented and have introduced a cerain amount of centralized control. They would provide a valuable study of the relationship between manufacturing areas and the office in an industry where there is almost no labor directly involved in the manufacturing process. As more is learned about the use of computers, considerable change is bound to occur in this industry through automation, and it is an area which should be explored. It is also an industry where we can measure the effects of automation over a considerable period of time. A case study could record what happened in the original shift from batch to continuous processing twenty odd years ago.

Electronic Assembly

This industry is interesting because the problem of considerable and continuous variation of the product is involved. The methods that are being used to attack this problem, and their effects on an industry that even today relies on an enormous amount of womanpower for production, would illuminate the problems of other industries faced with this kind of situation.

Office Automation

In this area, several kinds of studies might profitably be made. For example, it would be worthwhile to compare the approaches used by Sylvania, which has a large number of branches and a single computer centre for all of them, and by Allstate Insurance or Prudential, which also have a large number of branches and are introducing computers into each of them.

It is also important to find out what will happen when medium-sized business introduces computers into the office. There are a few cases where this has already been done, and I think one or two case studies of such businesses would be very worthwhile.

Nonbusiness Uses of Computers

One of the most far-reaching influences of automation may well be the use of computers for cultural and purely scientific applications. Their use in such tasks as tracing satellites and codifying the Bible has received much publicity. Their possible capacities for extending the frontiers of present knowledge may have a significant influence on education and on the direction of future research.

It would also be of value to make similar case studies of industries that have not yet automated to any significant degree. These studies could be less thorough, but their objective would be to determine the factors that limit automation. Clearer definition of these barriers would enable us to determine whether automation in these areas is merely a question of time or whether the present obstacles are permanent ones. Some industries that would be appropriate for study in this area are construction, transportation, small job shops and companies producing custom goods.

Study Procedure

As for the procedure to be followed in conducting these case studies, I would suggest the following steps for each industry:

1. A general introductory survey of the particular industry should be made so that the study team can get a general idea of the kind of developments that have been taking place.
2. On the basis of this introductory survey, one or two specific companies should be selected for more intensive study. These companies should be typical of the industry in the sense that they are doing things

which other companies could and probably will do - that is, they should not be uniquely large, in a particularly dominating position or financially capable of doing things other companies in the industry could not afford. However, they should also be companies that either have done or are doing a good deal in the automation field, and in this respect, they may not be typical of their industry.

3. Before a detailed approach is made on the case study of the company, the study team should obtain general and background information on the history and development of the company.

4. The study team should conduct a pilot study which would include: interviews with key people; discussion with both the personnel department and the union about actual personnel shifts; discussion with manufacturing and planning departments about existing and planned changes; meeting with the controller's department about changes in data processing; and estimate of the relationship of this company to the industry at large.

5. From study and analysis of the pilot study results, it should be possible to develop a plan for a more detailed study, including check lists and a carefully devised plan of action.

6. Based on the data that have been obtained, further observation and interviews should be undertaken. During this time, the study team should primarily observe what is happening. Individual workers, as well as members of management, should be interviewed and their observations studied in detail. All related files and inter-office memos should be examined and, during the course of the study, all pertinent inter-office data should be available to the study team. The team should plan to spend a substantial amount of time on the company's premises, since the more revealing findings may come from a study of a process in the course of development, even though a good deal may have been done toward automation. The team should attent meetings and talk freely with people, but it is important that they remain non-committal and make clear that they do not represent a particular bias, or endorse a particular doctrine.

The preceding paragraphs suggest some of the major aspects that must be considered in a study of automation but, of necessity, other problematic aspects will emerge in the course of the study. The questions that follow are intended to suggest a more specific outline,

although by no means an exhaustive one, of questions that must be asked and answered in a study before we can determine the implications of the present and future developments of automation. For purposes of simplification, I have divided these questions into impact areas. Obviously, any such division is arbitrary - for whatever affects industry affects labor, and in turn, the entire community.

Automation and Industry

Extent and Rate of Automation

What industries not highly automated could be so if present technological advances were applied? What has prevented the introduction of automation in these industries?

In automated industries, what degree of the total production capacity of the industry can be described as automated? What percentage of the individual plants that have introduced automation can be described as large, medium or small?

Within an individual company, what percentage of operations are automated? Which operations have been automated? Which have not? Why are the non-automated operations not automated? Because of cost? Because they are not suitable for automation?

When did the company first begin deliberately to automate? When was the automation equipment installed? Was it installed all at once, or over a period of time? How much did the equipment cost? How did its cost compare with the replacement cost of machines it replaced? What percentage of the automation equipment replaced machines that were obsolete? What percentage of the total spent on equipment in each of the last five years was spent on automation equipment? What is the estimated total cost of automating to date?

Did the product or process have to be redesigned before automation could be introduced? What did this involve? How long did it take? Did the new machines have to be specially designed and built? Were there any special problems in getting them designed and built?

Is the company planning further automation? What current technological or economic development might affect the rate and/or degree of automation? What percentage of operations, and which operations, are expected to be automated within the next five years?

Within the next ten years? How much equipment will be replaced because of obsolescence in the next five years? Will it be replaced with automatic or conventional machines?

Has automation permitted the production of new goods or services?

If automation has not been introduced, what are the reasons? Is it because of high costs?

The difficulty of integrating automatic machines with conventional machines? The financial risk involved in automating? Because there seems to be no need for it? Because of worker or union hostility?

Effects of Automation

On Production: Has total production risen for the entire industry and in given companies within the industry since the introduction of automation equipment? If so, how much of this increase can be directly attributed to automation?

On Productivity: To what extent has the introduction of automation increased the productivity of labor? Of capital? To what extent does it force us to re-examine the productivity concept itself? How useful is a measure of output per man-hour when machinery is so large a determining factor in output? Can we still talk meaningfully of direct and indirect labor?

On Costs: How have production costs been affected? If they are lower, where have the principal savings been effected? Have capital requirements been reduced? What part of the direct labor and capital saving has been offset by the cost of design, production, and maintenance of automatic equipment? Has the cost of automation warranted its use?

On Purchasing Power: If automation has lowered cost, how have the savings been apportioned? Are profits higher? Have wages been raised? Have dividends or reserve funds been increased? Are prices lower? If so, how have markets responded?

The Automation Equipment Industry

What is the nature and size of the firms producing automation equipment? What proportion are new firms? How great a part of the total production effort is performed by old firms? Does this represent a major diversification? How rapidly have firms expanded in this field? What is the incidence and nature of mergers?

What portion of the total output is absorbed by military or defense needs? What is the extent and what are the types of Government participation in research and product development? What is the effect of patents?

How is Industry Structure Being Affected?

Automation and Competition

What happens to competition as a result of high capital requirements? As a result of optimizing productivity? As a result of patents? Does automation in one firm or group of firms curtail output and employment in other firms?

What is the prevalence of mergers in automated industries as compared with non-automated industries?

How is small business faring? What is the percentage of new firms in the industry? What is the percentage of business failures? How many of these are small businesses? Have small companies been able to automate? Have they been able to automate to a comparable degree with larger firms?

Automation and Centralization

Is there a tendency toward greater geographic centralization or decentralization? Have new plants in the industry been built in the same location as the old ones? If not, are the reasons for moving attributable in whole or in part to automation, or are they attributable to other causes? What are the future plans of companies in this connection?

Automation and Company Organization

Is there a tendency toward greater administrative centralization or decentralization? How have management responsibilities changed? What new kinds of problems has management had to meet? In recruiting new members of management, have men with new kinds of skills been needed?

Automation and Labor

Because the effects of automation vary not only from industry to industry, but also from firm to firm, labor implications must be distilled from case studies analyzing specific instances.

Automation and Employment

For both whole industries and individual companies within an industry, how have total labor requirements been affected since the introduction of automation? How have the proportions of production, maintenance, supervisory, and clerical workers changed since the introduction of automation?

What change has there been in total employment in the automated segment of a company? What changes has automation made in the proportions of direct and indirect labor in this segment?

How many workers have been displaced by automatic machines? Were other jobs found for them within the company? If so, how many were downgraded, how many were upgraded, and how many moved into jobs similar to the ones they left? If they had to leave the company, how many found jobs in the same locality? In the same industry?

Automation and Retraining

What is the proportion of skilled and unskilled labor employed before and after the introduction of automation? What new job skills have been needed? What job skills have been made obsolete?

How many workers needed some retraining to handle a new job? How was this retraining accomplished and how long did it take? Who paid for it? Was it done on company time? Did it take place within the plant, or was it necessary to perform it outside? If so, what institution handled the retraining? Was it adequate?

What special problems did older workers present? How were these handled?

Did automation create jobs that could not be filled from within the company? If so, how many were there, and how were they filled?

What are the estimated future demands for skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor?

Automation and Industrial Relations

How has automation affected the general level and structure of wages? How has it affected the particular wages of displaced employees who were transferred to another job within the company? The wages of employees working in the automated segment?

How does automation affect job equity?

What are the worker attitudes toward automation? How has it affected working conditions in terms of safety, machine pacing, increased responsibility, and improved work area?

How are industrial relations policies and hiring policies changed? What provisions have been made for displaced employees in the form of severance pay, early retirement, or other benefits? How has automation affected collective bargaining? How have union jurisdictions been changed; how has internal union organization changed?

Education and Automation

How has the present supply and quality of engineers and technical personnel affected the degree and rate of automation? Has a shortage of trained personnel discouraged any firms from introducing automation? How has the availability and quality of needed personnel affected the development and production of automation equipment?

Are existing institutions adequate for giving vocational training to adults? Are there enough of them widely enough distributed? Are their programs adequate? Are secondary school programs adequate? Or, are the high schools teaching skills that will be outmoded before they can be used?

What role can subprofessional training play in providing those workers who do not have engineering backgrounds with sufficient facility in automation skills to fill needed positions? How, and by whom, can such training best be provided? To what extent does such training depend on the redefinition of job titles and descriptions?

Will engineering and technical skills be the key to the important jobs in an age of automation? Must we train engineers to be managers, or managers to be engineers? Are the skills required of the successful manager in a world of ever more complex technology the same as those required in a world where business success depended upon the artful use of insufficient information? If not, what does this imply for management education?

What kind of training can be provided for individuals who have already completed their formal education? How successful have union programs been? Management or company sponsored courses? University extension programs? Home study courses?

CONCLUSIONS

The United States Government should formulate a national policy that will effectively stimulate automation and other technological change.

I find it totally unreasonable - and dangerous - that as a nation we permit the waste of a potent national resource, automation. We are faced with a continuous, economic and political challenge on the international front that demands sizeable outlays for military security, aid to foreign nations, and other international programs. At the same time, we continuously try to raise our material standard of living.

To keep increasing our standard of living and, simultaneously, maintain our economic and political position in the world, we must sustain a high economic growth rate. Real increases in our national output will continue to be heavily influenced by our productivity increases -- and productivity increase is a basic result of technological change.

I think we must face up to the fact that we have not made any concerted effort to deal with the problems that retard economic growth. The nation cannot long sustain a high rate of technological advance without coping with these problems; we simply cannot wait for evolutionary forces to solve our internal problems.

The national policy that will foster automation and technological change should be aimed mainly at bettering the environment for change. (For purposes of formulating national policy, automation should be considered as part of general technological change. It is difficult to separate automation out of the mainstream of change and somewhat useless to do so). This policy should be geared to set in motion two programs simultaneously.

A program for identifying the effects of automation and technological change within our society should be initiated. We must learn how to stimulate automation to best advantage and, at the same time, minimize any harmful effects that may accompany it.

Secondly, mechanisms that can encourage economic and technical growth where such growth has stagnated must be designed. I do not feel that this can be accomplished through the efforts of private enterprise acting alone; the resources of local communities and, of the state governments, are sometimes not sufficient to overcome stagnancy. Individual action by the Federal Government is also insufficient.

A cooperative effort employing the resources of all these sectors of the economy must be brought to bear on these problems if they are to be solved. The government can do much to encourage business through enlightened tax policy and technical aid; communities and states can do more to provide worker training and retraining facilities and assisting in area redevelopment; business can initiate programs to assist employees in adapting to change situations.

A program of continuing study will provide more knowledge on how best to cope with change. It will supply the data needed to influence the social and economic results of the introduction of automation and other technology.

However, no study will be of value if it is an expedient way to avoid taking action on national issues. The extensive knowledge gathered can, perhaps, be best employed in helping to recognize - in advance - where action should be taken to stimulate technological and economic growth.

I also think it is very important that through national policy we encourage the widespread application of basic science to industry. Most of the significant innovations of the post-war period have come about through military research programs. Private industry has been unable to make the fullest use of these advances. The Government can do much to encourage the dissemination of this kind of information to business. Private enterprise can be further stimulated to employ new techniques and equipment through fiscal policy.

The encouragement of innovation in industry must be supported by labor, if we are to achieve its full benefits. Featherbedding in industry has become a valid issue; it is wasteful not only to the individual company in which it occurs but to the entire economy as well. In many instances, labor has shown that it can facilitate change by sponsoring its own retraining programs and by intelligent collective bargaining. The responsibilities of labor in this area will be much greater in the years to come. It remains to be seen whether present labor-management relations, which mainly revolve about periodic collective bargaining sessions, are sufficient to cope with future problems.

These recommendations are far from new. It is vital, however, that they be carried out. I recommend the study of automation at the first congressional hearing, as others have since. Concerted action of government, community and business to make the fullest use of this most important national resource -- automation -- has been suggested previously, although in vain.

I think it is worth remembering that a national resource, as well as a natural resource, can be lost forever if it is not conserved with intelligence and far-sighted planning.

"SEE IT NOW"

CONVERSATION WITH MARSHAL TITO

Followed by live discussion with
Richard Hottelet moderating; Clare
Boothe Luce, Hamilton Fish Armstrong
and William Lawrence.

June 30, 1957

TO.....Mr....Murrow.....

FROM.....Rebe..Holder.....

May 31, 1957

The following flights have been requested but have not been confirmed as yet.

Lv. N.Y. KLM #626 on Sunday, June 16
Ar. Amsterdam
Lv. Amsterdam KLM #191 on Monday, June 17
Ar. Belgrade at 7:05 pm on Monday, June 17.

S/N
Winterhalter, Vilko

June 3, 1957

Dear Mr. Winterhalter:

The following flights have been requested for Mr. Marrow's trip, and as soon as we receive a confirmation we will let you know.

Lv. N.Y. KLM #626 on Sunday, June 16
Arrive Amsterdam
Lv. Amsterdam KLM #191 on Monday, June 17
Ar. Belgrade at 7:05 pm on Monday, June 17.

Sincerely yours,

Florence Crissan,
Secretary to Mr. Marrow

Mr. Vilko Winterhalter
Yugoslav Consulate
816 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

TO.....

FROM.....

Tentative

June 16 - Sunday -

KLM 626/16

lvs 6 pm
ars 12 05 - Amsterdam.

KLM 191/17

lvs Ams 2 10
ars Bgd. 7 05

TO Rebe

FROM Kay 5/30/57

Mr. M. is definitely going to Yugoslavia, leaving here on June 16th, I believe. He asks to be reminded to send down to Washington tomorrow the details as to when and how he and McClure will be arriving in Belgrade.

Palmer Williams is making the travel arrangements, so we can get the information from him.

McClure -

TO .....

FROM .....

MAY 30, 1957.

PRESS

COLBROSYS PARIS

SCHOENBRUN MURROW SAYS YUGOSLAVS ADVISE TITO INTERVIEW GRANTED ON PERSONAL BASIS AND IS NOT ASSIGNABLE THEREFORE EYE GOING BELGRADE JUNE SIXTEENTH REGARDS

BURKE

CC. JOHN DAY.

CHARGE "SEE IT NOW".

MAY 30, 1957.

PRESS

COLEROSYS PARIS

SCHOENBRUN MURROW SAYS YUGOSLAVS ADVISE TITO INTERVIEW GRANTED ON PERSONAL BASIS AND IS NOT ASSIGNABLE THEREFORE BYE GOING BELGRADE JUNE SIXTEENTH REGARDS

BURKE

CC. JOHN DAY.

CHARGE "SEE IT NOW".

Mates, Amb. Leo

Sen

HIS EXCELLENCY
LEO MATES
AMBASSADOR OF YUGOSLAVIA
WASHINGTON, D.C.

1957

THE INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT TITO WILL BE PRESENTED SUNDAY JUNE 30 STOP

I WILL SEND YOU FINAL TEXT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. REGARDS.

EDWARD R. MURROW

414-43
fc

Tripple
~~Fr~~ Fale
7 See
21
now.
7/1/57

Mr. Edward Murrow

Washington

Dear Sir:

On the occasion of your interview with our President, the daily newspaper Borba, issue no. 178, July 1, 1957, wrote of you: "Besides being one of the most respected American commentators . . he is considered one of the most distinguished connoisuers of American public opinion. Millions of Americans day by day wait for his evening political comments. . . " Borba mentioned in addition, your fight against McCarthyism in which the American public was deeply impressed by the "fair play" demonstrated on your part, and your intervention on the behalf of the scientist Pauling. In concluding, the paper quoted your words after the aforementioned interview: " I am enthusiastic".

Due to all these facts, you are now very popular and held in high esteem by progressive elements in our country. Being an independent political worker for many years, a fighter for the ideals of Freedom, Justice, and Truth (so emphatically professed by the great working people of the United States), I decided to write you this letter with complete confidence due to our common cause. In view of all these motives, please accept my liberties in making these remarks and suggestions. At the same time, forgive me for writing in Serbo-Croatian but my English is too poor.

Thanks to your televised interview, millions of American working men and women had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with

the personality, manner, characteristics, inclinations, habits, and approcach of our President. I believe that Americans were positively impressed by what they saw. I, certainly, share your opinion "that this interview will have a positive echo among the masses".

In my opinion the right way is now open. However, the interview fell short in presenting all the things which are unquestionably important for your progressive public, and at the same time essential for our common cause. The lack of a complete picture of our President could account for this.

Only millions of our common people from Dolomit to Djevdjelia (two border points, one in the extreme northwest, and the other in the extreme southeast of Yugoslavia) could today freely carry in their desires and in their hearts the real image of Tito. This picture could not be properly expressed at official receptions and even less in the official press. This is not the image of the Secretary of the Central Committee of a political party, but a clear vision of a great fighter for the ideals of Freedom, Justice, and Truth. An idea and vision which was born many centuries before World War I in a country which was in the past and unfortunately even in the present time, on the borderline between two civilizations. As such, this country has been in the past, and is today a very important factor in the building of universal progress and peace in the world.

This is Tito from the revolutionary days of 1941 - 1945.

This is Tito from 1948.

This is a deep conviction, that most contributed to force Stalinism to Canossa (Belgrade, 1955).

This is the faith in principles that stimulated triumphal manifestation of millions on millions in the homeland of Lav Tolstoj, Maxim Gorki, and Vladimir Lenjin (when Tito was in the Soviet Union 19 1956).

This is the Man (Tito) who was the first to proclaim in all sincerity the principle of active peaceful coexistence among the nations. In doing this, he logically strenghtened the faith in this principle as the only way for coexistence, as well as for peace in the world.

This influenced also, the struggle for freedom in Poland and Hungary.

This is the great image not yet entirely explained and made known on television, nor through the radio commentaries, not even in the columns of our own or the international press.

It is my deep conviction that this real, unofficial, image of Tito should be presented first before the working people of America, and to the well intentioned progressive public of the entire world. In this way it would be possible to anticipate the birth of a real freedom in the so called Eastern part of the world.

Dear sir, I have made clear to you my fundamental idea now, and having explained the motives for this letter, permit me to tell you who the author is. I am, these days as I was before, an independent, working in a so called private sector, which is much more limited than was stipulated in our Constitution of 1946. I have been in politics since my early days; as a young man of 20 years in 1918, I was the member of the Revolutionary Committee in

Pola. Then I had the opportunity to observe how the "heroes of Caporetto" took advantage of the situation. Also, I was entrusted by the Committee to discuss Trieste with the Italian Admiral Cagni.

In 1920, at the time when our neighbour had proved its deep "Understanding" of President Wilson's 14 points, when they fired on our "National Hall" and were busy in destroying our citizens and their property, I had the privilege to be the first speaker at the spontaneous meeting in Ljubljana condemning the barbarous acts of our neighbour.

Through active participation in various cultural and economic organizations, I formed my definite position which I express in The Ideology of the Party of the Working People, published in 1930. In 1932, I established an independent paper under the name of Drzava ("State") in Zagreb, which was published for only a short time. In this I expressed my opinion about the internal political situation in Yugoslavia. In an article entitled "Aristide Briand" the foreign policy of those days was discussed. In 1933, I submitted the program and by-law of the "Party of the Working People" of Yugoslavia for approval. The Minister of Interior, acting on behalf of that reactionary regime, unlawfully denied the approval. After that my friend and collaborator Dr. Vasilije Homadovski printed a pamphlet "The Position of the Working People of Towns and Villages". This booklet was also censured. Among other material was printed my article dealing with political problems of the country.

During the occupation of 1941 to 1945 I was connected with the Titoist forces; because of that I was persecuted but in the last

moment I escaped from a situation which could have cost me my life. I was one among those who greeted the forces of the National Liberation Movement in Banjaluka, in 1945. This same year I asked the Secretariat for the lisence to start a periodical, but I was turned down on the grounds "of scarsity of printing paper". After that I organized a cooperative based on the principles of free cooperativism. When the new law dealing with cooperativism came out I was obliged to liquidate the cooperative. Since then I have been working in the so called private sector. I have kept the same opinions during all this time as I held in early 1930. These ideas are: Brotherhood and unity of our people; Uncommitted cooperation with the all freedom loving nations in the world; nationalism and religion above politics; social security for all; economic planning; fighting corruption; free cooperativism; improvement of agriculture and adequate industry; private enterprise in economy, etc.

The Program of the National Liberation Movement, as well as our Constitution of 1946, was based on the same principles . With the purpose of expressing these principles through an independent periodical, I established last February, in Zagreb, a new cooperative. We requested once again a lisence for a paper, but until today there has been no answer.

Furthermore, I think you should be aware of two of my letters: the one I wrote on June 29, 1956, to our President, and the other directed to your Ambassador, James Riddleberger. If we judge these letters in the light of successive events, I think they represent documents which can serve the cause of peace.

Counting on your well intentioned objectivity, I am asking you

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to promote the idea of setting up an association of independent, uncommitted public workers of all nations. The purpose of this association would be the establishment of ideological unity in freedom through personal contact and mutual cooperation. I think that in these days, when the future of all of us is at stake, that the independent and unofficial progressive elements should be in contact. History has proved that great achievements in the past have been accomplished mostly on the initiative and through the individual efforts of those who acted as the interpreters of their national environments.

In the interest of a more cordial relationship between our two countries, you are entitled to the best of your knowledge to use the material, though limited, of this letter. In connection with this matter, may I ask you to inform me about any such occurence. If any of your colleagues or friends are in my country, you are invited to direct them to see me.

If you yourself by any chance plan to visit Yugoslavia, please let me know in advance as I shall be happy to welcome you as a dear friend.

Looking forward to your answer, I am

Sincerely yours,

Gospodin

EDWARD MURROU

V A S H I N G T O N

Dragi gospodine!

Povodom intervjua kojeg ste imali kod našeg Predsjednika Republike pisao je list Borba br. 178 od 1.VII.1957.:

"Edward Murrou je danas ne samo jedan od najuvaženijih komentatora Amerike... nego spada i medju najbolje poznavaoce široke javnosti USA. Milijuni čekaju njegove večernje političke komentare... zatim navodi "individualnu borbu" Vaše Ličnosti protiv Makartizma, kod čega je Vaša "fair play" impresionirala američku javnost. Nadalje iznosi Vaše istupanje u obranu učenjaka Paulinga, a na kraju u vezi sa završenim intervjuom kod Našeg Predsjednika Republike navodi Vaše riječi! " Oduševljen sam".

Na osnovu svih ovih činjenica, Vaša je Ličnost postala Uvaženo popularna u svim progresivnim redovima u našoj zemlji. To je potaklo i mene, kao dugogodišnjeg, nezavisnog trudbenika na političkom polju i pobornika za iste ideale Slobode,pravde i istine, koje vidno afirmira Veliki radni narod USA u svojem radu za dobrobit čovječanstva , da se u interesu Opće stvari, sa ovim pismom, a sa otvorenim povjerenjem na Vas obratim. Radi toga Vas molim, da sa te strane primite i slobodu podnašanja mojih primjedaba i prijedloga, a ujedno da me opravdate, što mi moje ograničeno poznavanje Vašega jezika ne omogućava da Vam na njemu iznesem svoje misli i ako svaku pisanu riječ u Vašem jeziku mogu dovoljno da shvatim.

Vi ste Vašim televizijskim prijenosom pokazali milijonima radnih ljudi Velikog Radnog Naroda od Antlantika do Pacifika, kako izgleda individualnost Našeg Predsjednika Republike,kako govori,kako su njegove Ljudske crte,osobine, sklonosti, navike, konkakti sa neposrednom okolinom i vjerujem da je to zadovoljilo široku Američku Javnost i da će,prema od Vas iznijetom uvjerenju : "imati u masama vrlo pozitivan odjek".

Ali sa time, po mom mišljenju tek sada je otvoren pravi put. Ono što je bez dvojbe značajno za interes Vaše dobronamjerne progresivne javnosti i bitno za interese Opće stvari to, se nije moglo sa ovim snimanjem dovesti do potpunog izražaja, jer nema do danas u javnosti još potpune slike našeg Predsjednika Tita.

./.

Njegovu pravu i istinsku sliku, mogu još danas da nose slobodno, samo u svojim željama i svojim srcima, milijoni naših nezvaničnih radnih ljudi "Pluga, Čekića i Pera" od Dolomita do Đevđelije. Ta se Slika u potpunosti još danas ne može da dobije kod svečanih i zvaničnih prijema, a niti u štampi koja je zvanična. To nije slika Sekretara Centralnog komiteta jedne političke partije, nego je to Jasna Vizija Velikog Pobornika za Ideale Slobode Pravde i Istine, rodjena u željama svijesnih obretnika iz redova Svih Naših Naroda, već više stoljeća prije prvog svjetskog rata, u Zemlji, koja je vjekovima bila, a nažalost je još i danas, previše markantna granica izmedju dviju civilizacija i kao takova je bila uvijek a jest i danas od posebne važnosti u perspektivi izgradnje Općeg progresa i Stvari Mira u svijetu.

To je TITO iz revolucionarnih borbi za slobodu od 1941-1945 godine.

To je TITO iz 1948 godine.

To je Ubedjenje, koje je najznačajnije doprinjelo da staljinizam bude natjeran u Canossu /Beograd, 1955/.

To je Vjera u dosljednost, koja je izazvala triumfalne manifestacije milijona radnih ljudi u domovini Lava Tolstoja, Maksima Gorkog i Vladimira Lenjina, /Tito u SSSR, 1956./

To je TITO, koji je prvi iskreno iznio Princip Miroljubive Aktivne Koegzistencije medju narodima, a logično sa time uzbudio i učvrstio u najširim narodnim redovima, svih slobodoljubivih naroda, veliku vjeru da se Taj Princip imade primarno i bezuslovno osigurati i provesti u unutrašnjem političkom životu svakog pojedinog naroda, jer to je kategoričan preduslov, da se uzmogne ostvariti istinska mogućnost, prave miroljubive aktivne koegzistencije medju narodima i tako stvoriti jedini pravi put za učvršćenje Stvari Mira u svijetu.

To je Refleks, koji se je dosljedno odrazio i u borbama za slobodu u Poljskoj i Mađarskoj.

To je Svijetli lik koji još nije bio postavljen potpuno na ekrane televisijskih aparata, niti preko komentatora radio emisija, a niti u stupcima naše, a niti medjunarodne štampe.

Moje je duboko uvjerenje, da sada poslije prikazanog Lika Individualnosti našeg Predsjednika Republike, treba da baš ova nezvanična ali Istinska Slika Titove Ličnosti, bude postavljena u potpunome svijetlu, najprije baš pred javnost Vašeg Slobodnog Radnog Naroda, a tim putem pred svu Dobronamjernu Progresivnu Javnost cijeloga svijeta.

./.

Strukelj

Tako će se moći uočiti praskozorje, koje predskaziva radjanje dana prave Slobode, u takozvanom istočnom dijelu svijeta.

Dragi gospodine, sada kad sam Vam iznio primarnu misao i objasnio razloge, koji su mi dali slobodu da se na Vašu Ličnost sa povjerenjem obratim, treba da Vas malo upoznam sa glavnim crtama lica, koje si je uzelo slobodu, da se u ovoj formi na Vas obratim. Ja sam i danas nezavisan i nezvaničan radnik u privatnom sektoru, u našoj zemlji, koja imade danas privatni sektor daleko više sužen nego li je to bilo predvidjeno našim Ustavom 1946 godine. Političkim radom sam bio zaokupljen već od moje najranije mladosti. Godine 1918. kao mladić od 20 godina bio sam član Revolucionarnog Odbora "Mornara" u Puli, imao prilike da vidim "slavodobitno iskorišćavanje situacije od strane junaka Kaporeta" i imao sam prilike da ispred Odbora razgovaram po pitanju Trsta sa talijanskim admiralom Cagni. Godine 1920 kad su naši susjedi pokazali svoje "veliko shvaćanje" Vilsonovih tačaka i zapalili Narodni Dom u Trstu i vršili javno uništavanje našeg života i naše imovine, imao sam prilike da kao student Univerze u Ljubljani budem prvi govornik na prvom velikom spontanom protesnom Mitingu tih dana. Aktivnim radom u raznim narodnim prosvjetnim i privrednim organizacijama, ja sam izradio svoj konačni stav, koji se je izradio 1930 godine u napisanoj Ideologiji Stranke radnog naroda Jugoslavije. Godine 1932. uspjelo mi je da odštampam nekoliko brojeva svojeg nezavisnog lista "Država" u Zagrebu, koji je zatim bio zabranjen, a u kojemu su iznijeti nazori na naše unutrašnje političke prilike sa jednim posebnim osvrtom na vanjsko-političko naziranje u članku "Aristid Brijan". Godine 1933. uložio sam prema onda važečim propisima program i pravila "Stranke radnog naroda Jugoslavije" na odobrenje, medjutim je tadanji reakcionarni režim, rješenjem svoga Ministra unutrašnjeg dijela dana 23. avgusta 1933. protuzakonito uskratio odobrenje. Na to je jedan moj saradnik Dr. Vasilije Homadovski, odštampao jednu brošuru pod naslovom "Stav radnoga naroda gradova i sela" koje su isto tako tadanje vlasti plijenile, a u kojoj je iznijeto moje gledanje na ondašnje probleme političkog života naših naroda i odštampan program Stranke radnog naroda. Za vrijeme okupacije održavao sam vezu sa Narodno-oslobodilačkim Pokretom, pa sam od kvislinških vlasti zatvaran i u zadnji čas umakao sigurnoj smrti, tako sam dočekao oslobodjenje zemlje i bio medju prvim govornicima, koji su na prvom javnom mitingu u Banja Luci 1945 godine pozdravili dolazak naše Narodno-oslobodilačke vojske. Odmah iste godine sam tražio od Komiteta, da mi dade odobrenje za izdavanje jednog povremenog lista, ali sam bio odbijen radi "pomanjkanja papira".

Kupelu

Zatim sam osnovao jednu građjevinsku zadrugu na osnovu principa slobodnog zadrugarstva, ali ta je morala likvidirati poslije dvije godine rada, kad je došao novi zadružni zakon. Ostao sam đđsljedno u privatnom sektoru najprije kao koncesionirano građjevinsko poduzeće do 1950 godine, a od tada dalje, pa i sada kao ovlašteni privatni geodeta. Kroz te vrijeme, kao i danas ostao sam vjeran svojoj ideologiji, koja je napisana 1930 i 1933 godine i koja je u svim svojim bitnim tačkama kao: Bratstvo i jedinstvo svih naših naroda. - Nezavisna saradnja sa svim slobodnim narodima svijeta. - Nacionalizam i Vjera izvan politike. - Opće Socijalno osiguranje. - Direktivni privredni plan . - Borba protiv korupcije. - Borba protiv Birokracije. - Podizanje slobodnog zadrugarstva. - Podizanje poljoprivrede i potrebne industrije. - Privatna inicijativa u Privredi i druge nužnosti, a koja su načela bila i osnovni program Narodno-oslobodilačke borbe, a kao takva došla do izražaja i u našem Ustavu od 1946 godine, kojim su stvoreni temelji naše Narodno-demokratske Federacije. Ja sam februara mjeseca ove godine osnovao u Zagrebu jednu zadrugu sa ograničenim jamstvom, radi izdavanja jednog nezavisnog lista, koji bi iznosio ova gledišta, ali ova molba do danas usprkos opetovanih mojih umgiranja nije riješena, ni odobrena, a ni odbijena.

Nadalje držim da je značajno, da Vas drugom prilikom upoznam sa sadržajem pisama od kojih sam jedno uputio 27.VI.1956. godine Predsjedniku naše Republike i pismom od 29.VI.1956.godine kojega sam uputio izravno na Ličnost Vašeg Ambasadora Gospodina James Rid.dleberger u Beogradu. Ta dva pisma su razvojem dogadjaja postali, po mom mišljenju dokumenti, koji se mogu danas korisno upotrebiti u radu sa Opću Stvar Mira, kod koje držim, sa te strane medju prvim pobornicima Vašu Veliku Zemlju, Veliki Radni Narod USA a sa ove strane, ovdje u Evropi na granici Azije sve Narode naše Federacije. Ta 2 pisma daju jasan dokaz da psihoza, koja istom Vjerom kao i danas buktila u našoj zemlji od godine 1941 - 1945 i odmah poslije dogadjaja 1948 godine bila kao takova već prije dogadjaja u Poljskoj, dakle da je put kojega žele svi naši Narodi, a kojega je uvijek omogućavala čovjekoljubiva i neustrašiva dalekovidna odlučnost načela Ličnosti Predsjednika Tita, bio već tada vidno ocrtan.

./.

Radi toga računajući na Vašu afirmiranu dobronamjernu objektivnost, obraćam se na Vas sa ovim pismom, da bi tako potakao i pokrenuo Vašu inicijativu u pravcu stvaranja jednog udruženja (association) nezavisnih, nezvaničnih, slobodnih javnih radenika iz redova svih naroda, koji bi putem ličnog kontakta i saradnje doprinjeli stvaranju "pravog ideološkog jedinstva u slobodi", svih naroda svijeta, jer dok zvanične organizacije, financirane sa sredstvima svojih Vlada, drže po svim zemljama istoka i zapada, zvanične sastanke, mislim, da ne mogu sada, kod ovih važnih i odlučnih zbivanja u svijetu, da ostali slobodni i nezvanični progresivni elementi, kojima sigurno ne manje leži na srcu prosperitet svih radnih ljudi i svih naroda, da ostanu bez medjusobnog kontakta; tim više što sama historija kazuje, da sve Velike stvari za prosperitet čovječanstva na političkom i naučnom polju nisu u velikoj većini slučajeva bile stvorene od zvaničnih Vlada, nego slobodnom pobudom i saradnjom dobronamjernih nezvaničnih pojedinaca, kao tumača potreba svojih narodnih sredina.

Materijal, koji sam Vam ovim pismom mogao dati na uvid u prilično ograničenoj formi, molim Vas da prema Vašoj ocjeni , a u interesu stvaranja još srdačnije saradnje izmedju naše dvije zemlje, slobodno koristite za javnost, a mene o tome iz ljubaznosti naknadno izvjestite. Isto tako u koliko imadete u našoj zemlji nekog Vašeg saradnika i dobrog poznanika iz redova novinara, u koliko želite, možete da mi radi objašnjenja, na mene uputite.

Ako bi Vas Vaš put nanio opet u naše krajeve, što bi bez dvojbe bilo sada od značajno velike koristi, molim Vas, da bi me na vrijeme izvjestili u Vašem dolazku, da Vas mogu dočekati i pozdraviti kao dragog prijatelja.

U očekivanju Vašeg uvaženog odgovora upućujem Vam moje iskrene pozdrave

sa izrazima poštovanja

Tripalo

(Božo Tripalo)

U Zagrebu, dne 7.VIII.1957.

ADRESA: Geodet BOŽO TRIPALO
ovl. mjernik
ZAGREB - Gvozd 23.
Jugoslavija.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM

Mr. Mickelson's office would like to know if you are are willing to release these questions ~~fxxxxxx~~ to Mr. Connor since the sound track will not be available until Friday.

No! These are not the questions as asked!

Sir

THE TITO INTERVIEW

1) WERE YOU EVER IN AMERICA?

2) DO YOU FIND IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND AMERICA? (HE PROBABLY WOULD SAY HE HASN'T PUZZLED OUT WHY IN APRIL HE WAS GOING TO BE INVITED TO WASHINGTON AND THEN CONGRESS SEEMED TO HAVE DISAGREED)

3) IS A VISIT PLANNED?

(THEN EVEN MORE PERSONAL QUESTIONS: (?)

HIS DIVERSIONS ARE HUNTING, RIDING, SPEED-BOATING (HE TOOK DULLES FOR A FAST RIDE) AND HE IS A SECRET PIANO PLAYER LIKE TRUMAN, PROBABLY A BETTER ONE.

HE MAY BE INDUCED TO LET MADAME PRESIDENT APPEAR BRIEFLY. SHE IS PHOTOGENIC AND TOOK HER COLLEGE DEGREE IN ENGLISH, SO SPEAKS IT BETTER THAN HE. SHE NEVER TAKES ANY PART IN POLITICS, AND PRESUMABLY WOULD SAY SO.

4) HOW WOULD YOU SUMMARIZE YUGOSLAVIA'S FOREIGN POLICY? (HE PRESUMABLY WILL SAY IT IS A POLICY OF INDEPENDENCE, BASED ON THE RIGHT OF FINDING ITS OWN WAY TO SOCIALISM.)

5) DO YOU BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE KREMLIN AND HAVE EQUALLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES? THE NEWSPAPER GOSMIAJAK COMPLAINED THAT OUR RESUMING ARMS SHIPMENTS WAS PREDICATED ON RELATIONS WITH THE KREMLIN NOT BEING GOOD. HOW WOULD YOU BELIEVE WE COULD SEND YOU ARMS IF YOUR RELATIONS WITH THE KREMLIN WERE VERY CLOSE INDEED? DOES THAT NOT LEAVE OUT OF ACCOUNT THE REALITY OF THE COLD WAR?

6) WE LIKE THE CONCEPT THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS SO PLACED AS TO HAVE A SPECIAL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS HAPPENING INSIDE RUSSIA AND THE KREMLIN. WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE IS NOW HAPPENING? IS THE MODERATE POLICY STILL IN EFFECT, OR DO YOU THINK IT HAS BEEN SIDETRACKED BY THE EVENTS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY?

7) DO YOU BELIEVE THAT SOVIET TIES WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (NEVER SAY SATELLITES TO TITO) WILL BE LOOSENED?

8) WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE BALKAN ALLIANCE IS DEAD? (THIS WAS FIRST CONCEIVED AS A WAY, THROUGH ASSOCIATION WITH GREECE AND TURKEY, OF LINKING TITO WITH NATO. WOULD YOU SAY THAT THIS CONCEPT IS NOW COMPLETELY OUT OF THE PICTURE? ARE THERE NOT STAFF MEETINGS?

IS THERE STILL A SECRETARIAT, AND WHO HAS IT THIS YEAR? COULD THE ALLIANCE BECOME IMPORTANT?

9) WHEN YOU WERE IN MOSCOW, A STATEMENT WAS MADE BY (CHECKING; EITHER BULGANIN OR ZHUKOV) THAT IN EVENT OF A WAR BETWEEN USSR AND USA THE YUGOSLAVS WOULD BE FOUND VALIENTLY FIGHTING ON THE SIDE OF THE USSR. (PRIVATELY, TITO WAS GREATLY ANNOYED BY THIS STATEMENT) YOU CAN REALIZE THAT THIS HAS MADE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ASK WHETHER IT IS SAFE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO YOU, SINCE THEY MIGHT BE USED AGAINST US. (TITO CAN BE EXPECTED TO AFFIRM STRONGLY A POLICY OF NEUTRALISM, NOT ONLY AS TO USE OF FORCES, BUT AS TO TRANSIT RIGHTS.)

10) YOU MAKE A GREAT POINT OF YUGOSLAVIA'S RIGHT TO TAKE ITS OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM. WOULD YOU SUM UP WHAT IS DIFFERENT IN YOUR WAY FROM THE WAY OF THE SOVIET UNION? WOULD YOU TELL THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YOUR WAY AND GOMULKA'S? MAO TSE-TUNG'S?

11) THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS BEING HELD IN NOVEMBER (57), THE FIRST SINCE THE CELEBRATED ZAGREB CONFERENCE OF '52. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT FROM IT? DO YOU BELIEVE IT WILL REPRESENT THE SAME KIND OF MODERATING INFLUENCE ON COMMUNIST POLICY (DOMESTIC) AS DID THE ZAGREB CONGRESS? DO YOU ANTICIPATE

AS A RESULT THE HOLDING OF NATIONAL ELECTIONS? IF SO WOULD YOU SAY THEY WOULD BE AS FREE, MORE FREE, LESS FREE, THAN THE LAST GOMULKA ELECTIONS IN POLAND? (THIS MIGHT PRODUCE A DISCOURSE ON HOW DIFFERENT YUGOSLAVIA IS FROM POLAND; IT IS A LAND OF 5 NATIONS, DIFFERENT LANGUAGES, DIFFERENT ALPHABETS, THAT NEVER HAD REAL TIES WITH THE WEST, AND NEVER HAD A TRADITION OF MANY PARTIES. DEMOCRACY IN YUGOSLAVIA IS NATIVE AND IS REFLECTED BY WORKERS' COUNCILS, WHICH REALLY HAVE POWER IN THE COUNTRY. EDUCATION, SCIENCE, INDUSTRY, MEDICINE ARE SELF-GOVERNING ETC., ETC.)

12) ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF DISARMAMENT, AND DO YOU BELIEVE THERE CAN BE ANY FARREACHING REDUCTIONS UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN A SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION? WHAT SOLUTION DO YOU FAVOR?

13) HOW DO YOU REGARD THE MOVEMENT TOWARD A CLOSER EUROPEAN INTEGRATION? WOULD YUGOSLAVIA LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN CLOSER EUROPEAN COOPERATION (MUST AVOID USING PHRASE: 'COMMON MARKET)? DO YOU BELIEVE THE PLANS OF COOPERATION NOW BEING MADE CAN BE EXTENDED TO INCLUDE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES?

14) YUGOSLAVIA USED TO BE A FOOD-EXPORTING COUNTRY. WHY ISN'T IT NOW? (THE ANSWER PRESUMABLY IS THE TROUBLE FROM COLLECTIVES. NOW ONLY 8-10% OF ALL FARMS COLLECTIVIZED.

(IN THE REPRESENTATION IN THE ASSEMBLY THE WEIGHTING IS DONE ON THE BASIS OF THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT. IN THIS WAY THE PEASANTS ARE KEPT IN A PERMANENT MINORITY, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE A NUMBERICAL MAJORITY.) DO YOU THINK THE REPRESENTATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE GOVERNMENT IS FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC?

15) YOU HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED FOR YOUR TREATMENT OF CARDINAL STEPINAC. ARE YOU ANTI-CATHOLIC? (HE PROBABLY WILL SAY THAT HE ALSO HAS AN ORTHODOX BISHOP IN PRISON, AND SIMPLY WANTS RELIGION TO KEEP HANDS OFF STATE AFFAIRS.)

16) AFTER THE EVENTS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, YOU WERE OUTSPOKEN IN YOUR COMMENTS ON POLISH EVENTS, BUT WE THOUGHT YOUR STATEMENTS ABOUT HUNGARY WERE AMBIGUOUS. WOULD YOU CARE TO CLARIFY YOUR VIEW OF THE KADAR REGIME AND SAY IF YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN ANTICIPATE FRUITFUL RELATIONS WITH IT?

17) AFTER THE ZAGREB CONFERENCE, YOUR CLOSE ASSOCIATE DJELAS HAD THE GREEN LIGHT TO WRITE ARTICLES ELUCIDATING THE

NEW LIBERALIZATION OF COMMUNIST POLICY IN YUGOSLAVIA. SINCE THEN HE HAS BEEN IMPRISONED AND HIS FRIEND EXILED. WILL YOU SAY WHETHER THIS MEANS THAT THE HOPES OF LIBERALIZING COMMUNIST POLICY HAVE VANISHED?

18) IF TITO SPEAKS UP FOR THERE BEING MANY ROADS TO SOCIALISM OUTSIDE YUGOSLAVIA, WOULD HE CONCEDE THE DISCUSSION OF MANY ROADS INSIDE YUGOSLAVIA?

19) IF HE AGREES (WITH MAO TSE-TUNG) ON THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE MASSES AND THEIR LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, DOES HE CONCEDE THERE IS SUCH A POSSIBILITY INSIDE YUGOSLAVIA?

IT WAS MARSHALL ZHUKOV ON JUNE 20, '56 WHO SAID THAT "IF WAR WAS IMPOSED ON THE SOVIET UNION AND YUGOSLAVIA'S MILITARY FORCES, THEY WOULD FIGHT SHOULDER TO SHOULDER TO THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND."

See IT now.

BRIONI:

You are approaching the harbor of Brioni, a small island off the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia. President Tito is at the wheel of the speed boat, his wife alongside him.

Brioni is a small island only a couple of miles long, scalloped with bays and inlets. It has known Etruscans, Phoenicians, Romans, Huns, Austrians, Italians; in the last war it was a German headquarters whose buildings were bombed flat. New modern hotels have been built near the harbor, probably the most luxurious in all Yugoslavia.

This is President Tito's retreat, where he receives visiting dignitaries, and from which he conducts affairs of state for several months during the year. There are only two automobiles on the island - most of the transport is by carriage, drawn by matched cavalry horses. The woods are full of deer, pheasant, rabbits and sheep. There are ruins of a Byzantine basilica and a Roman villa. Much of the marble for the palaces of Venice came from these islands.

This is the island of Vanga, only a couple of miles from Brioni. It's only about ten acres in size, and it is here that President Tito and his wife spend much of their time. The soil is rich, the vineyards, melons,

pears and strawberries lush. There are three small stone houses on Vanga - a steel net to keep sharks from the bathing beach. This is the rustic open dining room. And here is where President Tito works. There is no telephone on his desk, but there is one in the next room. The tapestries, wood carvings and other furnishings all come from Macedonia.

Our interview with President Tito took place at his villa on Brioni. No questions were submitted in advance.

Wild lines.....

President Tito is 65, but he doesn't look it.

President Tito is a "full-throttle man", whether driving a speed boat, an automobile or conversing, he likes to go at top speed.

He understands English perfectly, but declines to speak it except in private conversation.

He says he would rather talk hunting, gun dogs and riding than politics.

"SEE IT NOW"

THE POST OFFICE

OCTOBER 6, 1957

Postoffice
10/6/57

Sir

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Mr. Paley

from: Mr. Murrow

November 19, 1957

I have scrutinized the turgid screed attached to Mr. Arthur Gray's letter to you. It would be easy enough to analyze his analysis in detail. For example: he complains on Page 5 that "LIFE, as everyone in the industry knows, spent thousands of dollars on a survey and determined that LIFE actually pays a profit to the Post Office." On Page 9 I say "LIFE claims that far from receiving a subsidy of $9,000,000, they actually make money for the Post Office." Also on Page 9 he says, "Mr. Murrow is quoting from Post Office propaganda." Called propaganda or not, I preface my statistics by saying "According to the Post Office." We could also point out that the gentlemen of the Post Office could shoot as many holes in Al Cole's remarks as the magazine publishers have shot at Summerfield, but all of this seems to me to be beside the point.

I would be inclined merely to tell Mr. Gray that our decision to rebroadcast the program was based upon the fact that the first presentation was pretty well blanketed by the World Series -- that before choosing Mr. Cole as a spokesman for the magazines we studied testimony before Congressional Committees and consulted with a number of magazine publishers. And that in dealing with a matter such as this, ~~are~~ facts, figures and philosophies are all in contention, and we have no alternative but to present the view and conclusions of responsible spokesmen of the magazine industry, the Post Office, members of Congress and leave it to the viewer to decide who is right. We are obliged to identify our sources to give adequate opportunity for the presentation of contrasting or conflicting points of view and in this case that is what we did.

fc

E.R.M.

See It Now
Howells, John

November 1, 1957

Dear Mrs. Howells:

Many thanks for your note about our SEE IT NOW on the post office.

I appreciate the point you make, but it was not possible for us to deal with everything in just one program. Sometime we may have a try at reporting on the International Post.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. John Mead Howells
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

mcc

SIN
Hunger, John W.

November 1, 1957

Dear John:

Thank you for your note of October 10th. I am glad you enjoyed our SEE IT NOW program on the post office.

I regret to say that I do not feel I can presume even to suggest to the Postmaster General that he issue a postage stamp in honor of Charles Martin Hall. After all, I would not take it very kindly if the Postmaster General took it upon himself to tell me what to do on television!

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John W. Hunger
Alderman
1725 Fifth Avenue
Arnold, Pennsylvania

mcc

Office Phones { 245 New Kensington
957 New Kensington
Residence 4310 New Kensington

1725 Fifth Avenue

JOHN W. HUNGER
ALDERMAN
REAL ESTATE, INSURANCE AND MORTGAGES
OFFICES AT ARNOLD AND NEW KENSINGTON, PA.
ARNOLD, PA.

October 10, 1957

Hon. Edward Murrow
C/O C. B. S.
Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Ed:

I certainly enjoyed seeing you and the Postmaster General together the other night, and it was surely enlightning.

You remember, several years ago, you promised that you would like to do a favor for Chief Wilson of ALCOA, so, would you please be kind enough to get intouch with the Postmaster Genreal, and see if he would be agreeable to making a postage stamp in honor of Charles Martin Hall.

You told me several years ago, that you would be glad to talk to the Postmaster General, but I know you have been very busy. So, this might be a good opportunity.

Trusting that you will give this your attention, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

John W. Hunger

JWH/lm

Hutton, E. F.

October 10, 1957

Dear Mr. Hutton:

Many thanks for your gracious letter about our SEE IT NOW program.

I am enclosing a transcript of the program as you requested.

Sincerely,

Mr. E.F. Hutton
Sixty-One Broadway
New York 6, New York

fc

E. F. HUTTON
SIXTY-ONE BROADWAY
NEW YORK 6, N.Y.
WHITEHALL 4-2100

October 8, 1957

Personal

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I listened with rapt interest to your television broadcast on Sunday evening, respecting the "Great Billion Dollar Mail Case." It was extremely interesting.

Sometime ago, I wrote an article for Leslie Gould, of the NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN, on the operation of the Post Office Department. In substance, it was that if the businessmen of the free economy would take over the Postmaster General's Department they would immediately save millions of dollars yearly and put the operation on a paying basis by efficiency of operation.

Your presentation, which was seen by millions, was an eye opener. Of course, there is a political angle to this situation, meaning by that that many postmasters in various cities throughout the country have been appointed to office as a pay-off for helping in presidential elections.

Now, may I ask a favor? Is it possible for you to send me a copy of the script you used Sunday evening? I would greatly appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,
E. F. Hutton
E. F. Hutton

EFH-g

Dictated over telephone

"See Ltr Now"
Monte, John

October 31, 1957

Dear Mr. Monte:

Many thanks for your cordial letter of October 13th. I am glad you enjoyed our presentation of the "Billion Dollar Mail Case".

We have received a great deal of mail and favorable comments on the program.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John Monte, Jr.
Secretary
Long Beach P. O. Clerks Union
Local 543
Box 543
Long Beach 1, California

mcc

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS

WILTON HOTEL

LONG BEACH POST OFFICE CLERKS UNION

LOCAL 543
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS
BOX 543
LONG BEACH 1, CALIFORNIA
PUBLISHERS OF THE "LONG BEACH BREEZE"
HOST LOCAL 1958 STATE CONVENTION

AFFILIATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR - C.I.O.
CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF LABOR
LONG BEACH CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL
CALIFORNIA FEDERATION P. O. CLERKS
POSTAL PRESS ASSOCIATION

24th Biennial Convention

California Federation of Post Office Clerks and Women's Auxiliary

Wilton Hotel - May 30-31-June 1, 1958

October 13, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

On behalf of the officers and members of Local 543, Long Beach Post Office Clerks, we want to express sincere thanks and appreciation for your presentation of the "Billion Dollar Mail Case".

Ybu and your staff are to be congratulated on a well done documentary.

Our members highly praised your commentary. Of course, the highlight of the program, was the speeches the employees made in regard to a much needed salary increase.

Thanking you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John Monte Jr

John Monte, Jr
Secretary.

Nagle, Paul

October 9, 1957

Dear Mr. Nagle:

Thanks for your wire.

You are, of course, entirely correct. We were obliged to ignore vast and important areas of the postal service. I assure you we did so not out of lack of interest, but because of the limitation of time.

Maybe you are right that we should have had less oration and more animation, but it isn't easy to look for a billion dollars in an hour's time. Maybe we will have a chance to have another look at the subject sometime later.

Thanks very much for sending me the telegram. We appreciate instructive criticism as well as uncritical praise.

As ever yours,

Mr. Paul A. Nagle, President
National Postal Transport Association
1300 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.

fc

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper sign.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220 (R 11-54)

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

PHB003 LONG NL PD=PH NEW YORK NY 6= 1957 OCT 6 PM 7 48

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SVC NYK=

THE NATIONAL POSTAL TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION REPRESENTING THE NATIONS RAILWAY MAIL CLERKS AND AIR MAIL CLERKS IS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED BECAUSE YOUR PROGRAM COMPLETELY IGNORED THE POSTAL TRANSPORTATION FUNCTION. DISTRIBUTION IN TRANSIT HOLDS A LARGE PART OF THE ANSWER TO BETTER POSTAL SERVICE. THE VIEWING PUBLIC WAS GIVEN ONLY A HINT OF THE WAY IN WHICH MAIL REACHES ITS DESTINATION. NO LESS DISAPPOINTING IS YOUR HAVING GIVEN NO ATTENTION WHATEVER TO POST OFFICES MEDIEVAL LABOR RELATIONS. THE VIEWING PUBLIC CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE APPRECIATED LESS ORATION AND MORE ANIMATION. POSTAL EMPLOYEES HAD HOPED FOR MORE ENLIGHTENED TREATMENT AT YOUR HANDS=

PAUL A NAGLE PRES NATIONAL POSTAL TRANSPORT ASSN
1300 CONNECICUT AVE NW WASH DC=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Oct. 29th

MRS. JOHN MEAD HOWELLS
580 PARK AVENUE
TEMPLETON 8-1954

Dear Mr. Marrow —

We listened to your — or, rather, viewed your Post Office program, and we thought it most interesting and important — But can't you some day tell

us about the marvellous International Post — We take it for granted that we can send a letter any — where in the world, but we do not realize it is because of the one International agreement that works —

Very sincerely —

Abby Howells —

"See It Now"
Potash, Shirley

October 10, 1957

Dear Shirley:

Very many thanks for your cordial little note about Sunday's SEE IT NOW. I am glad that you and Dick enjoyed the show. We have received a number of nice comments on the program, but we liked yours best.

As ever yours,

Miss Shirley Potash
Time, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

mcc

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

October 7, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

My husband (who, I think, is an extraordinary journalist) said that yesterday's "See It Now" was "extraordinary journalism." He is for raising the postal rates, I am against it, but we both agreed that this is the first time in a long long while that we saw this kind of journalism in depth on our 21" screen.

Congratulations to you and Fred Friendly and everyone else involved.

Bestest,

Shirley

Shirley Potash Clurman

SIN
Schwartz, Bernard

November 1, 1957

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

There is, of course, considerable merit in the issues you raise in your courteous letter of October 17th.

You will appreciate, I am sure, in part, at least, the problems involved in editing a program. We normally shoot about one thousand feet of film for every one hundred that get on the air, and I can recognize from your letter the disappointment of your membership, but it is my problem to try to stimulate widespread public interest in the Post Office and its problems.

You may be interested to know that the other members of the Postal Service thought the treatment fair and served to focus attention, however superficially, upon the practices and just grievances of the postal workers.

We may have occasion to return to this subject later on, and if we do, perhaps the treatment can be in greater depth and detail.

Thanks again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Bernard Schwartz, President
New York Federation of Post Office Clerks
412 Eighth Avenue
New York 1, New York

fc

TELEPHONE: LONGACRE 3-5237

NEW YORK FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

LOCAL NO. 10, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

412 EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

AFFILIATIONS

A.F.L.—C.I.O.

CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK

NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPT.

JOINT CONFERENCE OF AFFILIATED POSTAL EMPLOYEES OF GREATER NEW YORK AND VICINITY

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPT. OF NEW YORK STATE

October 17, 1957.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to express, on behalf of the 10,000 members of this Local, our keen dissapointment at your program of October 3, 1957, the "Billion Dollar Mail Case". It was all the more dissapointing in view of the reputation you enjoy for objective and complete coverage of the subjects you select.

This Local, at considerable time and expense, participated in a special meeting, at which 3 hours of film was taken. While we understand the many limitations imposed, we do believe that there should have been far better coverage. Completely excluded from the broadcast were a number of major issues, raised by speakers, which reflected the needs and feelings of 500,000 postal employees. Mr. Cole, of READERS DIGEST, and Postmaster General Summerfield, spoke for approximately 20 minutes while spokesmen for postal employees barely had five minutes, and this included items, which may have had human interest, but certainly, other major problems were deserving of at least equal coverage.

Several members of this Local spoke on such subjects as, the Work Performance Standards Program, Merit Promotion, Union Recognition, and the crisis with respect to the turn over of personnel. Every one of these issues is of vital importance, not only to postal employees, but to the public, as they directly affect the kind of service the Post Office Department is able to give. The question of policy regarding postal rates, while important, should not have been permitted to completely obscure major problems which, aside from the question of costs, per se, actually have a more direct bearing on the efficiency of the Department.

Was it your desire to place primary emphasis on the question of publishers vs departmental costs and the technical backwardness of post office facilities? This was your right, but I believe it was unfair to utilize postal employees, simply to add a touch of human interest to the program. Certainly if it was desired to give proper recognition to the basic problems of the Post Office Department, then allowance should have been made for the inclusion of the employee viewpoint on an equitable basis.

Our members particularly resent the lack of opportunity to challenge your assertion that European postal workers earn only one third the salary of postal workers in this country. This statement gives a completely distorted view of the issue. It utterly ignores differences in living standards, costs of living, and what is a decent wage based on our economy. Why no comment about the differences in costs of materials, machines, equipment, administration, etc., as between our Post Office Department and foreign postal services? Even more revealing would be a comparison between the salary of Postmaster General Summerfield, and other top post office officials, to which we do not object, and similar postal officials in European countries.

It is our understanding that this program is to be rebroadcast on Sunday, October 20,1957. If this is so, I earnestly hope you will review the thousands of feet of film "shot" at our "gripe" meeting on Sept. 11, 1957, with a view to giving us a "fair shake". In particular I urge you to consider a broader coverage of the salary question.

In this connection, we would be happy to provide any information, or contribute in any way possible.

Our membership feels most strongly on this subject, and this communication is a directive of the Membership Meeting of this Local held on October 16, 1957.

Thank you for your interest in the Post Office Department and its employees.

Sincerely,

Bernard Schwartz

Bernard Schwartz,
President.

"SEE IT NOW"

ATOMIC TIMETABLE

Part I

NOVEMBER 25, 1957

Sir

Copy of letter to Fred from Arthur.

The Hyatt House, International Airport, Los Angeles, California - ORchard 2-9141
September 15. 1957

Dear Fred,

Unfortunately there's no typewriter in the vicinity so you'll have to suffer my fine Italian hand. Here's a summary of things I've seen which I think have some potential for us and which I hope will reach you before you see Rickover.

Pittsburgh Area

1. Shippingport: Here's some perspective on Shippingport. It is hoped that Shippingport will be providing power via Duquesue Light and Power, by the end of '57 and this would make it the first large-scale commercial use. This is a Rickover-Westinghouse operation. Reactor experts feel that Shippingport-type reactors which use pressurized water cannot be economical because of the complexity of the heat exchangers and other factors. General Electric's boiling water reactor at Pleasanton, California, 40 miles from San Francisco will be on the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. line about the same time as Shippingport but it is only a 5,000 kilowatt operation. It is the first privately-financed nuclear power operation in the US and is modeled after Argonne National Lab's boiling water reactor which has been providing 2/3 of the power for all the Argonne buildings for quite some time and thus is in fact the US pioneer in nuclear power. The GE reactor is a backstop for their Dresden, Illinois plant now under construction which will have roughly three times the output of Shippingport.

2. Westinghouse: Because of its submarine reactors and orders from Shippingport, Yankee, Belgium and Edisonvolta in Italy, Westinghouse has been dominant in the peacetime field though GE has more government work.

   Cheswick - Westinghouse mass production of atomic components, notably the $250,000 leakproof pumps for Shippingport. Parts of Belgian reactor can be shown. Magnitude of plant shows nuclear age upon us commercially.

   Research - Example of way in which irradiation changes characteristics of substance, giving it commercial use: A ball is dropped on silicon gum. The ball plops into the gummy substance and does not bounce. Then the gum is irradiated, the ball is dropped and it bounces high off the gum.

   Blairsville - Manufacture of uranium pellets (it takes 3,000,000 pellets with tolerances of ½ of one-thousandth of an inch to make up the fuel elements). Metallurgy at Blairsville features the processing of zirconium discovered in 1824 but unused until its neutron absorbing capacity was noted recently. We can watch a $25,000 ingot forged and sent through the receiving mill until it becomes a thin cladding? for a uranium fuel element.

3. Nuclear Science and Engineering Co.-Example of a bright young company stepping out into the atomic age with leadership averaging age 30. They analyze samples of bone and milk for fallout under AEC contract.

Oak Ridge

1. Oak Ridge trains circuit-riding science teachers - these will be in Wyoming, Louisiana and Maine during our filming. They have excellent visual displays of fission and radiation and could serve as our pioneer while showing the

stimulation of high school kids. The exhibits flash chain reactors like pinball machines.

2. Robert Charpie (pronounced Sharpy and he is!), Assistant Director of the lab at 31, planned US participation in Geneva Conference, dynamic and brilliant on (a) how national labs translate research into impact and (b) how nuclear power can make and shape world.

3. Dr. William Russell - Geneticist who works with his wife. Can demonstrate how radiation of a mouse shortens the life span of its offspring (not generations hence, but the offspring). Can demonstrate mutations from high-dose radiation and makes point that the mouse is 15 times more sensitive than the fruit fly which formed the basis of H.J. Muller's research and radiation standards.

4. Dr. Congdon - One of the most significant contributions of the past decade. Congdon can demonstrate how bone marrow can be transplanted to a mouse which has received lethal radiation. Radiation destroys the immune system of the body and thereby permits the introduction of a foreign body. There are important human implications in the treatment of leukemia as well as radiation. We can show removal of bone marrow from mouse femur without revolting viewers.

5. Dr. Doherty - the injection of AET, a chemical compound prior to radiation, prevents death from what would otherwise be a lethal dose. The compound is too toxic for humans but suggests possibilities.

6. The historic 1943 reactor in which most US isotopes are now produced. We can show placement of isotopes in reactor, withdrawal and processing by mechanical handling including some fascinating packaging, canning and bottle-top spinning by remote control. Abbott Labs in Oak Ridge picks up some isotopes, processes them pharmaceutically on the spot and ships 'em out on the same day the orders from physicians arrive by teletype. This urgency is because of the short half-life of many isotopes.

7. Oak Ridge's giant research reactor will be brought to criticality for the first time about Oct. 15. We can cover. Tense and terse phraseology, unfamiliar words and complexity of control mechanisms may make this or other reactors which will be available an interesting sequence.

8. Homogeneous Reactor - This is experimental, uses liquid fuel, has great possibilities. Men change parts below water using 30 foot poles which remove nuts, bolts and large assemblies. Liquid fuel is one answer to complex, expensive and wasteful fuel elements but the big problem introduced by the liquid is corrosion.

9. Special training division - Students from other countries learn how to handle isotopes. The Argonne group is more interesting, however.

10. Dr. William Pollard, Director Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies and ordained Episcopalian priest. Out of this world if worked with carefully. Discusses the "naturalness" of atoms and hydrogen bombs (the sun) and the unnaturalness of such uniquely earthbound characteristics as free oxygen. Eloquent about the role of science, the unity of religion and scientific inquiry, the uninevitability of nuclear destruction.

11.

11. Dr. Karl Z. Morgan, Chairman of theSubcommittee on Internal Radiation of the Nat'l Academy of Science - he is a standart-setter. He deplores AEC over-simplification or fadiation hazard as well as Ralph Lapp type of over-alarm, draws convincing picture of radiation hazards on blackboard showing we must reduce medical X-ray exposures which are forty times greater than fallout levels if continued at same rate over lifetime - tall, craggy, quiet, impressive.

12. Tower shielding facility - Spectacular pictures - two 350 foot towers between which a reactor is hoisted dripping from its water base. In shielded underground room radiation from airborne reactor is recorded as development of first nuclear reactor for aircraft propulsion advances. Cameras can ~~upon~~ top of film from towers.

Detroit Area

1. General Motors Technical Center - Isotope Lab - Piston ring irradiated at Oak Ridge comes back to lab. Put in dynamometer which simulates traffic, stops and starts with characteristic sounds. Radioactivity from piston ring transmitted to motor oil and when measured by counter registers wear of piston-ring. In 10 minutes get ~~resulst~~ results that once took weeks and were not as accurate. (editorial and unobjective note: this enables General Motots to design a piston ring which will not wear too long).

2. University of Michigan Phoenix Project - ambitious program for studying impact of atomic energy on society but at the moment, is expendable. Very uncoordinated and we get better basic research elsewhere.

Chicago

1. Argonne Cancer Research Hospital:

   (a) Treatment of breast cancer by destruction of pituitary gland by radioactive beads placed through patient's sinuses thus avoiding brain surgery. Treatment designed to reduce sex hormones which promote spread of breast cancer. Can be used to help about 50% of such cases. We can view placement of beads through image - amplifying fluorscope. We can use real patient for all scenes but through scope and can use cadavar for that (take me out, coach!).

   (b) Cabolt 60 therapy with revolving machine and use of one million volt Van De Graaf machine for superficial tumors.

2. Argonne National Lab:

   (a) Dr. Austin Brues, Director Biology & Medicine - not inspiring compared to others.

   (b) Dr. Miriam Finkel - has done first large-scale exposure of mice to varying doses of radiation. 7,000 mice used, she is willing to give us details which indicate that radiation standards for man are safe by a factor of a thousand. She has measured somatic <u>not genetic</u> effects and her findings support the threshold followers who say nothing happens until you get a certain degree of dose. This is not, repeat not, related to genetics of which Russell's studies at Oak Ridge are preeminent.

(c) The handling of plutonium. U235 comprises only .3% of all uranium but U238, the other 99.7%, can become fissionable plutonium. Plutonium could be atomic fuel except that it is so deadly to man if it gets in the respiratory system. The maximum dose to man is one/tenth of one millionth of a gram. But a new AEC reactor is being designed to use plutonium. We can show the experimental handling of this stuff in the lab. Operators use gloves in chemical caves and the trick is to keep absolute purity in the air.

(d) Paul Fields is a young chemist who, working with a Swede and an Englishman, discovered element 102. He symbolizes the epochal discoveries being made and could be used in sequence next to the new Berkeley accelerator which is designed to discover element 103.

(e) International School of Atomic Energy - Students from 24 countries work on a do-it-yourself reactor called the Argonant. Many Asians, demonstrates internationalism.

(f) Food irradiation in the swimming pool reactor. Army Quartermaster Corps has foods lowered into watery reactor for irradiation. We can show exhibit of meats and breads left at room temperatures for months without changing characteristics while controls are rotted & mouldy.

(g) Dr. Leo Marinelli: Devised the iron room, a chamber free of background radioactivity where humans as well as other samples can be checked for activity. Says Marinelli, a fluent Continental with a cigarette holder and Venetian accent, "We were born, conceived and developed in a radioactive world". He has discovered that there is less strontium 90 in fallout than there is radium in much Illinois drinking water. Marinelli will operate his fantastic machine for us while a subject sits in his iron room. Then we can see a radium dial painter having her radon (a gas expelled in respiration) measured and we can urge listeners who worked with radium to notify the proper person so they can contribute to radiation data.

(h) Experimental Boiling Water Reactor - This supplies 2/3 of the Argonne Lab's power and is most impressive. They will have it do tricks for us, bringing up power rapidly. TV monitor of steam pressure dial will shoot up in control room. We can film the control rods which are below the pressure vessel <u>while the reactor is operating</u>, so can demonstrate how reactions are slowed and speeded.

(i) Dr. Norman Hilberry, Director of Argonne is eloquent on the subject of basic research and can trace how seemingly unrelated laboratory experiments are suddenly brought into focus, as with atomic energy. He is excellent on the subject of national labs and in describing how the US was skating on thin ice during the Stagg Field days. He is an alternative to Ernest Lawrence, Glenn Seaborg or Louis Alvarez at Berkeley.

(j) Argonant, the do-it-yourself reactor previously mentioned - It produces only enough power to light one 100 watt bulb but has all the essentials of a reactor. The international students practice on it.

(k) Subcritical Assembly. Students working with Fermi's original Stagg Field graphite. There is a placque on the assembly.

(l) Metallurgy - An alternative to the Westinghouse Blairsville operation. Uranium in a steel jacket is rolled back and forth and bonded with zircaloy then six such plates are welded by automatic machine into one fuel element.

(m) Caves for handling radioactive materials - these and the GE caves at Pleasanton, Cal. are most photogenic. Can show precision work using mechanical hands.

(n) Scully's Greenhouse - We have this on film and nothing substantial has happened since.

<u>San Francisco Area</u>

1. Radiation Lab. Berkeley:

(a) Ernest Lawrence, Director, Nobel Prizewinner, inventor of cyclotron, is in Europe now, back at end of month. Shy of cameras, has never been on TV, will require some personal intervention by a friend. His role, I think, would be the function of basic research. In his absence, other Berkeley spokesmen (and there are plenty, these are the Chicago Bears of atomic energy) could do the job. If he fails, Glenn Seaborg, also Nobel Prizer for discovery of plutonium would be excellent as would Louis Alvarez. Alvarez is a handsome assistant director of Berkeley, inventor of ground-controlled approach in aircraft. Any of these could talk about the cyclotron which produces cosmic-type rays, the bevatron which whirls neutrons 300,000 miles in 1.8 seconds and discovered anti-matter and HILAC, the new accelerator which it is hoped will discover element 103. Any of these might say that these enormous gadgets are designed to hurl particles at greater and greater speeds against nuclei and thus discover the nature of the nucleus. The shorter the distance between man and the heart of the atom the larger the equipment necessary.

(b) Donner Laboratory - Best single place to show medical applications:

(1) treatment of polycythema vera, disease caused by overproduction of red blood cells. Treatment with radio phosphorus by injection has doubled years of survival.

(11) destruction of thyroid by radio iodine.

(111) multi-port detector is huge gadget. Patient lays on table, four detection instruments measure radioactivity in various parts of his body. Counts show whether new red blood cells are produced.

(1V) Movable scanner moves over patient's body making continuous picture to spot thyroid cancer as iodine moves to various areas.

(V) patient wears space mask as carbon 14 passes through body and is measured after exhalation. Used in metabolism studies, relates to diabetes.

(c) Photosynthesis - the mystery of how plants transform sunlight into energy has been unlocked by Dr. Melvin Calvin and colleagues. A must for the show. Algae grow in shaking container with lights. Algae are fed radio carbon, killed, then chromatography shows how various chemicals reacted. Dr. Calvin shows a CO_2 atom model and H_2O model, then shows $C_{12}H_{22}O_{11}$ which is the sugar they manufacture.

(d) Dr. Hardin Jones, radiation expert, assistant director Berkeley who describes known association between radiation and leukemia in this and other countries, excellent.

2. General Electric Atom Lab, Pleasanton:

First privately-financed nuclear power in US. Very impressive operation, goes into business in December or November, has already been brought to criticality. G.E. also has beautiful radioactive-handling lab. Their atom power division in San Jose is like Westinghouse at Cheswick.

STILL TO BE SEEN

National Reactor Testing Station, Idaho:

Materials testing reactor
Reprocessing of radioactive waste
Propulsion unit for Navy cruiser

Salt Lake City Pipeline:

The use of tracers to follow different types of liquids through pipelines so they know when the gasoline has ended and the kerosene is about to begin, etc.

I'll be home next weekend. My finger is falling off. Love to Dorothy.

Arthur

P.S. I'm not the traveling-type!!

Tomorrow Prog. Bus
S/N
Collingwood, Charles
McClure, Bill

October 18, 1957

Dear Charles & Bill:

Attached are some question ideas for Dr. Hinton. Change them and expand on them as you see fit. Let me fill you in on the rest of the show.

Actually, it is going to be the first of several attempts to do "This radio-active planet" and we will probably call the show something like this. This will be part one and will deal with power and other peacetime uses. Ed will be doing Admiral Rickover from Shippingport - our first major peace-time reactor which is expected to go critical in the next few weeks. Rickover will talk not only about the reactor, but about our power problems. I expect it will be a kind of "Paley report" in which we point out that we are using up our oil and coal at such a rate that by 1980, we will be in Britain's position. That's why it is very important that you get Hinton to go deeply into Britain's position problems -- Suez and the low reserves in fossil fuel, high cost of coal, etc. I expect the Admiral will also speak of the "artificial creation of obsolescence" here and how it causes us to use too much of everything. Also, on the program will be Dr. Edward Teller, chief architect of the H-Bomb, who will speak about the low state of scientific education here compared to the Russians. He will also talk about the need to know. Ed and I will be doing Teller in Baltimore Tuesday (not in Berkeley and if we get any ideas out of his comments that affect your project we'll cable you). Admiral Strauss will be on the program, but we'll do him last - he'll answer the questions that the entire program begs.

Other coverage on the show will include a "spectacular I think" sequence already shot of an airplane reactor being tested five hundred feet over Oak Ridge, strung between four towers. We'll be doing several types of power reactors in the US, a zero power reactor which enables scientists to figure out the cores of future reactors. We'll cover changing of fuel elements and disposal of radioactive wastes, and the powering of a jet engine by nuclear energy.

On the medical side, we'll be showing cobalt radiation therapy and the use of radiosotopes in detecting damage and measuring metabolism. We may show the destruction of the pituitary by cobalt beads in the treatment of breast cancer. We'll have a sequence on the unlocking of the secret of photosynthesis and we'll show the irradiation of food to preserve its shelf life.

There will also be a brief prologue with Compton at Stagg field predicting a bright new era (years ago) and Szilard saying the Stagg field success would go down in history as civilizations darkest day.

In addition to the Hinton questions, be sure to do a brief description by him of Calder Hall and also shoot Calder Hall reactor (shots to be used with or without his narration). Also please do as a Collingwood opening leading into Calder Hall and Hinton. As for Cockcroft, we'll decide what direction to go.with him after Hinton.

Good luck.

Mr. Charles Collingwood
Mr. William McClure
CBS News
26 Hallam Street
London W.1., England

FWF/hlt
encl.

P.S. Is there any visual sequence they can do for us on the recent fusion experiment?
~~The second treatment of this~~
Incidents also The second treatment of this subject will be in the Spring and will include radiation and fall-out. You may want to mention this to your Calder Hall contacts.

Bill, when you shoot Calder Hall exteriors, be sure to do druid markers in foreground. Here are some notes from an exploratory trip that Morse made, which may orient you.

10/18/57

QUESTIONS FOR SIR CHRISTOPHER HINTON

1. The United States and Soviet Union were years ahead of Britain with nuclear weapons. Yet in the quest for atomic power, Britain has attained certain leadership. How come?

2. In the United States where ~~mut~~ first atomic power is still to go on the line, it will cost considerably more than electricity made from coal or oil. How does this compare with your Calder Hall figures? (additional question) When will atomic power be cheaper.

3. What about the ~~There-is-some~~ criticism in America that the British have gotten off to a head start but will suffer in the future because you have put all your eggs in one basket and that research has already passed you by.

4. There was an important news story several weeks ago that British scientists at Harwell had made an important break-thru in fusion or the use of hydrogen for peace-time purposes. Would you talk about that for a few minutes?

5. As you know, the US Navy now has three atomic submarines. What are the British doing about Nuclear powered merchant ships - what about aircraft?

6. Isn't there a wide area of duplication and, therefore, waste in what you are doing here in England and what we are doing in our American laboratories?

7. What about safety with these reactors? I have read that the British safety requirement is considerably less strict than the American one (if this doesn't lead him to last week's mishap, then ask him about it).

8. What about the future - where will your program be by 1965?

Gunther, R.S.

December 9, 1957

Dear Mr. Gunther:

Many thanks for your cordial letter of November 26.

I am glad to learn that you liked ATOMIC TIMETABLE. The audience reaction was very favorable, and the calibre of the correspondence was unusually high.

Thank you for taking the time and trouble to write.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Richard S. Gunther
5512 Van Nuys Boulevard
Van Nuys, California

mcc

Richard S. Gunther

5512 VAN NUYS BOULEVARD
VAN NUYS, CALIFORNIA
STATE 6-5571

NOVEMBER 26, 1957

EDWARD R. MURROW
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
NEW YORK, N. Y.

DEAR MR. MURROW:

I HAVE ALWAYS ADMIRED YOUR PROGRAMS AND THIS ADMIRATION TURNED TO ENTHUSIASM WHEN YOU TACKLED McCARTHYISM WHILE AT THE HEIGHT OF ITS POWER.

HOWEVER, I HAVE NEVER SEEN YOU DO A BETTER JOB THAN WAS DONE SUNDAY BY INTERVIEWING MEN OF THE CALIBER AND OBVIOUS INTEGRITY OF ADMIRAL RICKOVER AND DR. TELLER.

YOU PERFORMED A GREAT PUBLIC SERVICE AND PLEASE DO MORE. THE COUNTRY NEEDS PEOPLE LIKE YOU.

VERY TRULY YOURS,

RICHARD S. GUNTHER

RSG:BL

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM natalie

Fred says he will talk to you about the attached before he goes home this evening. He is in the cutting room at the moment.....

N

McClure, Bill

RECEIVED
1957 NOV -8 PM 4:48
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y

RECEIVED
1957 NOV -8 PM 4:48
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y

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LONDON 52 8 930P

PSS CBSINC

NY

BURKE PROFRIENDLY ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY PRESS OFFICE SAID TODAY FUSION RELEASE EXPECTED MID NOVEMBER BUT IMPOSSIBLE ADVANCE SHOOT ZETA PERHAPS AFTER WRAPS OFF STOP IF RELEASE DAY COULD BE ADVANCED THROUGH ANGLO AMERICAN AGREEMENT NO SECURITY OBSTACLE WOULD PREVENT PHOTOGRAPHY STOP ANY MURROW INTERVENTION WOULD CERTAINLY CLEAR AIR REGARDS

MCCLURE

LW 445P NOV 8 1957

ACK

Talk

Sim

MEMO

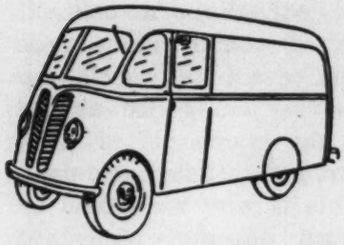
Wilson S. Meyers

Ed:-

You may be interested in our latest bulletin about your program.

Wilson

11/15/57



ATLANTIC CITY ELECTRIC COMPANY

SUPERVISOR'S TAILBOARD TOPICS

A Digest of Current Interest

Atomic Energy

will be featured on two of TV's top Sunday shows. Edward R. Murrow will start filmed series on peace time use of nuclear energy on "See It Now" over CBS-TV (Channel 10) on November 24—5 to 6 P.M. Dave Garroway's "Wide, Wide World" will do live report on December 6th over NBC-TV (Channel 3) 4 to 5:30 P.M. According to reports both programs will describe Electric Industry's part in atomic power research and development. Both programs will visit many key plants and laboratories including Duquesne-Westinghouse Shippingport reactor, world's first full scale atomic plant devoted to civilian needs. They will also make report on atomic progress made at Argonne Laboratories in preservation of food and propulsion of aircraft. "See It Now" will make filmed report on first power reactor station built in England at Calder Hall. World leaders in atomic energy will also appear on both programs. Write down dates—November 24th, 5 P.M., Channel 10 and December 6th, 4 P.M., Channel 3. You won't want to miss these programs.

The Electric Industry

is participating in 14 projects with generating capacity of more than 1,500,000 kilowatts, costing well over $400 million. Sixty-nine investor-owned electric operating companies and more than 40 manufacturing companies are cooperating in these installations. For several years, Atlantic City Electric has been interested in Atomic Power Development Associates project at Detroit.

Atomic Electric Power

is fast becoming an important issue to Electric Industry. With electric use doubling every ten years (may triple this decade) we are going to need low cost nuclear fuel to supplement conventional fuels in generation of electric power.

Edward R. Trapnell

one of Washington's leading public relations authorities on atomic power, recently told New Jersey audience that while atomic power development will need cost-cutting incentive, efficiency and practical operating experience of investor-owned electric industry, it cannot do job alone. Trapnell contends that government must continue to make substantial investments in research and development, not only for electric power but for many other uses including national security, public health and safety. Many industry leaders interested in atomic development agree with this contention. But some do not agree. Perhaps because of the following:

Federal Power

by nuclear energy may ultimately become real challenge to our industry. Advocates of federalized power may use government's stake in atomic energy as wedge to build and operate generating stations and then by insidious preference systems attempt to distribute and market electric output. Like present federally-owned power projects they will then compete with free enterprise utilities in same old way—interest free money and tax-free electric income. The New York Daily News warns that present public power moves "an open attempt to create a public nuclear power empire like TVA". The Guaranty Trust of New York has pointed out that "a political stranglehold on commercial atomic energy could eventually spell the doom of private enterprise as the free world has known it". This is why we must not be lulled into complacency. This is why we should be well informed on this important subject.

Hon. Carl T. Durham

Congressman from North Carolina and Chairman of The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and a ranking member of that group for eleven years, clarified congressional thinking on this subject recently. In a letter to the Electric Companies Public Information Program on September 18, 1957 Mr. Durham wrote:

"The electric industry recognizes, I am sure, the necessary role of the government in atomic energy. The relationship to national security and the question of public health and safety are the basic reasons for government regulations of this industry.

But the regulatory responsibilities of the government in the field of the development and utilization of nuclear energy must not be exploited to expand and enlarge the government activities in the field of power. Electric power is a needed public service which the citizens of

this nation can provide for themselves, under effective regulation. The notion that the federal government should build and operate generating stations just to have public power is the rankest kind of federalism, is wholly repugnant to our concept of free enterprise, won't assure the nation an adequate power supply, and generally weakens our economy by the unsound tax manipulation which results from federal power investment."

Millville, N. J.—"The Heart of Delaware Valley, U.S.A."

received some nice publicity in an article by Hugh Scott, published in Philadelphia Inquirer's Sunday Magazine, "Today". (11-3-57) Article traced Millville's renaissance from small town to a modern city throbbing with new industry, new homes, new business, new vision and new civic pride. While article praised other Millville civic leaders, it described Clarence R. Wolf, President of New Jersey Silica Sand and Director of ACE CO. as "the type of senior citizens small cities dream of, seldom get". Incidentally, Mr. Wolf received honorary degree of Doctor of Science from Lafayette College on October 26. A graduate of Lafayette in 1911, Mr. Wolf is life trustee of College. Before becoming interested in silica sand in 1923, he was Principal of Millville High School. While sand is Mr. Wolf's business, he devotes considerable time and effort to community life and other outside interests. One of these is world's largest private holly orchard of over 4500 trees. He organized Holly Society of America and has served as its President for 10 years.

Paul J. McCorristin

newly elected president of Southern New Jersey Development Council was cited in Millville story as "a genial tornado" who sparked civic cooperation through Mayor and City Commission, Board of Trade, other civic groups and public utilities. He was described by Scott as "The man who created 1200 jobs". As new head of SNJDC, McCorristin has program designed to encourage closer cooperation between our municipalities in area development and discourage provincialism which plagued Southern New Jersey for so many years. If you would like copy of Millville story—contact Wilson Meyers.

Central Surveys, Inc.

conducts nationwide customer opinion surveys regarding electric industry each year including opinions of electric service and electric company employees. In 1956-57 they talked with 21,640 customers and found 97% had favorable things to say about their electric service. Of 3% who were critical common complaints were "low voltage and interruptions". The 97% figure compares with 95% in 1950 and 88% in 1948.

Electric Company Employees

received high score during same period. 11,639 customers were asked about employee promptness and courtesy. 95% gave favorable answers—2% were unfavorable and 3% had no opinion. On opinions about cost of electricity 63% gave favorable replies. In this part of survey too many people failed to realize all the values or services represented in their electric service bill. Too many people still refer to it—and think of it—as "light bill". For example customers were asked "how many different things would you say you used electricity for—5, 10, 15, 25 or what?" The median reply was 8, but actual count revealed median average of 14 appliances per home.

Air Pollution Commission

of N. J. adopted code covering control and prohibition of fly ash on October 21. It becomes effective on July 1, 1958. In addition to defining solid fuel and fly ash, code sets limit of stack emission based on BTU's per hour. Reports describing fuel-burning equipment will be required by State Department of Health.

Community Chest Campaigns

are now being held in Atlantic and Salem Counties and Bridgeton. Have you discussed our new payroll payment plan with your group? The many community agencies supported by Red Feather Campaigns need our help. Let's give our fair share.

NEW RADIO PROGRAM

sponsored by Company to cooperate with our electric appliance dealers will start on Dec. 2 in Atlantic City. It will be called "Reddy Kilowatt Show" and will eminate from window of Main Office Building, Kentucky and Pacific Avenues. It will feature Bob Weems and be broadcast over WFPG, 3:30 to 5:30 P.M., Monday through Friday. It will have public service format, interviews, news, weather, special contests, meeting calendar, home making hints on electric use and will also promote electric appliances for our dealers.

New Washington Cocktail

"The Sputnik" — one part vodka — two parts sour grape juice.

Rickover, R. Adm.
Hyman

November 8, 1957

Dear Admiral:

The film we shot at Shippingport turned out very well indeed.

The slight background noise didn't interfere with the sound at all, and I am hopeful that you will be somewhat gratified with the end result.

I am enclosing a few stills.

As ever yours,

Rear Admiral Hyman G. Rickover
United States Atomic Energy Commission
1901 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

fc

Strauss, Adm. Lewis L.

Sen

December 5, 1957

Dear Admiral Strauss:

Thank you for your gracious letter about SEE IT NOW.

You will be interested to know that the audience reaction, while not massive, was altogether favorable and the calibre of the correspondence was unusually high.

As you know, we hope to revert to this subject again and will hope to again have the invaluable aid and assistance of yourself and your colleagues.

For our part, that is Friendly and myself, we would like to do a program in this area every week.

Sincerely,

Admiral Lewis L. Strauss
United States Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D.C.

fc

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

26 November 1957

Sir

Dear Mr. Murrow:

When I tuned in to "See-It-Now" on Sunday, I had as my guests in Virginia Sir Edwin Plowden, Chairman of the British Atomic Energy Authority, and Sir Richard Powell, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Defense. It was a splendid program, and time passed so quickly that it was hard for us to believe that it had lasted for an hour.

I am sorry that, having come to my part of the interview from the sick bed, I was in such poor voice, but the excellence of the other parts of the program made up for my deficiency.

Faithfully yours,

Lewis Strauss

Lewis L. Strauss

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

cc: Fred Friendly

See It Now, Nov 24, '57 B. I. S.

Wright, Joy

Telephone
CIRCLE 6-5100

Cable:
DIGESTION, NEW YORK

Reference for reply

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES
45 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

November 26, 1957

called

Dear Ed:

We would like to make a secondary use of the excellent programme on atomic energy which you put on last Sunday.

Would you, personally, or CBS, have any objection to our sending to science editors and scientific periodicals in the U.S. an excerpt from the programme on the lines of the draft I attach?

We would like to get this out quickly so perhaps you would be kind enough to have someone give me a call.

Sincerely yours,

Joy

Joy Wright

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

/nt
enc.

BRITISH PROGRESS IN THERMO-NUCLEAR REACTORS

A layman's explanation of what the British are doing in the field of thermonucleonics was given by Sir John Cockcroft on CBS Television's "See It Now" program on November 24.

An introduction by Ed Murrow listed the British accomplishments to date in this field:

> the production of electricity at Calder Hall, the world's first commercial nuclear power station;
>
> the construction in Scotland of a "fast breeder" reactor which next spring will start producing 60,000 k.w. of power;
>
> the building of nuclear power plant for export;
>
> experimentation with an atomic propelled submarine cargo ship larger than the QUEEN MARY with an anticipated speed of 50 knots;

and particularly the experiments now going on at Harwell in fusion of heavy hydrogen for peacetime purposes -- a result which will mean for the world an inexhaustible supply of energy.

DOING "QUITE WELL"

Interviewed by Charles Collingwood in London, Sir John -- who is head of Britain's Atomic Research Establishment and a Nobel prize winner -- replied to the suggestion that Britain is "leading the way toward harnessing the power of the hydrogen bomb."

"I never like to say we are leading the world in anything. All that I like to say is that we are doing well or doing badly. I think we are doing quite well at the moment."

He went on to outline some of the problems involved in producing a thermonuclear reactor.

/Over ...

The essential problem, he said, is to make the atomic nuclei of the so-called "heavy" hydrogen combine to form helium. When that happens, a great deal of energy is released.

The problem is to reproduce in the laboratory or power stations the conditions prevailing in the sun and stars... that is, ~~to say,~~ the extraordinarily high temperatures necessary to make the nuclei combine.

STAGES ONE AND TWO REACHED

The way the British are going about it, Sir John explained, is "to put the gas in a kind of donut, and heat it up. We do that by passing a very powerful electrical charge through."

The next problem is discovery of a way to prevent the heat thus developed from being lost by the gas touching the walls.

"Fortunately, what helps us in this is an automatic restriction of the gas which tends to squeeze it into a narrow channel. This means it is pulled away from the walls, and it sweeps up into the charge-hole so that the charge is effectively insulated from the walls and we don't lose the heat by conduction to the glass. That is the first very important point."

Stage Two of the project -- which the British have also reached -- is to build a very much bigger donut (known as ZETA) designed to raise temperatures of between one and five million degrees Centigrade.

"If we can do this, the fusion reaction will start and neutrons will be emitted. We do observe neutrons, but on the other hand we know they can come from a number of spurious causes and we are not yet a hundred percent certain that all these neutrons come from true thermo-nuclear reaction."

POSITIVE POWER GAIN

After the successful operation of ZETA comes Stage Three.

This is to get more power out of the fusion reaction than is put in. "So Stage Three," Sir John went on, "would be to build a ZETA II if you like, or another fusion reactor in which you would get a positive power gain.

"And then, beyond that.... you still have Stage Four, which is to build something which is economic and which is real engineering hardware."

UNLIMITED SUPPLY

Asked to give a picture of Stage Four in operation, with a practical fusion reactor working, Sir John replied, "I don't know whether I will be alive to see it.... but if we do get that, the tremendous attraction is that the fuel, which is heavy hydrogen, is in unlimited supply. You just really take it out of the ocean."

So the fuel cost, said Sir John, would be "negligible."

He continued, "There are also other very important advantages if you compare it with fission power: you don't have the radioactive waste products that you get in the fission process. That is another big advantage, and furthermore it may well be possible to convert the energy directly into electricity instead of going through the old-fashioned way of raising steam and making the steam drive a steam turbine....

"It would mean, really, that energy would be in unlimited supply and the world would never run out of energy."

E N D

"SEE IT NOW"

THE LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA

Marian Anderson

DECEMBER 30, 1957

NOTE: MARIAN ANDERSON ALSO APPEARED ON PERSON-TO-PERSON -

October 29, 1954

CBS NEWS
485 MADISON AVENUE
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 1-2345

SEE IT NOW
Volume 7 -- No. 4

SEE IT NOW

"The Lady from Philadelphia -
Through Asia with
Marian Anderson"

as broadcast over the
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

December 30, 1957 -- 10:00--11:00 PM EST

PRODUCERS: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

EDWARD R. MURROW

Very often books are dedicated to people. This television program is affectionatly dedicated to the children of Asia and to Anna Delilah Anderson who lives in Philadelphia and who is almost 80, and whose daughter recently represented her people and our country in Asia.

ANNOUNCER

The Lady from Philadelphia is sponsored by I.T.& T. International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.
We are in the communications business -- the business of communication from man's brain to the tips of his fingers -- the business of communication to the ends of the earth. We maintain and operate the Dew Line in Alaska - the distant early warning system - an electronic sentinel for the Air Force at the top of the world extending from Point Barrow to Greenland. I.T.& T. pioneered over-the-horizon microwave television transmission to Cuba and will some day span the Atlantic. And I.T.& T. keeps Navy jet pilots in constant touch with the giant carriers Forrestal and Saratoga. We call it Tacan and it works through an electronic navigation system which gives the pilot, continuously, his exact direction and distance to the carrier. And every thirty seconds, regardless of weather, a civilian aircraft lands safely somewhere in the world through the miracle of I.T.& T's instrument landing system.

aac

ANNOUNCER (CONT'D)

and International Telephone and Telegraph provides the communications for every-day life. We manufacture telephones and build automatic telephone equipment, and on this constantly shrinking planet provide world-wide cable communications between nations, their industries and their people.

MAN BEHIND CABLE COUNTER: Can I help you?

MAN: Yes, I want to send a message to Manila. Thank you.

ANNOUNCER

We are on television tonight because we want our fellow Americans to know what we do. We also want the American people to know what one woman accomplished in the field of human communications. Now, here is the Lady from Philadelphia.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Miss Anderson, and her accompanist, Franz Rupp, traveled some thirty-five thousand miles, sang in twelve countries, from the 38th parallel to the equator. Her briefing from the State Department and the American National Theatre and Academy was simple -- "You are not a propagandist, just be yourself." Miss Anderson's assignment was principally concerned with the peoples and nations of Asia, but she did receive [illegible]ation from the men of the 24th Division, United States Army, to visit them and sing for them and with them.

MAJOR GENERAL RALPH W. ZWICKER

Miss Anderson, it's a pleasure to have you with us here in the 24th Infantry Division. We've been looking forward to your visit with such great anticipation for such a long time that we more than are happy to have you with us today.

ANDERSON: Oh, thank you so very much. It's a joy to be here.

ZWICKER: Thank you so much.

EDWARD R. MURROW

She flew to the front by helicopter where more than five thousand G.I.'s were waiting for her in an amphitheatre carved out of the Korean hills.

(APPLAUSE - MISS ANDERSON BOWS).

MAJOR GENERAL RALPH W. ZWICKER

General Griffing, General Listenberg, officers, men and ladies of the 24th Infantry Division, and guests, I am certain that in introducing our guest, we will all agree from the fame and the prestige that she has developed not only as an outstanding contralto, but also in the many other lines of endeavor for which she is well know, the greatest of artists in our time, Miss Marian Anderson. (APPLAUSE).

EDWARD R. MURROW

In addition to the Americans, the audience was made up of soldiers from Turkey, Greece, Britain, Thailand, France, and Korea. The 8th Army Choir, conducted by a Korean civilian, accompanied the Lady from Philadelphia.

MARIAN ANDERSON SINGS WITH ARMY CHOIR)

ac

'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.
A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there
Which seek thro' the world, is ne'er met with elsewhere,
Home, home, sweet, sweet home.
There's no place like home,
Oh, there's no place like home.

aac

EDWARD R. MURROW:

And this too is Korea. Miss Anderson had been here in 1953 when there was war. Now she was returning to receive an honorary degree from Ewha Women's University near Seoul.

PRESIDENT HELEN KIM:

... one of the great artists. You are respected as a leader among women. Your success against great odds has encouraged others in their struggle for justice and human rights. You stand as an example of Christian service to mankind. (APPLAUSE).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

When Miss Anderson sang for Jan Sibelius in Finland, the composer had said: "Miss Anderson, the roof of my house is too low for you." President Kim also had some pleasant difficulties with Miss Anderson's height. Few honorary degrees have been so eloquently acknowledged or so attentively heard.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS):

He's got the whole world in his hands; he's got the big round world
in his hands
He's got the wide world in his hands; he's got the whole world
in his hands
He's got the wind and rain in his hands; he's got the sun and the moon
right in his hands
He's got the wind and the rain in his hands; he's got the whole world
in his hands
He's got that gamblin' man in his hands; he's got that lyin' man
in his hands
He's got the crap shootin' man right in his hands!
He's got the whole world in his hands. (MORE)

(PIANO SOLO)...

He's got the little bits of babies in his hands;
He's got the little bits of baby in his hands;
He's got the little bits of baby in his hands;
He's got the whole world in his hands.
He's got you and me, brudder, in his hands;
He's got you and me, sister, in his hands;
He's got you and me, brudder, in his hands;
He's got the whole world in his hands.
Oh, he's got everybody in his hands; he's got everybody in his hands.
He's got everybody here right in his hands; he's got the whole world
in his hands. (APPLAUSE).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Next stop - Saigon Airport in Viet Nam, formerly French Indo-China.

(MISS ANDERSON GETS OFF PLANE. VIETNAMESE CHILDREN SING:

Get-ting to know you, get-ting to know all a-bout you
Get-ting to like you, get-ting to hope you like me
Get-ting to know you, Put-ting it my way, but nice-ly
You are pre-cisely My cup of tea!

Get-ting to know you, get-ting to feel free and eas-y
When I am with you, get-ting to know what to say.
Haven't you not-iced? Sud-den-ly I'm bright and breez-y
Be-cause of all the beau-ti-ful and new
things I'm learn-ing a-bout you day by day.

GIRL: Welcome to Viet Nam, Miss Anderson.

ANDERSON: Thank you very much, my dear. Thank you a lot.

jsh

EDWARD R. MURROW:

From Saigon to Bangkok, capital of Thailand - which, translated, means -- "Land of the Free" -- Almost every school child in Bangkok learns English.

TEACHER: Obey.

STUDENTS: Obey.

TEACHER: Arrow.

STUDENTS: Arrow.

TEACHER: Belong.

STUDENTS: Belong.

TEACHER: Outlaw.

STUDENTS: Outlaw.

(MISS ANDERSON ENTERS CLASSROOM).

TEACHER: How do you do, Miss Anderson?

ANDERSON: How do you do?

(MISS ANDERSON GIVES THAILAND BOW MEANING "Hello" - CHILDREN RETURN BOW.)

jsh

MARIAN ANDERSON:

Mrs. Boonchuan and students, it is really a very, very great pleasure to meet you, and to know that you are studying English, and that you are going to be better able to understand us from America. I wonder just how your likes and dislikes coincide with those of the children in America.

TEACHER: The girls may have some questions to ask you.

ANDERSON: Fine.

GIRL: Miss Marian Anderson, what is your favorite song?

MARIAN ANDERSON:

I have two favorites. They are both negro spirituals. Do you know about negro spirituals? They are songs of my people that are born out of their -- when they were very sad they have made these songs. Later, their songs were a bit more gay, but this one "TRAMPING" it is called, means walking along slowly and very hard, because you have on your shoulders many unpleasant things, and so the song means when you go to the other Land, everything will be beautiful. In this State, Abraham Lincoln, one of the Presidents of whom you have learned much, made for the negroes in America a freedom - a -- we say Emancipation. You know the word freedom, hum? And after this freedom for which they were most grateful, their songs began to be more gay. Why? Because they began to feel that they - your word "belong." It was Abraham Lincoln, with his Proclamation -- they know the word Proclamation?

TEACHER: I think so.

jsh

MARIAN ANDERSON:

The word Proclamation means a paper that is written to say: "Now we will do the thing in a new way," and this new way was of great benefit to the negroes in the United States.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS):

I'm trampin', trampin', tryin' to make heaven my home.
Hallelujah, I am trampin', trampin', tryin' to make heaven my home.

EDWARD R. MURROW:

(MUSIC:"SARA SERN PHRA BARAMI" - THE KING ENTERS) -- Thailand used to be called Siam. It's a constitutional monarchy now but when the King enters the band plays Sara Sern Phra Barami and everyone stands. His Majesty sits on a throne in a roped off section reserved for the Royal Family. Veteran memebers of the Diplomatic Corps say that only several times in history has the King of Thailand broken precedent by rising to greet a distinguished visitor.

(THE KING STEPS FORWARD TO SHAKE HANDS WITH MISS ANDERSON, SHE BOWS).

ANDERSON: Your Majesty.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS:)

K'in a body meet a body, Com-in' thro' the Rye,
K'in a body kiss a body, Need a body cry?
Every lassie ha'e her laddie, Na'ne, they say, ha'e I;
Yet a' the lads they smile at me, When comin' thro' the Rye.

jsh

EDWARD R. MURROW:

- Eight thousand people heard Miss Anderson in a single concert in Hong Kong and in Manila, the "Philippines Herald" called her a brilliant singer and a great woman.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS SCHUBERT'S "SERENADE" IN GERMAN).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

There was Schubert's Serenade in Manila and Schubert's Ave Maria in Tapei, Singapore and Delhi -- and in between concerts and planes there was always time to pay her country's respects to men like the late Ramon Magsaysay of the Philippines.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS: "AVE MARIA" IN GERMAN).

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In Viet Nam, an infant nation which has known foreign domination and the ravages of communist civil war, Miss Anderson, on a Sunday morning, prayed, and with an organ several centuries old, sang "Let My People Go."

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS):

When Israel was in Egypt land, Let my people go.
Oppressed so hard they could not stand, Let my people go!
Go down, Moses, WAy down in Egypt land; Tell old Pharoah,
To let my people go!

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Miss Anderson is a Christian but she is as much at home in a Beddhist Meditation Temple as she is in an Israeli Synagogue or a Moslem Mosque. This was a conversation in Rangoon with Daw Mya Sein, a Buddhist scholar.

SEIN: Have you visited any Centers like this before?

ANDERSON: No, I have not.

SEIN: Well, as far as we are concerned, you know, as Buddhists - the Buddha made no distinction at all between whether a person is rich or whether he's poor; whether he belongs in the same caste or that caste, and in one of his sermons, you know, when he was talking about outcasts, he said - "You are not born an outcast just as the way you are not born a Brahman high class." He said - "It is by your deeds that you become an outcast or by your deeds that you become a Brahman.

ANDERSON: And whether you call it one faith or another isn't too terribly important, I think, if we are striving, all of us, to do the very best that is in us to do.

jsh

SEIN: Yes. That is how we feel also. After all it is not outward appearances that is religion or of the mind.

ANDERSON: We do a spiritual that's called -"Oh, What a Beautiful City - Twelve Gates to the City. Hallelujah," and this is one of the songs of my people which tells again of what he hopes for in the Land to which he will go after his labors here are over -where he will be able to have the things that he hoped for here, or the things that mean to him the ultimate.

SEIN: Do you find now in traveling around that this feeling of equality, the feeling that as you say all people can enter the Gates is really becoming more and more accepted in the world? I mean, that nations, for instance, which -- which used to be governed by others are emerging as new nations - this idea that every one has a right or has it in him to enter the Gates - the Twelve Gates, as you say, into the Beautiful City.

ANDERSON: Yes.

SEIN: Do you find that sort of ...?

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ANDERSON: I do find it for this reason. I think that many people knew within themselves what they felt were right for them. It is probably the fulfillment to them of many of their prayers that the --we might call them larger nations, or other people have recognized the fact that there are people who are believers, and that they are as important as others. And I think no matter how small you are, how insignificant you may feel, you have in yourself a religion or a belief which makes you great. Have you found too that the fellow can give his all if he feels that he belongs?

SEIN: I think think this sense of belonging is a feeling that most people want to have;otherwise, you find you are outside a thing and you think you can't achieve what you--- you feel you could, because no one would recognize you. You don't belong to anything.

ANDERSON: It is very important. It's been my experience on this trip, the little that one has been able to know of the people of the different countries, that they seek, too, to be great in one way or another.

SEIN: Miss Anderson, why do you use "one does" and "we do" instead of using"I"?

bg

ANDERSON: Possibly because one realizes the longer one lives, that there is no particular thing that you can do alone. With the execution of the work that we do there are many people - those who wrote the music those who made the pianos on which the accompanist plays, the accompanist who actually lends support to the performance. To go out without any of these things, to stand on your own, even the voice, even the breath, even the everything, the motion that you have, to go to a platform to perform, it's not of your doing. So the "I" in it is very small, after all.

bg

EDWARD R. MURROW

Troupes of Communist entertainers have blanketed Asia with their propaganda. During the past year the tiny Republic of Burma has had art and dance troupes from both Russia and China, but all the people of the United States sent Miss Anderson to represent them, and her performance the evening of October nineteenth will long be remembered.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS:)

There's no hidin' place down there; there's no hidin' place down there. Oh, I went to the rock to hide my face; the rock creed out no hidin' place. No hidin' place down there.
Oh, the rock cried I'm burnin' too - oh, the rock cried I'm burnin' too.
Oh, the rock cried out I'm burning too
I want to go to heaven as well as you
There's no hidin' place down there.
Oh, the sinner' man he gambled and fell
Oh, the sinner' man he gambled and fell
Oh, the sinner' man gambled, he gambled and fell
Now he wanted to go to heaven but he had to go to _____
There's no hidin' place down there.
(APPLAUSE. AUDIENCE STANDS AND APPLAUDS. MISS ANDERSON BOWS)

rt

EDWARD R. MURROW

Among the backstage admirers was the Prime Minister.

U NU: Miss Anderson, your performance, tonight is a very rare combination of good voice, good technique, and good dramatic acting. The beauty and charm of your mind are fully expressed in the pair of your dazzling eyes and your child-like lips. I wish you every success. It is a great plaasure to meet you.

ANDERSON: Thank you so very much. It was a joy to be here.

U NU: Yes.

ANDERSON: It was a great, great joy.

U NU: Next time when you come, please come during cold season.

ANDERSON: I know I shall enjoy it.

U NU: Yes. Our warm weather will tire you out very much.

EDWARD R. MURROW

But it wasn't all smiles and compliments and every American who travels abroad is likely to be reminded of Little Rock.

INTERPRETER: Miss Anderson, would you like to sing to Governor Faubus in Little Rock?

ANDERSON: If it could help at all, I should be very delighted to. If Governor Faubus would be in the frame of mind to accept it for what it is; for what he could get from it, I would be very delighted to do it.

rt

INTERPRETER: Now, since you are accepted as one of the really greats, have you any thought for promoting more understanding between the people?

ANDERSON: It is my honest belief that to contribute to a cause, to the betterment of a cause, you can do it best in the medium through which you express yourself most easily. There are some people who are speakers. I am not. If I should choose to feel that I can help to make a situation better by speaking, that is already out of my medium. For instance, I could not hope to write as well as you. Your pen would mean more to your people than your singing might mean, and, therefore, my singing might mean more to my people than my pen would mean.

rt

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The newest nation on earth is the Federation of Malaya, the southern part of the peninsula which extends from the Asian Mainland down into the Strait of Malacca. It is a melting pot of Chinese, Indians, Malayans and Eurasians. In the capital city of Kuala Lumpur, the Chinese language newspaper, in reviewing her concert, pointed out that when Miss Anderson sang the Malayan National Anthem, it marked the first rendition of the song by a visiting artist and was "a mark of deep respect for the new born nation."

MARIAN ANDERSON:

Ladies and gentlemen, I am especially glad to be here in Kuala Lumpur tonight and to welcome this new nation by singing your National Anthem.

(APPLAUSE - AUDIENCE STANDS - MISS ANDERSON SINGS THE MALAYAN NATIONAL ANTHEM -)

EDWARD R. MURROW:

In her book, Miss Anderson speaks of the future and says some day she might like to try something other than the classics and spirituals. Perhaps something from Rodgers and Hammerstein. In a Kuala Lumpur school, on the very day that the Malayan flag was being raised in the United Nations, she made her debut with a song from "South Pacific."

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MARIAN ANDERSON

Good morning, boys. It is a distinct pleasure to be here this morning and to greet you in this close fashion. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that some of you who sit here today will have the destiny of this country in your hands, and it is so very important that you do not let little things - things like hate and fear destroy you, restrict you from being the kind of big person that you could be, and I might bring to your attention that hate and fear are two things with which babies are not born, and I have this morning a song which epitomizes this statement.

(MISS ANDERSON SINGS):

You've got to be taught to hate and fear
You've got to be taught from year to year
It's got to be drummed in your dear little ear
You've got to be carefully taught
You've got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are oddly made
And people whose skin is a different shade
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught before it's too late
Before you are six or seven or eight
To hate all the people your relatives hate
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be carefully taught.
You've got to be taught before it's too late
Before you are six or seven or eight
To hate all the people your relatives hate
You've got to be carefully taught
You've got to be carefully taught.

(APPLAUSE - MISS ANDERSON BOWS).

ag

EDWARD R. MURROW:

Miss Anderson concluded her trip in Pakistan and India toward which a major part of the Soviet cultural program has been directed. Gunnar H Alfred Gruenther, just recently returned from India and concerned about the effects of this Russian propaganda, says we need more Marian Andersons. He said her effect was inspiring and called her our secret weapon. She was a sellout everywhere and the Indian press called her - "Our Fair Lady. The big night had to do with some Indian musicians and some western music - but let Miss Anderson tell you about it.

MARIAN ANDERSON

The music of India is most interesting. This highly developed and cultivated art has resisted all foreign influence and thereby retained its purity and vigor. One wishes there were more time to study it. The main emphasis is on melody and improvisation rather than harmony as in our western music. The basic form is Raga which is based on various combinations of the seven notes, each divided into its sharp and flat positions. Half tones and quarter tones are [illegible]

[illegible] months ago, one did not dream that we would be singing with [illegible] musicians but last July we received a communication through [illegible] NTA people that there was a newly formed Western Symphony [illegible] Bombay and that they would like to accompany us if we could send them one of our scores for them to work on.

ag

We were delighted and several pounds of western music went eastward by mail. When we arrived in Bombay on the twelfth of November, we discovered that the rehearsing was still going on and we were expected. As far as we know, this is the only symphony orchestra between Tokyo and Tel Aviv, and it is one that we will remember with much fondness always. The conductor, Mr. Da Silva, is a lawyer from Goa, and the string section is made up of clerks, civil servants and housewives, teachers and four doctors. The percussionist is an able-bodied seaman and a most handsome Sikh. The entire woodwind and brass sections come from the Indian Navy, augmented by several policemen. There was no harp or English horn because these instruments simply do not exist in India, where all western instruments are difficult to come by. We rehearsed part of one night and much of the next day with the orchestra and gave the concert that same evening. It is now my very great honor to present to my fellow Americans the Bombay City Orchestra in "Mon Coeur" from Samson and Delilah by Saint-Saens. (MISS ANDERSON SINGS:"MON COEUR" IN FRENCH. THE AUDIENCE APPLAUDS. MISS ANDERSON BOWS, SHAKES HANDS WITH THE CONDUCTOR, AND BOWS AGAIN):

EDWARD R. MURROW:

The Lady from Philadelphia will continue immediately after this word from the people who are sponsoring this program, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. Now, here is the President of I.T. & T., General Edmund H. Leavey.

GENERAL EDMUND H. LEAVEY:

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. You saw earlier in this program some of the things that our company is doing in the field of electronics and communications. I think it is not too much to say that we are constantly discovering new horizons which to us are never-ending.

ag

GENERAL EDMUND H. LEAVEY:

We make radio tubes and transmitters which give wings to words, and as you have just heard, wings to song. We're the pioneers in over-the-horizon radio which promises soon to link the entire earth in a vast television network. We make, and in some places operate, telephone and cable systems without which modern life and modern industry could not long survive. I hope that these few examples will have shown you that what we at the I.T.T. are doing is not merely a far-flung series of operations in the communications field, in manufacturing and research, but is truly one of the most successful international cooperative ventures that the world has seen. There are a hundred and twenty-eight thousand of us engaged throughout the world in working together in various countries to carry on these ventures, and when I tell you that some of our foreign companies -- some of those situated in Europe, for example, have recently celebrated their fiftieth, and in one case their seventy-fifth anniversaries, I am sure you will again agree that trade is a two-way street. Indeed, it seems to us that the critical problem which faces mankind today is whether man can learn to get along with man, and whether the means of communication which we have today can serve mankind to interpret our common hopes and our common aspirations. Communications is our business. It seems to us that in establishing communications with the people of Asia, Miss Anderson has done a useful and very important job. It is for that reason that we at the I.T.&T. are proud to sponsor this program, and now let us return to Miss Anderson.

jsh

EDWARD R. MURROW:

There were news conferences and interviews everywhere and because Miss Anderson was a special sort of an American, the questions asked were of a special kind of interest to Asians. They ranged all the way from atom bombs to baseball to the Lincoln Memorial incident of 1939. Miss Anderson was once barred from singing in Washington's Constitution Hall, and the United States government then made the Lincoln Memorial available for her concert. This conversation was at the All-India Radio Station in New Delhi, and the interviewer is Mrs. Tara Ali Baig, author and commentator.

MRS. BAIG: In reading your autobiography, I was very struck by many things that had happened in your career. Of course, the very celebrated one - the episode at the Lincoln Memorial. You have been a trailblazer in many things, and you undoubtedly did act as a symbol on that occasion. Is that correct?

ANDERSON: Well, I suppose one was a symbol on that particular occasion but you know one talked very little about the affair in Washington that happened at that particular time, because some of the people involved were not perhaps quite well acquainted with conditions, with a particular thing. There are some times that we are so interested in what we think and how we feel, we take upon ourselves the--- the thing of answering for other people, the responsibility of other people, without having first thought out the thing, without being well enough acquainted with it, only to find later on that these things are absolutely not necessary to have been done. I had no bitterness and I have no bitterness now.

MRS. BAIG: I'm sure you don't.

ANDERSON: Because we look for bigger things.

MRS. BAIG: Of course.

ANDERSON: And if you are all right on the inside you don't have to worry about things like that. They will eventually take care of themselves, and whatever unfortunate thing comes, it might halt it for a little while, but there is a divine pattern and there is no one person who can stop it.

MRS. BAIG: I can understand your having no bitterness. I think that what we are always up against in this world is the prejudices of the small people. It's hard for me, personally, to think in terms of the reasons why those prejudices existed, because it's hard for me to think in terms of people being different because they are brown, or what the color of their skin is, seems so irrelevant.

ANDERSON: Yes.

MRS. BAIG: But there is -- also the prejudices do remain. We know they're isolated to certain areas and sectors but -- and that is why again I asked you the question earlier - what you meant by "my people".

ANDERSON: Yes.

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MRS. BAIG: I had the impression that you were speaking then of the colored peoples of the United States.

ANDERSON: Naturally when one speaks of "my people" you think first of the colored people in the United States. Now, I might say this - all of the negroes in the United States are not relegated to a particular area --

MRS. BAIG: Oh.

ANDERSON: Not at all. There are some who own their own homes, many of them, and they are things of beauty to behold. There are some who have gone into neighborhoods that have been a little bit run down, and they have done excellent things with those neighborhoods, and it is a joy to go in and look. There are areas where my people are naturally in the very unpleasant places. There are those with whom or about whom we are very concerned, because it is so true that no matter how big a nation is, it is no stronger than its weakest people, and as long as you keep a person down, some part of you has to be down there to hold him down, so it means you cannot soar as you might otherwise. Therefore, regardless of how small the negro may be in whatever area, the whole of our nation is dependent on what is done for the little fellow, dependent sometimes on his very life.

(MORE)

ANDERSON: (CONT) The fact that we were able to come over for the State Department and are thrilled beyond words with the honor and the opportunity, gives us as there certainly must be in the hearts of many negroes who may not see the light of day, so to speak, an opportunity to speak for the only land that we know. If we were not in America, many of us might still be in Africa, some of us might be happier, some of us wouldn't be. I know nothing of Africa. I haven't been there so my land and my country and my allegiance is with America.

MRS. BAIG: That leads me to a very fundamental question. I think that in everybody's life they have difficulties and crossroads, and there is a basic faith that they come back to. I'd like you to tell me, if you can, what would be that basic faith that you come back to.

ANDERSON: And when we speak of words I would like to say to you that I have a most wonderful mother, and her philosophy has been that on which my sisters and I have tried to build our lives. Mother is a believer and the three of her children are also believers. It is so necessary in anything that we do, not to feel too complete because you're obliged to come, regardless whether you like it or not, to your extremity. You cannot leave this world at that point. You've got to see whatever it is through to the end, and although there are many people who seek this help only in extremity, it is nice to be acquainted with it through your whole life, and that is what my mother has taught us,

(MORE)

rt

ANDERSON: (CONT) It gives you a peace of mind. It gives you an understanding of your fellow men, even though in some instances, they behave so poorly, and you know that if the Supreme Being were not a just one, the world should long ago have come to an end, and, therefore, when things happen along the way, which might pull one up rather sharply, through disappointment, you think on your faith, and you go back, so to speak, to the well to be replenished.

MRS. BAIG: Is it -- does it sum it up to say -to see it through to the end?

ANDERSON: Yes, and you know, there --- there is a negro spiritual called (MISS ANDERSON SINGS) "I Open My Mouth to the Lord and I Never Will Turn Back. I will go. I shall go to see what the end will be." And it sums up so much of what so many people need to feel who don't find all of these wonderful things around them. I will go and I shall go to see what the end will be - why? Because I believe in what I find at the end.

rt

Marian Anderson

MARIAN ANDERSON
WALDORF ASTORIA, SERT ROOM

TERRIBLY SORRY TO MISS TODAY'S OCCASION STOP ONLY UNUSUALLY INSENSITIVE DOCTOR PREVENTS MY ATTENDANCE.

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Assistant to the President

October 25, 1960.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mrs. Gimbel and I are delighted that you have accepted our invitation to be a dais guest at our Eighth Annual "Woman of the Year" Luncheon when Miss Marian Anderson will be presented with the "Woman of the Year" Award, by Governor Nelson E. Rockefeller.

I am enclosing your ticket herewith, and look forward to seeing you at the Cocktail Reception at 12 noon in the Empire Room.

The Luncheon itself, will take place in the Sert Room, following the Reception in the Empire Room, which is across the lobby.

With kind regards and my very best wishes,

Cordially

Sylvia Picker

Mrs. Eugene Picker
Eighth Annual "Woman of the Year"
Chairman
Women's Division

SP/mb

enc.

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September 26, 1960

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MICHAEL M. NISSELSON
Assistant to the President

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It is with a sense of honor and pride that I inform you that Miss Marian Anderson, distinguished concert artist and good-will ambassador, will be presented with our Eighth Annual "Woman of the Year" Award on Monday, November 14, at 12:30 o'clock in the Sert Room at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

It gives me great pleasure to invite you, as a distinguished member of our community, to be honored guest on the dais of this jubilant occasion, and help pay tribute to this great lady.

To give the dais guests an opportunity to meet Miss Anderson, prior to the Luncheon a Cocktail Reception will be held in her honor at noon, on the terrace, adjacent to the Sert Roon.

The "Woman of the Year" Luncheon highlights our activities dedicated to the support of the Jewish National and University Library on the campus of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. On this occasion we will announce that the "United Nations Reading Room", in the Library, will be named in Miss Anderson's honor.

As a dais guest, you will join the leading members of our community, both national and international, as well as those who have served with Miss Anderson in related fields.

Mrs. Louis S. Gimbel, Jr., our National President, and I, look forward to greeting you personally.

Sincerely yours

Sylvia Picker

Mrs. Eugene Picker
Eighth Annual "Woman of the Year"
Chairman
Women's Division

SP/sng

R.S.V.P.
YU. 8-8400
Ext., 11, 37, 38

373

Women's Division

American Friends of the Hebrew University

Proudly announces the presentation of its

"Woman of the Year" Award

to

Marian Anderson

and

cordially invites you

to the

Eighth Annual "Woman of the Year"

Luncheon

Monday, November 14, 1960

twelve-thirty o'clock

Waldorf-Astoria — Sert Room

Presentation of Scroll: Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller

Guest Speaker: His Excellency, Michael Comay

Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations

R.S.V.P. Covert $10.00

Homage To A Great Lady

IN paying tribute to Marian Anderson as "Woman Of The Year," we honor an outstanding woman and tireless ambassador of America whose supreme artistry has brought joy and solace to millions.

Her great and rare talent, already indelibly inscribed in the annals of music, has succeeded in creating new bonds of friendship and understanding for our country among the rulers and peoples of the world.

We are particularly proud to salute her and her many humanitarian endeavors as symbolic of the cultural ideals espoused by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

MRS. LOUIS S. GIMBEL, JR.
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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

Anderson, Marian
5-C-2

November 26, 1958

Miss Marian Anderson
1200 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

WE SEND YOU OUR BEST SALUTE AND LOVE

Ed Murrow
Fred Friendly

514-70
CBS News

Sir

February 5, 1958

Dear Ed:

It is in the worst possible form to delay answering a letter from a sponsor.

I thank you for yours of January 13th and want to say that I shall always appreciate the confidence of a gambling man from Texas who took a chance on a TV show which, incidentally, gave me more personal satisfaction than anything I have done since the end of the war.

Sincerely,

Mr. Edmond H. Leavey, President
International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation
67 Broad Street
New York 4, New York

fc

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORPORATION

67 BROAD STREET

EDMOND H. LEAVEY
PRESIDENT

NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

January 13, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have just received from Mrs. Leavey, now in Hawaii, the very thoughtful telegram which you and Fred Friendly sent me there early in January concerning the press reaction to "The Lady from Philadelphia". I had meanwhile received a telephone message from RCA giving me the gist of the message, but unfortunately I had to leave Hawaii before the typed copy of it reached me. Mrs. Leavey is still there, however, and I know derived a great deal of pleasure from reading it.

As Bill Morrell has undoubtedly told you we also received a rather substantial number of messages, practically all containing highly enthusiastic endorsement of the program. To the best of my recollection there were only three adverse ones out of two or three hundred total messages. Added to the messages which you received and which I know were almost totally commendatory, it looks as if you scored your usual smashing success with the program. I am glad that the ITT as a company and I as an individual were able to participate. You may be interested in a message which I received from one of my sisters who did not know that we were sponsoring the show or that I would have any connection with it. Her telegram ran about as follows:

> "When I saw that Ed Murrow was putting on a program featuring Marian Anderson I decided to stay home and watch my television that night, as I always do when Ed Murrow's programs are on the air. Imagine my surprise to see you in the middle of it. Even so it was a great program". (We are really a very affectionate family but cannot refrain from sometimes being witty at each others expense!)

It was a pleasure renewing our old acquaintanceship and a privilege to be with you in the program.

With best regards and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Ed

Sen

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORPORATION

67 BROAD STREET

NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

EDMOND H LEAVEY
PRESIDENT

February 4, 1958

Mr William S. Paley
Chairman of the Board
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Paley:

Send copies to Murrow & Friendly

On my return from a trip outside the United States recently I found your letter of January 22nd informing me that you had sent me a film record of "The Lady from Philadelphia". The film itself also arrived and has already been shown to some of our employees who had missed the original broadcast on December 30th. I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in sending it to us.

I feel personally, and am sure that our own employees and thousands of other people join in the feeling, that Columbia Broadcasting System, Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly, had scored a home run with the presentation. We were happy and proud to have been associated with you and them.

With best wishes and again many thanks for the film,

Sincerely,

Edmond H Leavey

stanley meyer

ED -
THOUGHT
YOU WOULD
BE INTERESTED -
BEST -
STAN

January 3, 1958

President of I. T. and T.
67 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

My family and I saw the Marian Anderson broadcast on Monday night over C.B.S.

Something very wise and profound seems appropriate, but only my simple congratulations seem sincere.

SM/mg

INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH CORPORATION

67 BROAD STREET

NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

EDMOND H. LEAVEY
PRESIDENT

January 16, 1958

Mr. Stanley Meyer
Four Oaks Farm
Encino, California

Dear Mr. Meyer:

I wish to express my gratitude for your very kind remarks about the "See It Now" television program of December 30. We are all proud to have had a hand in bringing Marian Anderson's tour of Southeast Asia to the public.

We are indeed gratified at the warm response accorded our efforts to focus attention on the sort of communications represented by Miss Anderson's tour.

Sincerely,

Edmond H. Leavey

Prog. Bus
Sec

January 31, 1958

Dear Mr. Cohen:

I write to say my sincere thanks for your assistance in clearing the Rogers and Hammerstein music for our Marian Anderson film.

I think in all truth we couldn't have done the program successfully without those two selections, and as you know, both Oscar and Dick gave generously of their time to counsel us on the whole project.

I thought you might like to have an LP of the sound track and I am sending you one.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Irving Cohen
70 Greenacres Avenue
Scarsdale, New York

fc

P. Bus. Sim

Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
488 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22 N. Y.
Telephone MUrray Hill 8-3640

January
27th
1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Oscar is in Jamaica, but I know that I take no undue liberty in writing to say that you will have his and my complete cooperation in obtaining the needed prints which you mention in your January 24th letter.

"Getting to Know You" is from THE KING AND I and "Carefully Taught" is from SOUTH PACIFIC. The motion picture rights to both these properties have been disposed of and there must be certain legal complications. I don't doubt that they can be cleared, but I imagine certain steps will have to be taken. I am sending copies of your letter and this reply to Irving Cohen, asking him to facilitate matters as quickly as possible. I am sure you will hear from him in the immediate future.

I have never heard such happy enthusiasm for any television show as there has been for "The Lady from Philadelphia". It's deeply gratifying to have been able to help in some small way and I feel sure that the ultimate good accomplished by this program will be tremendous.

Many thanks and all kindest regards to you and Fred.

Yours sincerely,

Dick.

RR L

Murrow's file

January 24, 1958

Dear Oscar and Dick:

Again, thanks from Friendly and me for what you did to help with "The Lady from Philadelphia". It is conceivably the most satisfying project we have undertaken. Your early enthusiasm and your constant constructive comments and thoughtfulness shall long be remembered.

One slight problem remains. The Urban League, and a group of schools and churches, want prints (the Urban League for an April 1st coast to coast series of rallies in honor of Miss Anderson). We are inclined to provide a 16mm print for such non-theatrical needs in our regular and normal manner, which is to allow an educational film distributor to handle this under our control. Our original music clearances, I am told, provide for such use for all the songs except "Getting to Know You" and "Carefully Taught" which were handled on a personal basis through Irving Cohen and yourselves. It is now necessary to ask you for permission to use these songs for the limited purposes described above. You can have CBS's assurances and my personal one that no theatrical use will be permitted. If you should prefer further negotiations to be conducted with Mr. Cohen, I will so direct but Fred and I did want to put the problem to you on a personal basis and we trust you will be able to help us out.

Incidentally, should either of you desire prints of the show to keep, we should be delighted to arrange same. Copies of the record album are being sent; should you desire additional albums, please let us know.

Again, thanks.

Cordially,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Oscar Hammerstein
Mr. Richard Rodgers
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

ERM/hl

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly January 23, 1958

from: Bob Philpot

Bob Hoag asked me to send you a copy of a memo covering Mr. Shayon's review of "The Lady From Philadelphia" which has been distributed to all of our network salesmen.

R.E.P.

JI

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Network Salesmen* January 21, 1958

from: Bob Philpot cc: Messrs. Hylan, Dawson, Klayer, Hoag, Maxwell, Blair, Sterritt, Livingston, Bristol, Lethen, Aberle, Ashley, Ingersoll, Stolfi

Re: SEE IT NOW

In the current issue of "The Saturday Review" Robert Lewis Shayon reviews "The Lady From Philadelphia."

Tom Dawson wanted each of us to have a copy of these remarks to read at leisure...because here summed up so well are some of the feelings that probably you too had while watching the show.

Surely we can be proud in the Sales Department that CBS saw fit to invest in – and then broadcast – Marian Anderson's tour of Asia. It's the kind of show that helps make the network the leader among communication media.

While there's no way we know now to measure adequately the widespread influence of this broadcast, Tom suggests we use Shayon's review as a conversation piece whenever possible to tell agencies and advertisers of this kind of programming that is available from time to time as special broadcasts on CBS Televisinn.

R.E.P.

JI

*Messrs. Curl, Flaten, Hall, Harding, Lambart, Materne, Martin, Mayo, Morton, Porteous, Purves, Rastall, Schroeder, Shaker, Smith, Swats

TV AND RADIO

"The Lady from Philadelphia"

I SINCERELY hope that our State Department does not cut the commercials out of "The Lady from Philadelphia," the recent CBS-TV "See It Now" broadcast featuring Marian Anderson, the singer, when they show prints of the program in Asia. The comments of Mr. Edmond H. Leavey, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, which sponsored the broadcast, and those of Edward R. Murrow, the narrator, speaking for I.T. and T., are essential to the propaganda aims of Miss Anderson's 35,000-mile, twelve-nation concert tour. Their remarks create a most favorable impression of American business. "Communication is our business," said the sponsor; then he defined the main problem of international communication today in terms of the question: "Can man get along with man?" Miss Anderson's tour was an act of affirmative communication. Mr. Murrow, noting that I.T. and T. had waived the final commercial, said: "They know that their communication can never be substituted for human communication. Miss Anderson's communication is something with which they—and we—would like to be identified."

This was television in the highest altitudes. What the "See It Now"-State Department- American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA) trio of organizers of the tour were saying, through Miss Anderson to the people of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and India, was this: "You have been slaves to white masters from the West. Now you are your own masters, free to choose between the Communists and us. Both are prepared to radiate to you the West's industry, literacy, and material betterment. But the Communists will make you pay a price for that—a second slavery and a poverty of spiritual values. Choose the West and you will gain your freedom and dignity as well as science and technology. Marian Anderson is the image of your own future —if you follow us."

The singer never spoke this argument, of course. Her only instructions from the State Department were: "Be yourself." She gave her own message in her inspired artistry, her joy, enthusiasm, compassion, humility, and serious faith. Her music was, in turn, deep yearning, an adoration, a cry for freedom, a national anthem, a history lesson, and a Christian hymn. Her doctrine was a sense of journey, a "trampin, a tryin' to make heaven my home." It was, "Now we will do the thing in a new way. . . . There is no particular thing that you can do alone. . . . The 'I' in it is very small, after all. . . . All have a right to enter the gates. . . .One will give his all if he feels that he belongs. . . . Yes, I would sing for Governor Faubus if he were in a frame of mind to accept it for what it is. . . . Do not let hate or fear restrict you from being a big person. . . . All people seek to be great. . . . If all is right on the inside, there is a divine pattern. . . . I will go, I shall go to see what the end will be, because I believe in what I shall find at the end." This is the poetry of feeling, and I know of only one poet in America who sings this way: Carl Sandburg. The ethos of Abraham Lincoln is in his rhythms and Miss Anderson's.

The Asian response to her character and artistry was a complete propaganda triumph, to judge by the pictures and soundtrack of "See It Now." The King of Thailand had never before risen from his throne-chair to greet a distinguished visitor. In India, no visitor had ever been invited to speak at Gandhi's memorial in Old Delhi. The Prime Minister of Burma complimented her on her "good voice, technique, and acting ability," and on her "beauty and charm of mind." At Ewha University in Seoul, Korea, she was awarded an honorary degree for her "Christian service to mankind." In Bombay the tour dramatically illustrated the interpenetration of cultures when, for the first time, "a visiting artist" (Miss Anderson) sang with "the only Western symphony orchestra between Tel Aviv and Tokyo."

Less formal, but nevertheless expressing an undeniable sympathy for Miss Anderson as she greeted them and sang for them "in close fashion" were the faces in her audiences—impassive, rapt children; old men and women; Eastern cosmopolites; peasants; clerks; lawyers. These faces of Asia, photographed and edited with perception and taste, burst with startling, vivid reality upon our parochial TV consciousness, smogged and sodden with the gunsmoke and mayas of Madison Avenue and Hollywood. The United States can be proud to have had such a great lady as Miss Anderson to send forth on this tour.

There were other rewards for the "See It Now" audience here in the United States. We saw and heard a native orchestra in Bombay playing Indian music, which Miss Anderson told us "has resisted all foreign influences." We shared the thrill of an item of raw material for history when, in Kuala Lumpur, in the Federation of Malaya, citizens of the newest nation on earth heard the first singing of their national anthem by a visiting artist. Miss Anderson's journey was not that of an individual—she was a symbol of individuality as it is conceived and given historical meaning by contemporary Americans. The broadcast derived its very moving impact from some degree of awareness in the viewers' minds that they were watching not only a propaganda tour but a veritable collision of many cultures—religious, political, esthetic, ethical. At each moment there were overtones of the diffusion, challenge, and potentials of unique civilizations.

WE MUST recognize that "The Lady from Philadelphia" as an act of high creative imagination in television, marshalling the resources of our technology for great human purposes, is uncommonly rare. There is only one Marian Anderson, not many Ed Murrows and Fred Friendlys, and less than a multitude of sponsors like International Telephone and Telegraph whose institutional character permits them to spend shareholders' money on a TV broadcast like this one. Yet we must never cease to hope, with Miss Anderson, that the gates are there for all to enter. What we peddle to Asia we may well use at home; and we are indebted to "See It Now" for this grand reminder of what TV sometimes is and can more often be.

—ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON.

Miss Anderson—"inspired artistry."

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Prog. Bus

Office Communication

to Mr. Paley

from Mr. Murrow

January 19, 1958

Thanks for the kind words about the Marian Anderson show. You may care to know that we have never done a program in this shop that produced as much editorial comment, including newspapers in the South.

Fred and I have spent some time discussing "The Debate" and "What's New?" and would value the opportunity to chat with you at your convenience about both programs before we proceed.

Informatively, we go with the first Truman show on February 2 - as you suggested - the title will be "From Precinct to President" and the subtitle will be "Some Reflections by Harry S. Truman." We shall make it clear in advance notices and on the air that these were in fact reflections and in no sense a commentary on current events.

fc

E.R.M.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: MR. MURROW

from: Mr. Paley

January 2, 1958

I tried to get you after the Marian Anderson show to tell you how much I liked it. It was a masterful job, touching and effective to a high degree.

I am attaching two telegrams I received about the show. I concur in the thoughts they express.

P

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1957 DEC 31 AM 12 07

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
WUC = Western Union Collect Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

SYA139 DEA073 OB665 LDB61

L SMA518 NL PD=TDSM PACIFIC PALISADES CALIF 30

=WILLIAM PALEY=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM MADISON AVE NYK=

THANK YOU FOR THE BEST TELEVISION SHOW I HAVE EVER SEEN=

JOSEPH COTTON=.

Accept Regret
Apologize for delay
Back Phone WSP
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to WSP
URGENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1201

Accept
Approval
Background?
Fyi
Note & return
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to WSP
URGENT
Regret
Acknowledge
Letter
Wire
File

• OA918 LC828

L LLD356 NL PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 30= 1957 DEC 31 AM 3 29

=WILLIAM PALEY=COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVE NYK=

I DO NOT KNOW MR MURROW SO I FELT I MUST WIRE YOU TO SAY THAT IN MY 12 YEAR ASSOCIATION I HAVE NEVER FELT PROUDER OF CBS THAN I DID TONIGHT WHEN I SAW QUOTE A LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA SINCEREST REGARDS=

=RALPH LEVY=•

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Jones, Merle S.

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Murrow and Friendly

from: Mr. Jones

January 5, 1958

I have been out of the office quite a bit; otherwise, you would have heard from me earlier regarding the Marian Anderson show.

Although I had seen substantial clips of this show on two, or three, occasions prior to the air date, I must tell you that I was tremendously impressed by the total show. You gentlemen are to be highly complimented for this effort. All of us in CBS Television are proud to have been identified with it.

I am not one to rely too much on Trendex ratings, but I was pleased to see that this quick rating gave the program a solid, continuing viewing audience.

You may be interested to know that following the program we had about 250 complimentary calls, many of which requested that the program be repeated.

Thank you for the recording. If you do have a few extra, I could certainly use about a half dozen.

Again, congratulations, and, by the way, I would not want to close without thanking you for your very effective sales efforts.

MERLE S. JONES

MSJ:nk

Sin
Anderson, Marian

NOVEMBER 7, 1957

PRESS
MISS MARIAN ANDERSON
CULTURAL AFFAIRS OFFICER
US EMBASSY COLOMBO

BASED ON FOOTAGE RECEIVED SO FAR AM CONVINCED WE HAVE MAKINGS OF MOST DELICATE AND MOVING PROGRAM EVER PRESENTED STOP THINK YOULL HAVE THE WHOLE COUNTRY IN YOUR HANDS STOP REALIZE HOW INCREDIBLY HARD YOUVE BEEN WORKING BUT CONVINCED YOULL THINK IT WORTHWHILE WHEN YOU FINISHED REGARDS

ED MURROW

SHEITHOW
202-550-43

CBS NY GA PLS

SIN

THIS RCA HR 1 MESSAGE

7

TWXA/RC16/JT/IFZ2020 PYFEPI

LNB623/DS134 NEWDELHI 22 22 1905

LT CBSINC NEWYORK

MURROW APPRECIATE YOUR WIRE STOP ENJOYED WORK CBS

CREW OF DEVOTED MURROWITES STOP LOOKING FOWARD

SEEING RUSHES GREETINGS

ANDERSON

Palmer Williams informed H.T.

SENT 218A EST ACK PLS ,

RECD CBS TNX

See It Now
Bendick, R.L.

February 5, 1958

Dear Bob:

Belatedly my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert L. Bendick
572 Amalfi Drive
Santa Monica, California

mcc

ROBERT L. BENDICK
572 AMALFI DRIVE
SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA

Dec 31/57

Dear Ed. –

Last night I watched – I was deeply moved – I was most grateful that the Lady from Philadelphia had entered our house.

It was a magnificent show about a truly great human being. It was a most heartening renewal of faith, that understanding amongst people is possible even if peace amongst nations does not yet seem obtainable. Perhaps this doesn't help too much, but it gives hope.

I felt real good that Television had, as it has a few other times in the past, (and you were a part of some of them too) showed strength as a medium. Only in the atmosphere of ones own intimate surroundings could an audience fully recieve and react to this look at Marian Anderson.

Congratulations to you, Fred and the whole gang – I miss working on that kind of show

Best wishes for the New Year

Bob.

Sir
Berding, A. H

January 9, 1957

Dear Andy:

Thanks for your gracious note about the Marian Anderson piece.

We were very proud of it and the response has been almost overwhelming.

Thanks again for writing as you did.

Sincerely,

Mr. Andrew H. Berding
Assistant Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

fc

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1958

Dear Ed:

I am a little late, but nevertheless very sincere, in writing to you to congratulate you on the wonderful Marian Anderson show of a few days ago.

My wife and I saw it with the greatest of interest and admiration not only for the superlative job Marian Anderson herself did overseas, but for the excellent and restrained way in which you told the story with great effect.

With best wishes for a Happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Andy

Andrew H. Berding

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

See Ch. Nov
Chernoff, H.L.

February 5, 1958

Dear Howard:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your kind words about the Marian Anderson show. Both Fred and I derived a great deal of satisfaction from it and were duly rewarded by the enthusiastic response both by mail and in print.

Janet and Casey join me in sending warmest good wishes to you and Melva, as does Kay Campbell.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Howard L. Chernoff
4188 Arden Way
San Diego 3, California

mcc

HOWARD L. CHERNOFF 4480 H[illegible] SAN DIEGO 3, CALIF.

NEW ADDRESS:
4188 ARDEN WAY

10 January 1959

Dear Ed:

Just to add my comments to all you have already received .... your New Year's round table show and the Marian Anderson hour hit new highs in television for Melva and me. Thanks and with best wishes to you, Janet, Casey and Kay Campbell, I am

Sincerely,

Howard

Prog Cohen, Irving
Sen
Dec 30, 1957
SIN Program

January 31, 1958

Dear Mr. Cohen:

I write to say my sincere thanks for your assistance in clearing the Rogers and Hammerstein music for our Marian Anderson film.

I think in all truth we couldn't have done the program successfully without those two selections, and as you know, both Oscar and Dick gave generously of their time to counsel us on the whole project.

I thought you might like to have an LP of the sound track and I am sending you one.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Irving Cohen
70 Greenacres Avenue
Scarsdale, New York

fc

See It Now
Cook, F. A.

February 5, 1958

Dear Fred:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Fred Alletson Cook
Hewnes & Pearson's
Tower House
Southampton Street
London, W.C.2
England

mcc

NEWNES & PEARSON'S
GEORGE NEWNES LTD. AND C. ARTHUR PEARSON LTD.
TOWER HOUSE, SOUTHAMPTON ST., LONDON, W.C.2

Sir

This letter comes from our New York Office
527 MADISON AVENUE,
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
PLAZA 9-1171

Mr Edward R.Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York,New York.

Dear Ed:

You probably wont remember me from my Beaverbrook days and your own "This is London...." days but I'm shamelessly trading on them as an excuse to write you about your Marian Anderson program last night.

The only word, and it richly deserves the caps, is: MAGNIFICENT.

This was TV as it ought to be and, sadly, so seldom is. Come to that, the same has been true of a number of your programs of late, notably your weekend round-up of the overseas and Washington correspondents.

Keep it up! We cant have too much of your sort of program.

All good wishes for the New Year,

Yours sincerely,

Fred Alletson Cook

F.G.Alletson Cook

FGAC hsp

Cotton, Joseph

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Reply collect
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to WSP
URGENT

1957 DEC 31 AM 12

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

SYA139 DEA073 OB665 LD861

L SMA518 NL PD=TDSM PACIFIC PALISADES CALIF 30

=WILLIAM PALEY=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM MADISON AVE NYK=

:THANK YOU FOR THE BEST TELEVISION SHOW I HAVE EVER SEEN=

JOSEPH COTTON=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

~~Good~~ Dear
Curtis, Ted

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY

ROCHESTER 4, N.Y.

GENERAL OFFICES
343 STATE STREET

TELEPHONE
LOCUST 2-6000

December 31, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I haven't written a fan letter since Lindberg flew the Atlantic, but I cannot refrain from telling you that the job you did last night with Marian Anderson was the most outstanding thing my wife and I have seen since TV came in.

It was not only an extraordinarily impressive and moving job so far as she was concerned, but I thought the editing and timing were outstanding. She is a great girl and I am afraid probably did us more good in the East than even J. Foster Dulles. You should be proud to have produced it, and I am only sorry we did not sponsor it.

I am sorry our paths do not cross more often these days, but I hope to see you again before too long.

Sincerely yours,

Ted Curtis

EPCurtis:jmf

Dowling, R. W

NOD

WU038 PD LONG

NEWYORK NY DEC 27 '57 629P

EDWARD MURROW

CBS TV NYC

BOB SCHNITZER REPORTS FROM PREVIEW MARIAN ANDERSON SEE IT NOW TREMENDOUSLY MOVING AND EFFECTIVE. AM TELEGRAPHING NUMEROUS CONGRESSMEN SUGGESTION MUST SEE TELECAST MONDAY EVENING. DEEPLY GRATEFUL YOUR INTEREST ANTAS WORK FOR STATE DEPARTMENT AS THIS FIRST IMPORTANT PUBLIC COVERAGE PRESIDENTS PROGRAM EARNESTLY REQUEST CAP YOUR MAGNIFICIENT CONTRIBUTION BY BRIEFLY TELLING YOUR NATIONWIDE AUDIENCE ABOUT PROGRAM THUS ENCOURAGING CONTINUATION AND EXPANSION.

CONGRATULATIONS YOUR SPLENDID EFFORTS NOT ONLY IN THIS INSTANCE BUT ALWAYS TO PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING OF OURSELVES AND OTHERS.

ROBERT W DOWLING CHAIRMAN ANTA.

721P..

Phoned to Friendly

HDS ACK 37-38.

Sin
Eliot, G. F.

February 3, 1958

Dear George:

Thanks for your thoughtfulness in writing about the Marian Anderson piece. The reaction to it was damn near overwhelming.

The powers that be have decided to repeat it sometime in the near future.

Thanks again.

As ever yours,

Mr. George Fielding Eliot
36 Sutton Place South
New York 22, New York

fc

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT
36 SUTTON PLACE SOUTH
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

PLAZA 3-5071

Dec. 31 - 1957

Dear Ed -

I have just seen your "Lady from Philadelphia."

MAGNIFICENT!

Congratulations on a great achievement - and a great service to the country.

Happy New Year to you, Jane and Casey, from Jane and

Yours

George

SIM
Hammerstein, O.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, 2ND

10 E. 63.

28 May 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, and
Mr. Fred W. Friendly

Dear Ed and Fred:

I am delighted to have the record inscribed by Marian Anderson. Thank you very much.

Good wishes,

Oscar

OH:mec

~~Hannon, Stuart L.~~
See it now
Hannon, S.L.

February 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Hannon:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Stuart L. Hannon
Deputy Program Director
Radio Free Europe
Two Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

mcc

Radio Free Europe

TWO PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

Division of the

Free Europe Committee, Inc.

Telephone: LExington 2-8902

January 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Allow me to congratulate you for the superb CBS presentation "Lady From Philadelphia." I caught it quite by accident after a familiar, routine day of Western reactions to Soviet initiative, and it was a tonic which I sorely needed. The whole show had an exciting momentum to it and some of the camera work was magnificent. The speech at the Gandhi Memorial, the mute nobility of those Indian faces, and the pervasive religious quality of the communication were all unforgettable. Unfortunately, this is one dimension which we cannot have for our broadcasts to East Europe.

I appreciated your letter of December 9 and one of these days I shall try to get in touch with John Day. Perhaps on the same occasion it will be possible to look in on you.

Sincerely yours,

Stuart L. Hannon

Stuart L. Hannon
Deputy Program Director

SLH:gc

See it Now
Johnson, K.D.

February 5, 1958

Dear Ken:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Kenneth D. Johnson
The New York School of Social Work
Two East Ninety First Street
New York 28, New York

mcc

Columbia University

The New York School of Social Work

TWO EAST NINETY-FIRST STREET • NEW YORK 28, NEW YORK

TRAFALGAR 6-6300

KENNETH D. JOHNSON
Dean

NATHAN E. COHEN
Associate Dean

January 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o See It Now
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

See It Now reached the summit with your presentation of "The Lady from Philadelphia; through Asia with Marian Anderson" Monday night on Channel 2. The enclosed letter to Miss Anderson will give you the reactions of two of the viewers.

To you and your associates I want to express my deep appreciation of the beautiful job you did throughout the entire program. The photography was something out of this world. I swear when Miss Anderson was singing her tribute to Ghandi and came to the line "About the First Step" I actually saw him move on that beautiful memorial.

But then there were so many highlights to this entire program that I find it impossible to set forth in words all of my reactions.

Please thank your associates and above all will you impress upon them the strong desire we have for a repeat of this performance at the very earliest date. You will find us along with many others that missed it in the front row ready to be held spellbound once more.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth D. Johnson

KDJ:dhs
Enclosure (1)

I am intent on making this a part of our Film Library at the School.

January 3, 1958

Miss Marian Anderson
c/o See It Now
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Miss Anderson:

Actually it has taken me a few days to "come back to earth" after that magnificent performance of yours on the See It Now program of CBS the other evening. Mrs. Johnson and I were alone in our living room, and I can assure you that almost five minutes elapsed after the close of the program before we could either look or speak to each other. Neither of us has for a long long time been so moved, so inspired, and so completely overwhelmed by everything that is good.

You did a perfectly superb job, and I want to take this inadequate means of thanking you from the bottom of my heart.

May God prosper, bless and keep you for many years.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth D. Johnson

KDJ:dhs

See it Now
Kaplan, S. P.

February 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Stuart P. Kaplan
Attorney at Law
1012 Citizens National Bank
Building
Los Angeles 13, California

mec

STUART P. KAPLAN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1012 CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
453 SOUTH SPRING STREET
LOS ANGELES 13, CALIFORNIA
MICHIGAN 5782

Sir

December 31, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting
System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I enjoyed your television program of December 30, 1957 entitled "See it Now" concerning the recent travels in Asia by Miss Marian Anderson.

However, my curiousity was aroused by the incident when Miss Anderson sang the song from the musical "South Pacific". The lyrics were on the order of "you have to be taught to fear and hate people who's eyes are oddly made and who's skin is a differant shade...etc". I couldn't help but wonder whether or not these young children, to whom Miss Anderson sang, didn't take these lyrics litterally and out of context from the thought behind the words.

I would be most interested to hear your comments on this point.

Cordially,

Stuart P. Kaplan
STUART P. KAPLAN

SPK:eg

S IN
King, Verne L.

February 6, 1958

Dear Mrs. King:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your nice comments about our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways this is the best thing that we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming response both in mail and in print.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Verne L. King
Editor
The Columbia Record
1473 Barnum Avenue
Bridgeport, Connecticut

mec

COLUMBIA RECORDS

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

1473 BARNUM AVENUE, BRIDGEPORT 8, CONNECTICUT · EDISON 6-0181

January 2, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The SEE IT NOW production of "The Lady From Philadelphia" was so beautifully done that, while watching it, I had that rare feeling that I would never again see anything on television which could touch me so deeply nor which I would feel was as perfectly executed.

I have always been proud to be a member of the CBS Family, and, on Tuesday evening, I was proud that you and your staff belong to the same Family.

My grateful thanks to you and Mr. Friendly for a wonderful experience.

Sincerely,

COLUMBIA RECORDS

Verne L. King

(Mrs.) Verne L. King, Editor
THE COLUMBIA RECORD

See it now
Knopf, Alfred

February 5, 1958

Dear Alfred:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

As ever,

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf
501 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mmc

BORZOI BOOKS

Alfred A Knopf

PURCHASE New York

Sir

Dear Ed –

I've just watched The Lady From Philadelphia and must thank you for this moving experience. It's tremendous.

Best for 1958

Yours,

Arnold

Monday

Levy, Ralph

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

Class of Service
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

SYMBOLS
Day Letter
Night Letter
International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Accept
Appointment?
Background?
FYI
Note & return
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to WSP
URGENT

1201

. 0A918 LC828

L LLD356 NL PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 30= 1957 DEC 31 AM 3 27

:WILLIAM PALEY=COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
485 MADISON AVE NYK=

I DO NOT KNOW MR MURROW SO I FELT I MUST WIRE YOU TO SAY THAT IN MY 12 YEAR ASSOCIATION I HAVE NEVER FELT PROUDER OF CBS THAN I DID TONIGHT WHEN I SAW QUOTE A LADY FROM PHILADELPHIA SINCEREST REGARDS=

:RALPH LEVY=.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Look Magazine

December 6, 1957

Dear Shap:

Thanks for yours of November 21st.

Under no circumstances, could I make the announcement you suggest on the SEE IT NOW program of December 30th. The program has to do with Marian Anderson's tour of Asia. I would be stealing time from her and the audience were I to do as you suggest. Moreover, I have never yet, on radio or television, mentioned an award the program had received. I do not announce awards other people receive, so why should I announce awards I receive. That doesn't mean I am not grateful...just old-fashioned.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. S. O. Shapiro
Vice President
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

mcc

Morrell, Sydney

SYDNEY MORRELL
67 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

December 23, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Ed,

Although the flight schedules across the Atlantic are notoriously uncertain at this time of year, I did not want to leave for London tonight without sending you my sincere (and, believe me, not by any means selfish!) good wishes for a successful program next Monday.

I am really grateful to you for letting my particular corporation have the chance to be associated with you, Fred Friendly and Miss Anderson. I hope you all get the applause and appreciation you deserve.

If you should have any thoughts about the program -- either before or after it has been shown -- you can reach me

c/o Mrs. M. Redvers-Bate
57 Green St., London W. 1
Telephone: Mayfair 5495

Best-
Bill

See ltr 20
Redmond, D.

February 5, 1958

Dear brother Dick:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

As ever,

Mr. Dick Redmond
WHP-TV
Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania

mcc

WHP-TV

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

January 9, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear brother Ed:

"Something magical happens.'" This quotable quote from Light Up The Sky (I believe) best expresses what has occurred as a result of your "Lady From Philadelphia". It can be further said you truly "Lit up the sky" with this one.

The attached card is one of some seventy inquiries we have had as to whether the program can be repeated. If a repeat is being considered we would appreciate being advised.

I'm sure you've had many comments on the program, so may I merely add my voice in saying that you really did work a kind of miracle in its presentation. I know of several violently prejudiced men who actually wept.

Since it's been so long between drinks, I add best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Dick

Dick Redmond

DR:es

Rogers, Richard

Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, 2nd
488 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22 N. Y.
Telephone MUrray Hill 8-3640

January
27th
1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Oscar is in Jamaica, but I know that I take no undue liberty in writing to say that you will have his and my complete cooperation in obtaining the needed prints which you mention in your January 24th letter.

"Getting to Know You" is from THE KING AND I and "Carefully Taught" is from SOUTH PACIFIC. The motion picture rights to both these properties have been disposed of and there must be certain legal complications. I don't doubt that they can be cleared, but I imagine certain steps will have to be taken. I am sending copies of your letter and this reply to Irving Cohen, asking him to facilitate matters as quickly as possible. I am sure you will hear from him in the immediate future.

I have never heard such happy enthusiasm for any television show as there has been for "The Lady from Philadelphia". It's deeply gratifying to have been able to help in some small way and I feel sure that the ultimate good accomplished by this program will be tremendous.

Many thanks and all kindest regards to you and Fred.

Yours sincerely,

Dick.

RR L

Murrow's file

January 24, 1958

Dear Oscar and Dick:

Again, thanks from Friendly and me for what you did to help with "The Lady from Philadelphia". It is conceivably the most satisfying project we have undertaken. Your early enthusiasm and your constant constructive comments and thoughtfulness shall long be remembered.

One slight problem remains. The Urban League, and a group of schools and churches, want prints (the Urban League for an April 1st coast to coast series of rallies in honor of Miss Anderson). We are inclined to provide a 16mm print for such non-theatrical needs in our regular and normal manner, which is to allow an educational film distributor to handle this under our control. Our original music clearances, I am told, provide for such use for all the songs except "Getting to Know You" and "Carefully Taught" which were handled on a personal basis through Irving Cohen and yourselves. It is now necessary to ask you for permission to use these songs for the limited purposes described above. You can have CBS's assurances and my personal one that no theatrical use will be permitted. If you should prefer further negotiations to be conducted with Mr. Cohen, I will so direct but Fred and I did want to put the problem to you on a personal basis and we trust you will be able to help us out.

Incidentally, should either of you desire prints of the show to keep, we should be delighted to arrange same. Copies of the record album are being sent; should you desire additional albums, please let us know.

Again, thanks.

Cordially,

Edward R. Murrow

Mr. Oscar Hammerstein
Mr. Richard Rodgers
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

ERM/hl

Sin
Rogers, Richard

January 9, 1957

Dear Dick:

My heartfelt thanks to you and Oscar for your wire on the Marian Anderson effort.

Both Fred and I are deeply in debt to you and Oscar as is Marian Anderson. I think you would feel repaid in part, at least, if you saw the response both by mail and in print.

We have never done anything that produced such widespread and favorable comment and the response encourages us to believe for a little while, at least, that there are an awful lot of people willing and eager to look at something other than westerns and quiz shows.

Again we say to both of you, our best thanks.

As ever yours,

Mr. Richard Rogers
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

fc

cc: Mr. Oscar Hammerstein

RECEIVED
1957 DEC 31 PM 12:33
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

V

WU018 PD

K FAX NEW YORK NY DEC 31 1203P

ED MURROW AND FRED FRIENDLY CBS SEE IT NOW

THANK YOU FOR OUR HANDSOME BEN SHAHN BOOKS BUT THANKS EVEN MORE FOR LETTING US TAKE PART IN THE WONDERFUL BROADCAST LAST NIGHT HAPPY NEW YEAR AND CONTINUED TRIUMPH DURING IT

RICHARD RODGERS AND OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN

1219P..

See It Now
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.

February 7, 1958

Dear Arthur:

Many thanks for your nice letter of February 5th.

Enclosed is a copy of the SEE IT NOW script that you requested. I am glad that you enjoyed it. The response both in mail and in print has been overwhelming and Fred Friendly and I feel that in many ways this is the best thing we have ever done.

As ever yours,

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
Widener T
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

mcc

WIDENER T
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

UNIVERSITY 4-9710

February 5, 1958

Dear Ed:

I wonder if you could send me a transcript of your interview with President Truman which I heard with great interest and enjoyment on Sunday. There are some historical notes in Mr. Truman's remarks which I would like to have textually.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Braodcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

See It Now

February 5, 1958

Dear Phil:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

As ever,

Mr. Philip L. Graham
The Washington Post
and Times Herald
1515 L Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

mcc

The Washington Post
AND
Times Herald
1515 L STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON 5, D.C. REPUBLIC 7-1234

PHILIP L. GRAHAM
PUBLISHER

Jim

December 31, 1957

Dear Ed:

The "Marian Anderson Hour" was deeply moving. She was American leadership on a grand scale, a phenomenon recently unfamiliar to me.

The production was, as always, magnificent and everyone associated with it hereby receives the highest possible praise from this precinct.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip L. Graham

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

See it now
Seabron, W. M.

February 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Seabron:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. William M. Seabron
Deputy Director
Fair Employment Practices Commission
129 Mason Building
Lansing, Michigan

mcc

G. MENNEN WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

STATE OF MICHIGAN

COMMISSION
SIDNEY M. SHEVITZ, CHAIRMAN
MRS. ANNE H. COOK, SECRETARY
REV. FR. JOHN F. FINNEGAN
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REV. CHESTER A. McPHEETERS

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMISSION

129 MASON BUILDING
LANSING, MICHIGAN

900 CADILLAC SQUARE BUILDING, DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
TELEPHONE: DETROIT WO 2-6680 — EXT. 43 LANSING: IV 5-8144 — EXT. 453

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Please Reply: DETROIT January 2, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was my pleasure to view "The Lady from Philadelphia", the story of Miss Marian Anderson's good will mission to the Far East, on "See It Now" last Monday evening. I have written to thank Channel 2, WJBK-TV, our local Detroit outlet, for presenting this program, and I should like for you and your sponsor, International Telephone and Telegraph, also to know how much I appreciate it.

Miss Anderson was very gracious and intelligent in her relationships with the peoples of these various lands, and in my opinion did a tremendous job in interpreting the attitude of the Negro in America toward his problems. While she did not deny the existence of these problems in our country, it seemed to me she was able to point up the progress we have made and the hope we have for the future.

Please accept my thanks for developing and presenting a program such as "The Lady from Philadelphia".

Sincerely yours,

William Seabron

William M. Seabron
Deputy Director

WMS:sig
afscme52

See It Now
Seltzer, L. B.

The Cleveland Press

OFFICE OF
LOUIS B. SELTZER
EDITOR

January 15, 1958

Dear Ed:

Your note and the album arrived together in this morning's mail.

Marion and I sat enthralled by your "The Lady From Philadelphia".

So moved were we, in fact, that we hastily called our children, and several friends (including Cleveland's mayor) to make sure they were dialed in. Fortunately they were.

"See It Now" had everything. It had a beauty, a depth, a thundering emotional appeal, and it must, too, have had, more important than all else, an underlying persuasive appeal to reason.

I am not going to write you any more notes, Murrow, if they have to be, all of them, in this same highly commendatory pattern. That you compel them is wholly incidental. It does not allow cruising range for my inherently critical temperament. You subvert my journalistic principle of cold, practical objectivity.

For two years now I have been serving in the capacity of national chairman for Brotherhood Week, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Many times in addresses across the country (at $50 and $100 a plate, by the way) I have described you as one of the foremost exemplars of brotherhood -- and cited in documentation thereof many of your telecasts, "See It Now" shows, and "This I Believe".

So you see, Ed, you'll have to do something about all of this so that I can retrieve some measure of objectivity -- but I sure can't do it when you do the things that you have been doing, and then, so blithely, persist constantly in doing more of.

Marion and I will enjoy "The Lady From Philadelphia" in the quiet of our home (when and if it ever is quiet) -- or, to be more precise, in the company of friends who persist in hanging off of our chandeliers so much of the time.

As always

Louis

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Shayon, Robert L.

CBS TELEVISIO

Office Communica

to: Messrs. Edward R. Murrow and Fred Friendly

from: Bob Philpot

January 23, 1958

Bob Hoag asked me to send you a copy of a memo covering Mr. Shayon's review of "The Lady From Philadelphia" which has been distributed to all of our network salesmen.

R.E.P.

JI

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Network Salesmen* January 21, 1958

from: Bob Philpot cc: Messrs. Hylan, Dawson, Klayer, Hoag, Maxwell, Blair, Sterritt, Livingston, Bristol, Lethen, Aberle, Ashley, Ingersoll, Stolfi

Re: SEE IT NOW

In the current issue of "The Saturday Review" Robert Lewis Shayon reviews "The Lady From Philadelphia."

Tom Dawson wanted each of us to have a copy of these remarks to read at leisure...because here summed up so well are some of the feelings that probably you too had while watching the show.

Surely we can be proud in the Sales Department that CBS saw fit to invest in – and then broadcast – Marian Anderson's tour of Asia. It's the kind of show that helps make the network the leader among communication media.

While there's no way we know now to measure adequately the widespread influence of this broadcast, Tom suggests we use Shayon's review as a conversation piece whenever possible to tell agencies and advertisers of this kind of programming that is available from time to time as special broadcasts on CBS Televisinn.

R.E.P.

JI

*Messrs. Curl, Flaten, Hall, Harding, Lambart, Materne, Martin, Mayo, Morton, Porteous, Purves, Rastall, Schroeder, Shaker, Smith, Swats

"The Lady from Philadelphia"

I SINCERELY hope that our State Department does not cut the commercials out of "The Lady from Philadelphia," the recent CBS-TV "See It Now" broadcast featuring Marian Anderson, the singer, when they show prints of the program in Asia. The comments of Mr. Edmond H. Leavey, president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, which sponsored the broadcast, and those of Edward R. Murrow, the narrator, speaking for I.T. and T., are essential to the propaganda aims of Miss Anderson's 35,000-mile, twelve-nation concert tour. Their remarks create a most favorable impression of American business. "Communication is our business," said the sponsor; then he defined the main problem of international communication today in terms of the question: "Can man get along with man?" Miss Anderson's tour was an act of affirmative communication. Mr. Murrow, noting that I.T. and T. had waived the final commercial, said: "They know that their communication can never be substituted for human communication. Miss Anderson's communication is something with which they—and we—would like to be identified."

This was television in the highest altitudes. What the "See It Now"-State Department- American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA) trio of organizers of the tour were saying, through Miss Anderson to the people of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and India, was this: "You have been slaves to white masters from the West. Now you are your own masters, free to choose between the Communists and us. Both are prepared to radiate to you the West's industry, literacy, and material betterment. But the Communists will make you pay a price for that—a second slavery and a poverty of spiritual values. Choose the West and you will gain your freedom and dignity as well as science and technology. Marian Anderson is the image of your own future —if you follow us."

The singer never spoke this argument, of course. Her only instructions 'rom the State Department were: "Be ourself." She gave her own message 'n her inspired artistry, her joy, en- siasm, compassion, humility, and 'ious faith. Her music was, in turn, ep yearning, an adoration, a cry 'eedom, a national anthem, a ' lesson, and a Christian hymn. ctrine was a sense of journey, a "trampin, a tryin' to make heaven my home." It was, "Now we will do the thing in a new way. . . . There is no particular thing that you can do alone. . . . The 'I' in it is very small, after all. . . . All have a right to enter the gates. . . .One will give his all if he feels that he belongs. . . . Yes, I would sing for Governor Faubus if he were in a frame of mind to accept it for what it is. . . . Do not let hate or fear restrict you from being a big person. . . . All people seek to be great. . . . If all is right on the inside, there is a divine pattern. . . . I will go, I shall go to see what the end will be, because I believe in what I shall find at the end." This is the poetry of feeling, and I know of only one poet in America who sings this way: Carl Sandburg. The ethos of Abraham Lincoln is in his rhythms and Miss Anderson's.

The Asian response to her character and artistry was a complete propaganda triumph, to judge by the pictures and soundtrack of "See It Now." The King of Thailand had never before risen from his throne-chair to greet a distinguished visitor. In India, no visitor had ever been invited to speak at Gandhi's memorial in Old Delhi. The Prime Minister of Burma complimented her on her "good voice, technique, and acting ability," and on her "beauty and charm of mind." At Ewha University in Seoul, Korea, she was awarded an honorary degree for her "Christian service to mankind." In Bombay the tour dramatically illustrated the interpenetration of cultures when, for the first time, "a visiting artist" (Miss Anderson) sang with "the only Western symphony orchestra between Tel Aviv and Tokyo."

Less formal, but nevertheless expressing an undeniable sympathy for Miss Anderson as she greeted them and sang for them "in close fashion" were the faces in her audiences—impassive, rapt children; old men and women; Eastern cosmopolites; peasants; clerks; lawyers. These faces of Asia, photographed and edited with perception and taste, burst with startling, vivid reality upon our parochial TV consciousness, smogged and sodden with the gunsmoke and mayas of Madison Avenue and Hollywood. The United States can be proud to have had such a great lady as Miss Anderson to send forth on this tour.

There were other rewards for the "See It Now" audience here in the United States. We saw and heard a native orchestra in Bombay playing Indian music, which Miss Anderson told us "has resisted all foreign influences." We shared the thrill of an item of raw material for history when, in Kuala Lumpur, in the Federation of Malaya, citizens of the newest nation on earth heard the first singing of their national anthem by a visiting artist. Miss Anderson's journey was not that of an individual—she was a symbol of individuality as it is conceived and given historical meaning by contemporary Americans. The broadcast derived its very moving impact from some degree of awareness in the viewers' minds that they were watching not only a propaganda tour but a veritable collision of many cultures—religious, political, esthetic, ethical. At each moment there were overtones of the diffusion, challenge, and potentials of unique civilizations.

WE MUST recognize that "The Lady from Philadelphia" as an act of high creative imagination in television, marshalling the resources of our technology for great human purposes, is uncommonly rare. There is only one Marian Anderson, not many Ed Murrows and Fred Friendlys, and less than a multitude of sponsors like International Telephone and Telegraph whose institutional character permits them to spend shareholders' money on a TV broadcast like this one. Yet we must never cease to hope, with Miss Anderson, that the gates are there for all to enter. What we peddle to Asia we may well use at home; and we are indebted to "See It Now" for this grand reminder of what TV sometimes is and can more often be.

—ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON.

Miss Anderson—"inspired artistry."

Stassen, Harold

January 9, 1958

Dear Harold:

What a gracious guy you are to take time to send your note about the Marian Anderson piece!

We were proud of it and the response has been extraordinary.

Hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

Mr. Harold E. Stassen,
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

fc

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1958

Dear Edward:

Commendation and congratulations for the presentation of the Marian Anderson report. ! !

This represented brilliant editing of an exceptional story centering on a great person. Thus I am moved to add my personal thanks to you and your staff for doing it.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold E. Stassen
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

See it now
Straus, Nathan

February 5, 1958

Dear Nathan:

Belatedly, my thanks to you for your cordial comments on our Marian Anderson show. Fred Friendly and I think that in many ways it is the best thing we have ever done, and we have been deeply gratified by the overwhelming warmth of the response both by mail and in print.

With all good wishes.

As ever,

Mr. Nathan Straus
President
WNCA
415 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mcc

wmca 415 MADISON AVENUE AT 48th ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y. · MU. 8-1500
570 KC. · FIRST ON YOUR DIAL

NATHAN STRAUS
PRESIDENT

December 31, 1957

Dear Ed:

Two of your programs that we have watched during the last week seem so outstanding that I would like to add this word to the thousands of letters of appreciation that you doubtless have received.

The Charles Siepmanns were at our house on Sunday and we listened to the first half-hour of your annual news round-up together. They had to leave to pick up some of their children at the station — but Helen and I listened through to the end with great enjoyment and, I may add, benefit as well.

Last night we thought the Marian Anderson show was outstanding, an almost unique achievement by TV in furtherance of better understanding among the peoples of the earth.

More power to you.

I hope our paths cross more often in 1958, as ever,

Yours,

Nathan Straus

Mr. Edward Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Sutcliffe, R.T

January 9, 1958

Dear Mr. Sutcliffe:

Please forgive my delay in acknowledging your letter of December 20th.

Your promotion of Miss Anderson's program was in impeccable taste and I am certain that it did much to increase the audience.

Both Fred Friendly and I are deeply appreciative of your confidence and we shall hope never to abuse it.

You may care to know that the general reaction to the program far exceeded our expectations.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Mr. Richard T. Sutcliffe
Department of Press, Radio and Television
The United Lutheran Church in America
231 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

fc

Press
Radio
Television

DEPARTMENT OF PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION
The UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
CHARLES C. HUSHAW, Executive Director • RICHARD T. SUTCLIFFE, Associate Director

231 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. • LExington 2-3410 • Night Phone: LExington 2-3412

December 20, 1957

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The enclosed "Clipsheet" has been distributed early this past week to 5,000 United Lutheran pastors and church leaders across the United States and Canada.

This weekend, worshippers in United Lutheran churches from coast-to-coast either (1) saw the bulletin board posters as they attended services or (2) heard about these three programs in pulpit announcements by their pastors.

Because one of your programs is involved, we thought you'd like to know of this United Lutheran promotion. We are not looking for thanks or accolades; we simply want you to know that this Department of Press, Radio and Television of the United Lutheran Church prefers to endorse and encourage you in the production of TV programs with the highest quality and content rather than to police or condemn.

Respectfully,

Richard T. Sutcliffe

Richard T. Sutcliffe

Enclosure
RTS:jw

Pro Bus. 5811

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Woodard (2)

cc: Messrs. Harrison, Coleman, Stone, Robins
(Information copy: Messrs. Murrow & Friendly)

from: Paul A. Rosen

April 12, 1957

Will you please have immediately prepared an agreement with Hurok Artists, Inc., 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York, as agents for Miss Marian Anderson, pursuant to the following:

(1) Commencing in September 1957 and continuing thereafter until approximately December 1957, Miss Anderson will be on a concert tour in the Far East. This tour, which is presented under the auspices of the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations (in connection with which the State Department has appointed the American National Theatre & Academy as its professional agency), will take Miss Anderson to Honolulu, Seoul, Taipei, Hong Kong, Manila, Saigon, Penh, Bangkok, Laos, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Indonesia, Dakar, India & Lahore, among other places.

During this tour, we are granted the exclusive right to film for television purposes and otherwise, Miss Anderson's concert and related appearances. Our filming shall be done at our own expense, including, but without limitation, expenses of shipping our equipment, transporting our personnel, etc. etc. Miss Anderson also agrees to be filmed in interview(s) with Mr. Murrow.

(2) <u>Compensation</u>

Within ten days following the initial broadcast of the film produced hereunder, but not later than June 30, 1958, we will make payment to Hurok Artists, Inc., as agents for Miss Anderson, in the amount of $3,500. This payment will entitle us to broadcast the film once over a television station in each city throughout the world. For the second run, the payment will be $1,750, and for the third and all ensuing runs, the payment will be $875 per run.

(3) <u>Subsidiary Rights</u>

With respect to subsidiary rights, Miss Anderson shall participate to the extent of one third of the net proceeds derived from subsidiary rights. For the purpose of determining net proceeds, CBS Television shall be entitled to recoup the

to: Mr. Woodard

from: Paul A. Rosen

April 12, 1957

entire cost of production of the subject motion picture (all program broadcast income being applied against the production cost, less, for syndication purposes, the normal distribution and related charges of CBS Television Film Sales) and all direct and actual expenses involved in connection with the disposal of subsidiary rights. We agree to consult with Miss Anderson as to any disposition of subsidiary rights and shall obtain her prior approval, not to be unreasonably withheld, to any such disposition except as follows:

(a) With respect to the distribution of this film for non-theatrical purposes (and, of course, for broadcast purposes), we need not seek Miss Anderson's approval and may freely utilize the film for this purpose;

(b) We recognize that Miss Anderson has prior commitments with respect to phonograph recordings and we agree that we shall respect these commitments and that any refusal of approval by Miss Anderson of any use of the soundtrack of this film as a phonograph record shall not be considered by us to be unreasonable, if her refusal is based on a prior phonograph recording commitment.

Accountings for subsidiary proceeds shall be made within thirty days following January 1st of each year, commencing with January 1st, 1959.

(3) <u>Miscellaneous</u>

(a) Miss Anderson shall provide the services of her accompanyist;

(b) No film in which Miss Anderson appears may be used for purposes of commercial announcements;

(c) We shall have the right to use Miss Anderson's name and likeness and biographical material

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Woodard

from: Paul A. Rosen

April 12, 1957

(c) Contd.

concerning her in connection with the exhibition, distribution and subsidiary rights use of this film;

(d) Should there be any original music composed by Miss Anderson and/or her accompanyist utilized in this film, CBS Television shall enjoy the free right of use thereof;

(e) In the event that, due to local governmental restrictions, force majeure, etc., we are unable to shoot sufficient film to comprise a one hour television broadcast, the decision as to the sufficiency of material being vested in CBS Television, we shall pay to Miss Anderson the sum of $1,750; of course, if we are unable to shoot any film, we shall have no obligation to Miss Anderson.

(f) Such other terms and conditions as you feel necessary should be included.

Please see that this contract is given immediate attention.

Thank you.

P. A. R.

PAR:jr

October 29, 1954

MARIAN ANDERSON APPEARED ON "PERSON TO PERSON" SHORTLY BEFORE SHE WAS TO MAKE HER DEBUT AT THE METROPOLITAN.

MURROW: Arturo Toscanini once heard a woman sing and he said of her, "A voice like hers is heard only once in 100 years." It was the voice of Marian Anderson, who has been acclaimed for almost 20 years as one of the world's greatest contraltos; many say the greatest. Miss Anderson was born of poor parents in South Philadelphia. Her father died while she was a youngster. She struggled for an education with the help of her mother and friends. And, eight years after her New York debut as a soloist, she won her first real recognition in Europe. This month the Metropolitan Opera made news around the free world by signing Miss Anderson to her first role at the Met in Verdi's Masked Ball. She is the first person of her race to be so honored. Miss Anderson and her husband, Orpheus H. Fisher, live on a 105-acre farm near Danbury, Connecticut. Mr. Fisher, a New York architect, designed this one-story, eight-room sort of L-shaped house. He calls the style contemporary. The Fisher home is set on the brow of a hill, and on a clear day they can look westward almost 30 miles across the Berkshire valley. Good evening, Miss Anderson.

ANDERSON: Good evening, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Tell me first of all, do you prefer to be called Miss Anderson or Mrs. Fisher?

ANDERSON: Well, I believe in concerts I prefer being called Miss Anderson and at home Mrs. Fisher.

MURROW: So we can use them interchangeably tonight?

ANDERSON: Absolutely.

MURROW: I know it is not until next January you are scheduled to sing in the Met, but are you ready?

ANDERSON: Well, not completely. I am trying very desperately to understand the part very well.

MURROW: Miss Anderson, aside from your years of hard work, rehearsing and studying and traveling, do you think luck - that is, good furtune - had anything to do with guiding you to the Metropolitan opera role?

ANDERSON: I think my good fortune started the very day that I was born to my mother. She is the most wonderful person in the world to me, and I think without her, life couldn't have been at all so fine as it is. I have her to thank from the beginning to the end for everything which has happened, because with her the other things have been made possible.

MURROW: I know you must have dreamed about the Met for a long time. How many years has it been since you first saw a performance there?

ANDERSON: I don't realize just how long ago it has been. I remember trying to buy my way into a performance. I had received a certain amount of money, and when I went to Philadelphia to the music store where the tickets were being sold and asked for a ticket, I

realized immediately that I must have been very naive when I thought that what they were asking for a ticket was the price of a whole season. So, of course, that performance I was not able to see.

MURROW: You thought you were buying an entire season's ticket and it was only for one performance. Is that it?

ANDERSON: As a matter of fact, I didn't have enough for the one performance.

MURROW: I see. Tell me, is Mr. Fisher here?

ANDERSON: Yes, he is.

MURROW: Good evening, Mr. Fisher.

FISHER: Good evening, Mr. Murrow. How are you?

MURROW: Fine, thank you. Tell me, do you have much to do with Mrs. Fisher's work? That is, do you help her or criticize her, or do you stick to your drawing board as an architect?

FISHER: Well, I criticize her just a little, but I usually stick to my drawing board.

MURROW: Now, about this farm that you have. Do you both work at it?

FISHER: Yes, we do.

MURROW: And what do you grow?

FISHER: Well, I am very much interested in sheep, sheep raising, and we have concentrated most of our efforts towards raising sheep.

MURROW: Well, now, I have just recently acquired a farm. As a matter of fact, not far from you over in Dutchess County in New York. Do you have any advice for me?

FISHER: Well, I would like to give you some advice, Mr. Murrow, and that is this, that I would suggest that the thing to do is to get the most competent farm superintendent you can get and thus turn the complete job over to him.

MURROW: Mrs. Fisher - Marian Anderson - when you are not working on the farm, where do you do your real work with your voice and your music?

ANDERSON: I do it in a little building not too far from here. It is just our studio, and I would like, if you have time to do it, to see it.

MURROW: Good, thank you.

(MISS ANDERSON GOES TO STUDIO.)

MURROW: What in the world is on the floor?

ANDERSON: Music which should have been catalogued sometime ago. I felt rather energetic a few weeks ago and began getting some of it out and putting it on the floor in alphabetical order according to the name of the composer, and the gentleman came along and said maybe you might leave it a little while. It suited me quite finely, so here it is.

MURROW: Tell me, how many jazz numbers do you have in your files?

ANDERSON: Not too many, I'm afraid, and probably not the one which I might have had if I had hoped to please a particular lady who came up to us not too long ago after a concert. I should say

it this way really. She stood on the fringe of a crowd asking for autographs and just as the autographs were finished the lady came up and said, "Well, since I am here I will take an autograph." And while giving her the autograph she said, "I don't understand, I still don't understand why you didn't sing Chattanooga Choo-Choo," and I said, "It is not in our repertoire this season."

MURROW: Speaking of your repertoire of the non-jazz songs that you know, what would be your favorite?

ANDERSON: I believe, as a matter of fact, a spiritual called He's Got the Whole World in His Hand. I like the message it brings, and it is a thing which appeals to most people.

MURROW: How does it go?

ANDERSON: Oh.

(SINGS)

ANDERSON: And it is about the little baby and the gambling man and the crap-shooting man. It just takes in everybody, you know.

MURROW: He's got the whole world in His hands.

ANDERSON: Yes.

MURROW: Mrs. Fisher - Marian Anderson - you confirmed tonight what many of us have felt at many of your concerts, that you have a great faith.

ANDERSON: Well, it is definitely our belief, sincerely, that faith is the biggest thing in the world, and out of the world, and

with it anything is possible and everything is possible, and for the faith that I have I owe it to my mother.

MURROW: Are you nervous at all about your first performance, dramatic performance at the Met?

ANDERSON: I would say I am very concerned that it would be all that my friends wish it to be. I shouldn't like to disappoint any one of them, and certainly for myself I would like to do the very best possible.

MURROW: Well, I know you will disappoint none of your friends and thank you very much, Marian Anderson - Mrs. Fisher - for letting us come and visit you up near Danbury, Connecticut.

ANDERSON: Thank you, Mr. Murrow.

MURROW: Thank you very much.

"SEE IT NOW"

FROM PRECINCT TO PRESIDENT

Harry S. Truman

February 2, 1958

See SPECIAL PROGRAMS

CBS NEWS SPECIAL
"Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972"
December 26, 1972

February 2, 1958

IN 1957, HARRY S. TRUMAN GRANTED MURROW AN INTERVIEW [redacted] IN WHICH HE REFLECTED AT LENGTH ON HIS CAREER AS SENATOR AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AN HOUR OF THEIR CONVERSATION, [redacted] CONDUCTED OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL DAYS, WAS TELEVISED ON "SEE IT NOW"; IT WAS AGREED THAT OTHER PORTIONS OF THE INTERVIEW WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC DURING MR. TRUMAN'S LIFETIME.

MURROW: Sir, if you had your choice of all the former Presidents -- and we could have him for two hours, let's say, on film -- which would you choose?

TRUMAN: Andrew Jackson. We'd get some salty things from old Andy.

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MURROW: Well, let's go inside and see what Harry S. Truman has to say about his almost eight years in the White House.

~~TRUMAN: Well, we'd get some salty things from old Andy.~~

MURROW: Well, we'll hope for the best here.

~~MURROW:~~ Mr. President, you have talked frequently about the necessity for professionals in public life and in politics. What are the essential qualifications of a successful politician?

TRUMAN: It's just as necessary for [redacted] a man who understands politics to be in a position of operating the government which is founded on politics. A free government is a government by politicians, and a politician is a public relations man who knows how to get along with people. I think the most honorable title that can be given to a man is to say that he is a politician, and I've always said that the great statesmen you read about were all politicians or they would never have been statesmen. They become statesmen after they're in their graves, and I have a long time to go yet before I become a statesman. I claim that I've had experience from precinct to President.

MURROW: You should have titled your book that. Let's go back to your early childhood, Mr. President. What was the first job you had?

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TRUMAN: I imagine I must have been about twelve or thirteen. I got a job washing windows and mopping floors and wiping off bottles for a drug store at home. An old fellow by the name of Jim Clinton ran the drug store, and I used to go up and open up the store and mop the floor and straighten everything out. And we had a great many people in our home town who would not go into a saloon. There were a dozen saloons around the Square at Independence, and they'd come in for their early morning eye-opener behind the counter and would put a dime on the prescription case and pour their own and then go on out, and, of course, I wasn't supposed to have anything to do with that. But I saw it, and I found out that there were a great many of our leading citizens who were great uplifters publicly but they liked to do just like the old men who went in the saloons openly, and I got quite a kick out of that at twelve or thirteen years old, and I'll never forget the first three silver dollars I got in payment for that first week's work. That's the most important money I ever earned.

MURROW: Did this knowledge that you gained at three dollars a week in the drug store that some of the uplifters acted just like ordinary people serve you in good stead later on in politics?

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TRUMAN: Yes, it did, for the simple reason that my old grandfather had told me when I was seven or eight years old that whenever he heard one of his neighbors up in the Amen corner of the church praying too loud, he went home and locked his smoke house. Well, this experience in this drug store conclusively proved that the old man was correct.

MURROW: Where did your military service begin?

TRUMAN: I had joined the National Guard in the organization of Battery B, on June the fourteenth, nineteen hundred and five. I was a charter member of the Battery and a Private, and they gave me a nice, beautiful blue uniform with a red cord around the shoulders and red stripes down the breeches legs, and I took it out and showed it to my old grandmother whose house had been burned by the Federals in the Civil War, and she looked at it, and said, "Well, Harry, that's a very beautiful uniform, but that's the first time a blue uniform's been in this house since the Civil War. Don't bring it back here." And I didn't.

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MURROW: Speaking of uniforms, I am told that at one point just before we got into World War II, you went to see General Marshall and asked to go back in the Service. Is that right?

TRUMAN: Yes, that's correct. I was a Senator at that time and had been a Colonel of Field Artillery since 1927. This was in 1940 or '41, and I went down to see the General and told him that I'd spent my time since I'd been in the Reserve Corps training these young men in field artillery and teaching them how to shoot, and that I'd like very much to go back into the Service in command of an artillery group, and I felt like I owed it to the country. The General pulled his spectacles down on his nose like that, and he said, "Mr. Pres --- Senator, how old are you?" I said, "I'm fifty-six." He says, "Senator, you're too damned old. You go on back and stay in the Senate." I says, "I'm four years younger than you are." He said, "Yes, but I'm already in." So I went back and stayed in the Senate.

MURROW: Well, getting back to the first war, what did you do immediately after your discharge in 1919?

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TRUMAN: I went back to the farm and stayed there for most of the next three or four years, except that Eddie Jacobson and I decided to open a men's furnishing store on West 12th Street, and did, and I furnished the money and Eddie furnished the brains, and we had a wonderful business the first year and a half, and then Mr. Mellon began his wringing out process by making high money, just as we're going through now, and I went busted as one of the little business men. Never forgot it.

~~MURROW: Mr. President, I must be a bad reporter because I have neglected to ask you when you learned to play the piano.~~

~~TRUMAN: Well, when I was about - oh, I guess I must have been eight or nine years old, we succeeded in raising enough money to buy a piano and then I began to take a few piano lessons from Mrs. E. C. White, who was a pupil of Leschetizky. I got a viewpoint on good music which was a wonderful asset to me as -- in an educational way, but when I was about fifteen or sixteen years old, I decided that it was a sissy thing to be a piano player and I quit.~~

~~MURROW: How was it that the "Missouri Waltz" became rather your unofficial theme song, Mr. President?~~

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MURROW: How was it that the "Missouri Waltz" became your unofficial theme song, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: I hate to go into the details on that, but the "Missouri Waltz" was composed by a man from Iowa in 1914 and is called "Hushabye My Baby". It's a ragtime song, and if you let me say what I think -- I don't give a damn about it. But I can't say it out loud because it's the song of Missouri. It's as bad as "The Star Spangled Banner" so far as music is concerned.

MURROW: Well, sir, I assume it would be true to say that you achieved national prominence through the Truman Committee?

TRUMAN: Well, the proper name of that committee was the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. The newspaper people named it the Truman Committee. I didn't.

MURROW: What would you say its major accomplishments were?

TRUMAN: Well, that Committee was organized for the purpose of helping the United States Government to win the war -- to be an asset to the Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, and to General Marshall who was the organizer of the Armed Forces of the United States, and it was handled in just that way.

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TRUMAN: We made investigations of construction programs, and when things were in a tangled condition and action could not be had on the construction of, we'll say training planes and engines for training planes and for fighter planes and for tanks, we'd look into the matter without the idea of headlines or publicity and try to correct the situation. That was the principal reason for its organization, because I happen to know the facts behind the committee on the conduct of the war in the War between the States. The committee on the conduct of the war was said by Robert E. Lee to have been worth two divisions to the Confederacy, and we didn't want that to happen in this war in which we were trying to save the free world from destruction.

MURROW: Do you have the feeling, Mr. President, that occasionally the Congressional power of investigation is abused or stretched too far?

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TRUMAN: Yes, [redacted] I've always thought that there are times when the investigative power of the Congress of the United States, both in the House and the Senate, has been abused. It's a power that's absolutely essential, however, to get intelligent legislation, and the objective of the investigation is for the purpose of legislation. Legislation came about as a result of our own investigations in this special committee - legislation that was of great benefit to the country.

MURROW: Isn't it true that the first time you heard of the atom bomb was when Secretary of War Stimson asked you to call off an investigation of Oak Ridge?

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TRUMAN: I had started an investigation at Oak Ridge and at Pasco, Washington, and the Secretary of War called me up and said that he wanted to talk to me about that, and I told him I'd come down and see him. He said, "No, I'm coming down and see you." And he came down and sat down in my office and said, "I want to say to you, Senator, that this is one of the most important things that's ever been done in the history of the world. We can't afford to have a public investigation of it and I'd appreciate it very much if you would call off your dogs and not have the investigation." I said, "Mr. Secretary, if you tell me that, I know it's true and I'll call 'em off." And I did.

MURROW: In 1944, did you think you would remain in the Senate?

TRUMAN: Yes, I thought I'd stay there the rest of my life. I was hoping that things would come around so that when I got through with that term as Vice-President I could go back to the Senate, but it didn't happen that way.

MURROW: You were prepared to nominate Jimmy Byrnes for Vice-President. Weren't you?

TRUMAN: Yes. Jimmy called me from Washington and said the President had decided that he'd like to have him for Vice-President, and asked me if I would nominate him, and I told him that if the President wanted him, I'd do the best I could.

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(no para.)

TRUMAN: (CONT'D) I didn't know I'd be any asset to him [redacted] as a nominator, but then if that's what he wanted, I'd try to do it, and I found out afterwards that there had been a meeting in the White House a week before that in which it had been decided that the Senator from Missouri was the favorite of the President, but I didn't know about that and never found it out, and a short time after Byrnes had called me, just before I left for Chicago, Senator Barkley called me and asked me if I'd nominate him, and I told him I couldn't nominate two of them, that I'd told Byrnes I'd nominate him.

MURROW: Had you prepared a speech in nomination of Mr. Byrnes?

TRUMAN: Yes, I had a good speech ready. I think it would have nominated him.

MURROW: You never heard directly from Mr. Roosevelt, himself, that you were his choice?

TRUMAN: Not until Thursday afternoon when the Vice-President was to be nominated the next day. They had a meeting of all the Democratic Party leaders in the Blackstone Hotel and asked me to come over, and Bob Hannegan had placed a call for the President, and the President's question - as soon as it was connected - the phone was between twin beds, and you know the President really didn't need a phone - all he needed to do was to raise the window. I could hear every word he said. (MORE)

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~~TRUMAN: (CONT'D)~~ He said, "Bob, have you got that fellow lined up yet?" Bob said, "No, Mr. President, he's the contrariest man I ever had anything to do with." "You - Bob, you tell him that if he wants to take a chance on losing the election and perhaps losing this war, that's his responsibility." And he hung up. Well, I was sunk. I didn't know what to do hardly. I walked around the room and finally told him I'd do it, and I'd told all my friends that under no circumstances would I be a candidate, but when the President made a statement like that, I had to do something about it, and I couldn't find anybody to nominate me. I finally found my colleague, Bennett Clark, who was the Senior Senator from Missouri, and he agreed to nominate me.

MURROW: Would it be fair to say that some of your subsequent disagreements with Mr. Byrnes may have stemmed from the fact that he had the feeling that he might, or rather, that he should have been the Vice-Presidential nominee?

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TRUMAN: Well, I don't know. There might be something in that, but I --- I never really thought that was the case. I think that Jimmy had a superiority complex in reference to the Junior Senator from Missouri and that he felt maybe I was not capable and did not know exactly what ought to be done, and that it was his duty to take it over and do it like it ought to be done. But when a fellow becomes President, he really knows where he's going, and I had to tell Mr. Byrnes that I was the President and he'd have to act as Secretary of State at my direction, and I think that's the principal thing that caused the disagreement. There never was any difficulty between me and the Secretaries of State that I had before and after Byrnes. Stettinius and General Marshall and Dean Acheson could not be improved upon as men who understood how the State Department should be run, and the top-notch man in the State Department, in my opinion, was Dean Acheson.

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MURROW: You have been quoted as saying that you never liked yes-men around you?

TRUMAN: I don't.

MURROW: Did Acheson and Marshall argue with you much?

TRUMAN: Yes. Yes, indeed, and roughly sometimes, but when the decision was made, I never had any doubt but what their cooperation and loyalty would be just the same as if they hadn't argued with me. But I don't want men around me that won't tell me the truth, and as they see it, because you can't operate if you have a bunch of men who put you up on a pedestal and say everything you do is right, 'cause that can't be possible.

MURROW: Exactly what did you feel when you were told that you were President?

TRUMAN: Well, I was shocked, of course, because I had hoped to serve out my term as Vice-President and go back to the Senate. I had the most pleasant time in my political life in the Senate of the United States, and, of course, I was shocked when I found out that I had become President of the United States in the midst of the war which was not over yet - the war with Germany and with Japan was still going on, and it was overwhelming almost to step right in and take charge of a situation with which I was not completely and entirely familiar.

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TRUMAN: (CTD) ~~I tried the best I could to inform myself on the subject. My Special Committee gave me a lot of information behind the things they otherwise wouldn't have. I wasn't too familiar with foreign affairs, because I was on the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.~~

MURROW: Well, Mr. President, in a period of three months, you became President, the war in Europe ended, Japan surrendered, the nuclear age began, the United Nations was created. No man in history ever rode such a tiger in such a short time. How did you manage it? How did you keep your equilibrium? How did you sleep at night?

TRUMAN: No trouble sleeping at night. I -- all my life whenever it comes time to make a decision, I make it and forget about it, and go to work on something else, and when these things came before me, as President of the United States, I made the decision on them and went into the next thing. You never have time to stop.

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TRUMAN: (CHD) You've got to keep going because there's always a decision just ahead of you that you've got to make, and you don't want to look back. If you make a mistake in one of those decisions, correct it by another decision and go ahead. That's all you can do.

MURROW: Did religion help to sustain you?

TRUMAN: It certainly did. It certainly did. I come from a religious family, and we believe in efficacy of prayer. The directions that are put out in the Book of the Law under the Jewish part of the Bible, in the tenth -- the twentieth chapter of Exodus and the fifth chapter of Deuteronomy are directions on how to live with other people, and the final thing that is the most important to any man who wants to do the right thing, is the fifth, sixth and seventh chapters of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew - that's the Sermon on the Mount. It's awful hard to live up to those things, but if a man comes as near it as he possibly can, he usually makes a good citizen.

MURROW: ~~Speaking of the Sermon on the Mount, you moved immediately~~ to recognize Israel after it was created. Did it you?

[illegible] [illegible] connect.

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MURROW: Speaking of history, Mr. President, how much opportunity did you have to read history while you were in the White House?

TRUMAN: I read myself to sleep every night reading the troublesome ~~biography of some President or some ruler of the past.~~

MURROW: Which President had the most trouble?

TRUMAN: Andrew Johnson.

MURROW: Why?

TRUMAN: Because he didn't have loyalty in his Cabinet - was the principal reason, and because he was trying to carry out the policy of Abraham Lincoln, and the ~~radicals in the radical~~ radicals in charge of the Congress were determined to make an example of the South on secession, and they succeeded in preventing Andrew Johnson from carrying out the policies of Abraham Lincoln. I've always thought that if Lincoln had lived, they'd have done the same thing to him that they did to Andrew Johnson, and there's a wonderful book out on Andrew Johnson written by Stryker I think is his name, that shows just exactly what that man had to go through with. He was, in my opinion, the greatest Constitutionalist that was ever in the White House.

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MURROW: Speaking of Constitutionalists, which act of yours do you think will go down in history as being the most significant, strictly in terms of the constitutional history of this country?

TRUMAN: Well, the action that was taken with the Berlin Airlift and the Greece and Turkish thing, and the Korean affair -- I think you'll find that that established beyond a doubt that the President has the power to meet an emergency when it comes up, and he should take the bull by the horns and meet it when it's necessary.

MURROW: But in terms strictly of the Constitution, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: That's constitutional. That's in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief as set out in the Constitution of the United States.

MURROW: I was rather expecting that you might have suggested it would have been the dismissal of General MacArthur in terms of re-establishing or rather establishing again the control of the civilian over the military.

TRUMAN: That was only following a precedent. If you remember, James K. Polk had the same sort of trouble with some of his generals in the Mexican War, and Abraham Lincoln [illegible] after General

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TRUMAN: (D) McClellan, particularly, stands out as an example in comparison with the MacArthur thing, and the Constitution provides that the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, and when he acts as Commander-in-Chief, he's got the right to hire and fire Generals any place he pleases. There was nothing new about that at all. When the Commanding General of the Far East was insubordinate, he got relieved the same as any other General would under the same circumstances.

MURROW: How did you decide to remove General MacArthur and whom did you consult, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: Well, General MacArthur had been becoming rather insubordinate as the proconsul in Asia, which he considered himself, and when he disobeyed orders directly, it became necessary to find out the best thing to do about it. MacArthur had been making statements on policy in the government which he had no right to do. The policy is made at headquarters in Washington by the President and his Cabinet. That is, the Foreign Policy of the United States is made entirely by the President with the assistance of the Secretary of State.

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~~TRUMAN: (CONT'D)~~ General Mac Arthur sent an article to Dave Lawrence's magazine and didn't send a copy to the White House or to the President. I happened to find it in the press room of the White House, and I suppressed it because it was not in line with the policy of the United States government, and I sent him word that he couldn't do a thing of that kind, and then he was willing to have the matter withdrawn, and a short time after that he did the same thing over again completely contrary to orders. He had acted that way in several instances, not only with me but with President Roosevelt, and I stood it as long as I could, and I made up my mind the best thing to do with him was to give him the McClellan treatment — that was to retire him. General Marshall said he hoped I'd postpone the situation until he had had a chance to read the messages over the last two years, and he also made the statement that he had matters pending before the Congress which might be affected by it. General Bradley said he ought to be fired -- he's a good military man. Averell Harriman, the Ambassador, said if he were in my place, he'd have fired him long ago. I had my mind already made up, but I didn't tell them. And then I told them to come back in two days or the next morning — I forget which it was — and they came back, and General Marshall had read all the messages by that time and he made the statement to me — he said, "Mr. President, you ought to have fired him two years ago, or at least six months ago," he said. And I then discussed the matter with the other people.

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TRUMAN: ~~(CONT)~~ Dean Acheson still thought it was poor politics and bad business to fire him. And then I issued the order, had General Marshall write the order out, himself, in longhand, which was to be forwarded to Frank Pace, who was Secretary for the Army, and who was then in Korea. We couldn't reach Frank Pace at all, and General Bradley came over to see me early Monday morning. This all happened on Friday - Thursday, Friday and Saturday. General Bradley came to see me and said that some Tribune reporter had obtained a leak in the Pentagon and he thought the whole thing would be released. "Well," I said, "send a direct message to the General and tell him he's relieved, but inform him also that if we'd have been able to get hold of Frank Pace, we'd have had it delivered in person." And that's how the whole thing came about.

MURROW: Did you expect such a public clamor as resulted?

TRUMAN: Oh yes, I expected a public clamor like that. It's too bad that the General didn't have a good political advisor. If he'd of consulted me about what he ought to do, I would have made it much easier for him and he'd be much more popular man than he is today.

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MURROW: And what advice would you have given him?

TRUMAN: Well, when he landed in San Francisco, the first thing he should have done was to take a plane and come to Washington and call on his Commander-In-Chief and accept the situation as it was. Then he should have started out and probably gone to New York, Chicago, New Orleans, or Houston, wherever it was he went, and he'd've had tremendous ovations, and the situation would not have developed as it did. He was trying to build up public opinion without consulting the fellow who understood public opinion. I never had anything personal against the General. He's a great military man, and it's a terrible thing when you have to do that to a man who's been in the military service for fifty-one years. But he brought it on himself, and it had to be done.

MURROW: Well, sir, some of your critics claim that some of your controversial decisions were promoted by petulance.

TRUMAN: Oh, I never acted when I was out of sorts, because a man does some things that he ordinarily wouldn't do. I think about the only time that I ever acted when I was really out of sorts was when I told a music critic where to get off when he said some mean things about my daughter. If I had thought about it a while I probably wouldn't have done it.

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MURROW: Much of the criticism, perhaps the major criticism of you, has been aimed at your continuing loyalty to friends even when they were in trouble, and particularly, I remember, your attending Mr. Prendergast's funeral.

TRUMAN: I imagine that was the truth but I've always felt that a man's career is based on his friendships and his loyalty to those friends. I always believed in loyalty to friends unless they did something radically wrong which required prosecution or something like that. I never fronted for any of them when they got into trouble with the law, but I always felt that when a fellow was in trouble was the time that he needed his friends most and then's when they should stick with him, and when you have an idea that your friends are not guilty of anything; when they're even being prosecuted, I believe in loyalty to 'em, but of course, I don't believe in interfering with the law, and I never fronted for anybody in a criminal case.

MURROW: In 1952, the Republican slogan was "Korea, Corruption and Communism". What about Communism in the government?

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TRUMAN: I don't think there was ever enough Communism in the government to create that comment for the simple reason that there [redacted] is complete loyalty with the vast majority of the more than two million employees of the United States government, and in all their hunting around and in all the charges that were made, there was never a single one of the dema[redacted]gogic charges proved -- that they never found a single Communist in the place where the demagogues said it was. That demagogue's McCarthy if you want to know who I'm referring to.

MURROW: Speaking of demagogues, what's the best way to deal with them?

TRUMAN: With ridicule. Ridicule is the best thing in the world for a demagogue because he is a monumental egotist or he wouldn't be one, and when you can stick pins in him and let the wind out and get people to laughing at him, he's through.

~~MURROW: Well, sir, if we can turn from domestic personalities to foreign ones, I wonder if you would give us your impression of some of the national leaders you've dealt with.~~

~~TRUMAN: Fine guy.~~

~~MURROW: First Churchill.~~

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TRUMAN: (OFF) He is one of the pigheadest man that ever I've come in contact with, and whenever I wanted him to perform, I called Stalin up and told him what I'd like to have done, and then Molotov would do it; otherwise, he wouldn't act at all. Stalin, at Potsdam, that's the only place I ever saw him, made a very agreeable impression upon me. He was easy enough to get along with and he was -- it was easy enough to make agreement with him. Of course, I didn't know at that time he had no intention of keeping them.

MURROW: Mr. President, I remember that you told Stalin at Potsdam that we had the atomic bomb.

TRUMAN: Yes.

MURROW: Did he seem to be impressed at that time?

TRUMAN: No. I don't think he quite understood what I was talking about. I told him that we had discovered a tremendously powerful explosive and that we proposed to use ~~which had come to a [illegible] by an explosion in New Mexico, and then we proposed to use~~ it to end the war with Japan, and he smiled and said he was very happy to hear it, and then the conversation ended, and I went my way and he went his. This was after the --- one of the conferences at Potsdam.

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MURROW: Well, when the bomb was dropped, the war was near to ending anyway. Was this the result of a miscalculation of the Japanese potential? Was our Intelligence faulty in this area?

TRUMAN: It was done on the theory that our troops were expecting to invade Japan in a very short time through the Tokyo plain and on the southwest side of Japan also, and it was estimated that it would take about a million and a half men to make that invasion, and in all probability there'd be a half a million of them casualties and two hundred and fifty thousand of them killed, and when we had this powerful new weapon, I had no qualms about using it, because a weapon of war is a destructive weapon. That's the reason none of us want war and all of us are against war, but when you have the weapon that will win the war, you'd be foolish if you didn't use it.

MURROW: Do you have any reason to think in historical terms that this new and terrible hydrogen weapon will not be used?

TRUMAN: I hope it will never have to be used, because I hope we'll keep the peace in the world and it won't be necessary. If the world ever gets into a turmoil, however, it will be used. You can be sure of that.

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MURROW: What was the most difficult decision you had to make as President?

TRUMAN: The most difficult decision I had to make while I was in office was Korea.

MURROW: Any regrets?

TRUMAN: Not the slightest - not the slightest in the world. The reason that I was able to make the Korean decision, I remembered Munich and the League of Nations, and we had just established the United Nations. The United Nations passed a resolution which had recognized the Republic of Korea. ~~[illegible]~~ It had been established, and when the Republic of Korea was about to be overcome by aggressions started by the Communists, backed by Russia, and --- and what later became Communist China, it seemed to me that the proper thing was to establish the United Nations as a going concern, and that's what I tried to do. ~~and that was but that was the most difficult decision I had to make during my whole administration of eight years.~~

MURROW: Were you surprised when Red China entered the Korean War?

TRUMAN: Yes, I was - yes I was, because I had been assured in October by the /commanding/ General of the Far East of the United States Forces that they would not do it.

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~~MURROW: What about the decision not to bomb North of the Yalu, Mr. President?~~

~~TRUMAN: That was one of the decisions that was made in -- in the hope that that would prevent the bringing on of a third World War.~~

MURROW: Mr. President, why did you choose General Eisenhower to head up the NATO Organization?

TRUMAN: Well, General Eisenhower had been the Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe. He knew all the heads of States, and he knew all the military commanders, and this organization, I thought, was one of the most important we've ever had anything to do with, because the passage of that NATO Bill reversed the foreign policy of the United States completely from isolationism to internationalism, and I thought that General Eisenhower understood the situation as well as anybody that ever had anything to do with it. He was then President of Columbia University, and I asked him if he would be willing to take over the job, and he said he'd do anything in the world for the welfare of the country. And he took it and did a good job of it.

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MURROW: Is it true that you offered him the Presidency at Potsdam?

TRUMAN: No, I didn't offer him the Presidency. I told him that a great many people who had been in his position had been willing to run for the Presidency, but it was my opinion that a man at the top with a military reputation could only have that reputation smeared if he went into politics, because being the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of a nation is entirely different from being the head of the State in a political job.

MURROW: So it would be fair to characterize it as being almost an offer and a warning simultaneously. Was that it?

TRUMAN: It could be taken as that. I gave him wise counsel, and he wrote me the best letter on why a military man shouldn't be President of the United States that's ever been stated, and it's still in existence.

MURROW: And ....

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TRUMAN: He didn't write the letter to me. He wrote it to a newspaper man in New Hampshire, but he gave me a copy of it and I've still got it, and I never used it on him at all.

MURROW: Is it your feeling as an historian that military men enter the White House under a basic handicap?

TRUMAN: Yes. They've been educated along one line, and a man to be President of the United States has to understand the whole picture, and the only way he can get the whole picture is by varied experience, and he doesn't get that in the military. You can take the historical members of the profession who've been Presidents of the United States. There was Zachary Taylor and General Grant, and the present occupant of the White House are good men. They're honorable men. They want to do the right thing, but they've been educated in a manner that's like a horse with blinders on - he only sees one direction right down the road.

MURROW: Mr. President, you had almost eight years in the White House. What do you regard as the qualifications for a successful President?

TRUMAN: Well, the first and most important requisite is that he must be a fundamentally honest man - intellectually and every other way, and an intellectually honest man will usually succeed in any --- any line of business he takes up.

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MURROW: It is true, isn't it Mr. President, that historically greater progress has been made when we have had what is called a strong President in the White House, a man who is prepared to do battle with the Congress?

TRUMAN: That's correct. That's correct. A President who doesn't have a fight or two with Congress is not considered a very strong man. It's necessary and it's all right. There's nothing wrong with it. It's not a personal matter. It's a matter of the Congress always trying to infringe the Presidential rights, and a good strong President -- the Congress will accuse him of trying to infringe the Congressional rights. In each case there's always some good accomplished, because the final result will be in the interests of the people, and the fact that we have that division of powers makes it much more safe for the people than it would otherwise. The only efficient government is a dictator's government, and a free government can't be as efficient as one where one decision meets the whole situation, and it's not good. I think our government is the best one that's ever been organized in the history of the world, and I know something about the governments of the world.

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TRUMAN: (CONT.) But I don't think that it would have been right for me to run for the Senate at that time, and Missouri has two excellent Senators, and I have no idea and no ambition to unseat either one of them. They're both young men. They're both energetic and they've both made good Senators, and I think it would be wrong for me to try to run for the Senate again, although I'd give anything in the world if I were in the Senate.

MURROW: What about the proposal that former Presidents should be made, so to speak, honorary members of the United States Senate?

TRUMAN: In the time I was in the Senate, I was instrumental in getting together some Senators, and a Bill was introduced way back there in the 30's sometime to make former Presidents and Vice-Presidents members of the House and the Senate with the privilege of sitting with those bodies, and joining in debate and attending committee meetings, but not having any vote which would not unbalance the state's rights to two Senators in the Senate. It didn't get anywhere. It never has gotten anywhere, and I doubt if it ever will.

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~~Sunday, February 2, 1958~~

TRUMAN: (CONT) The Senate, I am afraid, feels that a man with too much experience might give some of them an inferiority complex, and they're against it. ~~You know, the United States government turns its Chief Executives~~ out to grass. They're just allowed to starve or -- in fact, sometimes they're tempted to become advertising mediums on account of the fact that they've held the greatest office in the history of the world. Two or three of our Presidents practically starved to death because they wouldn't do that. No President has ever done that in the history of the country, but with the situation as it has developed, first thing you know some President will do it, because he'd rather do that than starve. The country, in its present condition, and I'm not talking for myself because I've never asked for anything - ought to see that the President of the United States is equipped and taken care of just as the Commanding Generals and Admirals of the Armed Forces of the United States.

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MURROW: And the proposal now is that former Presidents should get the munificent sum of twenty-five thousand dollars a year on which they'll have to pay taxes?

TRUMAN: Yes. That's probably all right - well, that's better than nothing of course. But then, that's a penurious way to take care of the situation. The thing that is --- that is needed worse than anything else is enough help to carry on the -- what's left of the office of the President after it gets out. I have the biggest individual mail in the State of Missouri, and maybe bigger than any in a lot of other states. It all has to be answered and taken care of. It takes three clerks to answer my mail. My postage bill is something tremendous. I have to have a place where I can see people. I see an immense number of people all day long every day in the year, every --- and they have to have some place where I can talk to them. I can't talk to them in a cubby hole or a back room. That has to be paid for and I've been paying for it. If I hadn't inherited some property that finally paid things through, I'd be on [illegible] now.

MURROW: Do you think the limitation on the third term was a wise amendment?

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TRUMAN: No, I do not. It was passed in ~~nineteen hundred and forty-eight~~ 1948 because they had -- they were afraid that another Roosevelt would come along in the Democratic Party and that there'd be maybe a three or four-term President. They had no fear of me because they didn't think I could be elected in 1948. But they were fooled, and they eliminated me from that amendment. I could be elected as many times as I wanted to for the Presidency of the United States under the amendment to the Constitution, but I have no ambition to be President again. I've had all I wanted.

MURROW: So then they hated Roosevelt so much that they made a lame duck out of Eisenhower. Is that it?

TRUMAN: That's exactly what they did. That's exactly what they did. They made a lame duck out of their own man, and I think they're as sorry as they can be, but they can't get that amendment repealed. It's not like the Prohibition Amendment.

MURROW: What did you fail to do as President that you would like to have done most, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: Well, there are a great many things that I would have very much liked to have accomplished while I was President of the United States. I think the two most important that I was not able to accomplish were a health program and an educational program for the people of the United States.

(MORE)

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The ordinary man with a family and a middle bracket income is not able to have the hospitalization and the medical care that the fellow who has a great income can afford. Some means ought to be found to give him an insurance background so that when the time comes he can get the benefit of all the great things that the medical profession has discovered. You see, they've discovered things which have prolonged the life and the expectancy of every citizen of the country, and the ordinary man and the poor man ought to have the same opportunity to use those things as the man who has a tremendous income. I was trying to arrange an insurance program where [redacted] the money would be available to pay his doctor bills and pay his hospital bills, and yet the very people who would profit by this were the ones that sabotaged it in the Congress. That was the American Medical Association if you want me to name 'em. And on the educational proposition, it's my opinion that equal education means, in the end, equal opportunity for everybody, no matter what his race, color or creed may be. ~~and if he~~

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"FROM PRECINCT TO PRESIDENT: SOME REFLECTIONS BY HARRY S. TRUMAN"

a "SEE IT NOW" report

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

February 2, 1958 - 5:00 to 6:00 PM, EST

GUEST: Harry S. Truman

INTERVIEWER: Edward R. Murrow

PRODUCERS: Edward R. Murrow
Fred W. Friendly

~~NOT FOR RELEASE~~
~~before 5:00 PM, EST,~~
~~Sunday, February 2, 1958~~

February 2, 1958

~~HARRY S. TRUMAN - EDWARD R. MURROW~~

(IN 1957, HARRY S. TRUMAN GRANTED MURROW AN INTERVIEW AT KEY WEST, IN WHICH HE REFLECTED AT LENGTH ON HIS CAREER AS SENATOR AND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AN HOUR OF THE INTERVIEW, CONDUCTED OVER A PERIOD OF SEVERAL DAYS, WAS TELEVISED ON "SEE IT NOW"; IT WAS AGREED THAT OTHER PORTIONS OF THE INTERVIEW WOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC DURING MR. TRUMAN'S LIFETIME.)

MURROW:

"From Precinct to President" was primarily intended for viewing in the year 1990, or even later, when historians may find it useful to examine the Truman years in the language and voice of the man from Independence who presided over the first eight years of the atomic age. We expect that all of Mr. Truman's friends and most of his foes, present and future, will find merit in such a project even as we might find value in a filmed record of Truman's great-uncle John Tyler's account of the controversy with Daniel Webster over the Vice-Presidency, or Mr. Lincoln's version of the firing of McClellan, or Wilson's frustration over the League of Nations. ~~For several days, just a year ago, Mr. Truman talked with me here on this beach in the Florida Keys. He talked of his years in Independence and those in Washington.~~

(MORE)

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TRANSCRIPT

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL

"Harry S. Truman, 1884 - 1972"

as broadcast over the

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Tuesday, December 26, 1972

7:30 - 8:30 PM, EST

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

REPORTER: Walter Cronkite

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Burton Benjamin

The Sunday Bulletin

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5

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PHILADELPHIA, PA., FEBRUARY 2, 1958 TB

"See It Now" Publicity

TELEVISION

Truman Gives Murrow 'Documentary for Posterity'

By REX POLIER

ONE YEAR AGO, Edward R. Murrow and former President Harry S. Truman met on a small island in the Florida Keys to keep a rendezvous for a good long talk. What resulted may become something unique in historical records.

Before cameras and an open sound track, the man from Independence, Mo., poured out a total of 16 hours of recorded conversation. It covered everything from his first job at 13, sweeping out a drugstore, to his opinion of Russia's Molotov ("pig-headedest man I ever saw!").

More than 50,000 feet of film were shot inside the small, white-clapboard bungalow where the conversations took place on Islamorada. It would take nine hours to run it all off. The official printed transcript is eight inches thick.

• • •

THIS Murrow now intends as a "documentary for posterity." He hopes it will be the first in a series of lengthy, filmed conversations with U. S. Presidents, and possibly other leading statesmen, after they have retired from the heat of politics.

Originally, the CBS newsman had no intention of showing it on television. He merely contemplated the recorded conversations as an addition to the CBS archives—at least for the present. But when he began thinking of the conversations that took place in the pre-sputnik era, a great many things said by the ex-President seemed rather pertinent in the light of today's conditions.

So today, at 5 P. M. on Channel 10, Murrow will show a special 60-minute excerpt from these filmed conversations as a See It Now program under the title of "From Precinct to President: Some Reflections by Harry S. Truman."

• • •

IN HIS New York office the other day, Murrow leaned back in his chair, tucked his thumbs under a pair of fancy, green suspenders, and affirmed that the program's intentions are educational, not political.

Nevertheless, considering how controversial a figure the ex-President is, Murrow conceded with a chuckle that he and his network "could be accused of bias" in originating the program.

"I will be criticised, I suppose, by some, for not contradicting certain statements that Mr. Truman makes during the conversations," Murrow said. "It wasn't my job to debate or to criticise. In my interviews last year with Tito and Chou En-lai, I did not debate with them, or criticise, which, here again, was not my job."

As one who has not been afraid to air controversial subjects, Murrow asserted his faith in people accepting controversy, if properly presented—even by those with divergent viewpoints.

• • •

AS HE RECALLED different things that happened during the four days he was on Islamorada with the ex-President, Murrow frequently chuckled. "I had forgotten what a brisk, determined little man he is," he said.

"We had agreed that there would be no submission of questions in advance and no taboo questions. I

Continued on Page 2

THEATER

A Truman Documentary on TV

Continued From First Page

agreed, completely informally with him, that I would turn over to the Truman Library certain portions—especially some where he talks of contemporary personalities.

"He was very crisp and very direct. He never dodged a question. And he was this without becoming either combative or pontifical. I had forgotten how direct and forthright he can be. He is a completely unequivocal man.

"He is a man who, as much as any other I have ever known, has no concern for hindsight. He has no regrets for any decision he ever made."

Murrow recalls asking Truman why he risked his future in the 1948 Presidential campaign on the critical issue of civil rights. "Because it was right—and we won," Truman replied.

"No extraneous words, no long dissertations, Murrow explained, chuckling. "When we talked about his friendship with the late Tom Pendergast, political boss of Kansas City, he said, 'When you aren't in trouble, you do not need friends. The real test of friendship is whether you stay with a friend when he is in trouble.' "

• • •

FEW PEOPLE knew that the conversations were taking place. Florida troopers sealed off the area. Aside from the camera crews, the only other persons present were Mrs. Truman and Murrow's wife. They were absent, either visiting friends or shopping while their menfolk were at work.

Murrow thinks that one of the best sequences of the conversations, and one which probably will be incorporated in today's excerpts, was the way Truman spoke of the scramble for the vice presidency nomination at the 1944 Democratic Convention in Chicago.

The ex-President told Murrow the story succinctly in two minutes. He said that he first agreed to nominate Jimmy Byrnes. Then the late Alvin Barkley called and asked if he would submit his name before the delegates for the post. Then, Steve Hannegan called and said that Franklin D. Roosevelt had expressed an interest in Harry S. Truman as a nominee for the job.

"I couldn't find anyone to nominate me," Truman chirped.

• • •

THE CONVERSATIONS brought out the names of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jimmy Byrnes, General Douglas MacArthur and other American and foreign personalities. Many of these, including President Eisenhower, are to be mentioned in today's program, Murrow said.

Since the entire thing was filmed in what Murrow calls the "pre-Sputnik era," he thought it would be better not to up-date it "because the commentary will be even better because of these circumstances."

When Murrow asked Truman what he thought the judgment eventually would be on his administration, he laughed and said he'd leave that up to history.

The CBS newsman said Harry Truman still holds firmly to the opinion that any boy in the U. S. can become President. He was also outspoken in his defense of politicians.

"The running of affairs in public office is a professional job and should be handled by professionals," the former President insisted.

• • •

MURROW explained that most filmed conversations with Presidents and great political figures are made during their active years and consequently could be suspected of a bit of taint. By filming them after they have retired from the fires of battle, they are, presumably, more philosophical and objective.

Except for portions promised the Truman Library, all the Truman footage will be specially treated against deterioration and stored in CBS archives.

It was by stressing the value of such filmed interviews to students of history 100 to 200 years hence that Murrow won the consent of Truman to the project. He first approached him three years ago and asked him to think how important it would be today to have a one-hour filmed conversation of President Lincoln talking about the problems of his administration.

"When I asked Mr. Truman which President he'd most like to have on a filmed conversation, he said unhesitatingly, "Jackson."

'RUMPELSTILTSKIN,' played by Israel pantomimist Shai K. Ophir, dances with joy over his evil machinations in the fairy tale by that name to be presented in the Shirley Temple Storybook series today, 6.30 P. M., Ch. 3.

Shirley Temple to Offer 'Rumpelstiltskin' Today

RUMPELSTILTSKIN, one of fairyland's most notorious characters, comes alive today on television. The famous tale by the Brothers Grimm, presented as a one-hour musical, will be the second in the Shirley Temple Storybook series.

With a cast that includes John Raitt, Phyllis Love, Kurt Kasznar, and Shai K. Ophir, the noted pantomimist from Israel, it will be presented at 6.30 P. M. over Channel 3 here. Shirley Temple again will narrate and, this time, the network has promised more closeups of her than it gave in her first presentation ("Beauty and the Beast").

• • •

THE real "star" of the fairy tale is the evil, demanding dwarf, Rumpelstiltskin, whose role will be taken by Ophir. He came to the U. S. scarcely six months ago from his native Israel to promote his talents and in that time has spiraled from a small act in a tiny night club to today's starring TV role.

As Rumpelstiltskin, Ophir will depart from some of his pantomime and speak on several occasions.

Raitt will be seen as King Rupert who woos and weds the miller's daughter, Elsa, portrayed by Phyllis Love. The miller is played by Kurt Kasznar. Jonathan Harris plays Lord Karsch, the wicked tax collector.

• • •

ADULTS may remember that "Rumpelstiltskin" is the tale of Elsa, the miller's daughter, who, her father bragged, "could spin straw into gold." Actually, she couldn't.

Dragged before the wicked tax collector, Lord Karsch, the latter threatens Elsa with death unless she spins straw into gold. The wily dwarf then steps in and offers to do it for her if she will, in return, promise to give him "a little thing."

Later, Elsa meets and marries King Rupert and the king banishes his wicked tax collector for having forced her into spinning gold from straw. After Queen Elsa bears her son, Rumpelstiltskin shows up to claim his "little thing," and it turns out to be the baby. The royal couple plead with him not to do it. He offers to waive his claim if they can guess his name. The King and Queen overhear the dwarf singing a little rhyme with his name in it.

In the original fairy tale, the enraged dwarf maims himself and leaves, never more to trouble the Queen. However, in this television tale, Rumpel is forgiven and invited to become the baby's tutor.

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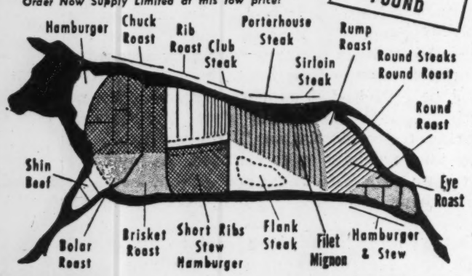

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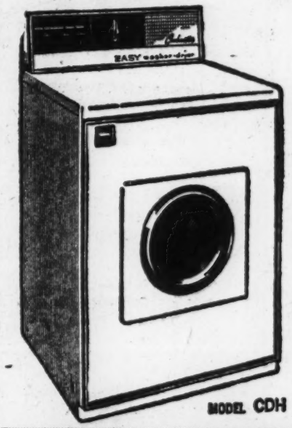

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To Every Man and Woman Who Wears GLASSES:

Sun-Post 2/3/58

On Television:

Truman Interview Is TV Picture With Depth

By Barbara Delatiner

"See It Now" yesterday presented an intimate and revealing portrait of former President Truman. The hour-long filmed program was a distillation of four days of conversation held last year in Florida between Truman and Edward R. Murrow. It made fot absorbing television fare. "From Precinct to President: Some Reflections by Harry S. Truman" offered a humanized, perceptive glimpse into the life and beliefs of the former President. It was, in a manner of speaking, an electronic memoir.

Barbara Delatiner

Relaxed, friendly and in apparent good humor —his remarks were dotted with chuckles and laugh-provoking anecdotes—Truman spoke with his usual vigor and frankness. He had strong opinions on every subject that Murrow introduced. These ranged from politicians ("a free government is a government of politicians . . . a successful statesman is a successful politician, only he's not called a statesman until his death") to military men as Presidents ("a military man has no varied experience . . . he may be a good man, but he's educated along only one line . . . He's like a horse with blinders on who can only see down the middle of the road").

With equal candor, Truman reviewed his seven years in the White House. His most difficult decision? Korea. "We had to establish the United Nations as a going concern." His use of the atomic bomb? "Any weapon of war is a destructive weapon, but when you have a weapon that will win the war, you'd be foolish not to use it." His biggest disappointment? "Not getting a health program and an educational program for the people of the United States."

Truman discussed the MacArthur affair. "I was following precedent . . . MacArthur had been becoming rather insubordinate . . . he disobeyed orders . . . He had been making policy statements . . . I stood it as long as I could and then I had to fire him." There were comments on some of the public figures with whom Truman came into contact during his political career. President Roosevelt: "The President didn't need a phone. All he needed to do was raise a window." Churchill: "He liked to argue, but he always kept his word." De Gaulle: "A hard person to talk to . . . I was never sure he'd keep his word." Nehru: "An honest man, but difficult to get along with." Molotov: "The pig-headedest man I ever came across." Stalin: "A pleasant man . . . I didn't know then that he wouldn't keep his promises." Especially illuminating were Truman's remarks on the problems of former Presidents. "The United States government turns chief executives out to grass . . . They're allowed to starve," he said. "We ought to see that Presidents are equipped and taken care of like generals and admirals . . . if I hadn't inherited some property, I'd be on relief now."

The producers, Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, report that when Truman agreed to the unprecedented film interview he expressed the hope that similar recordings would be made with all Presidents in years to come, because of their great value to future generations. The excellent visual document presented yesterday proves Truman right.

Noted in Brief

"Rumpelstiltskin" was transformed to the small screen yesterday with the one quality that makes fairy tales so appealing—magic. The second installment in "Shirley Temple's Storybook" was a delight, primarily because of the performance by Shai K. Ophir in the title role. Ophir's prancing, sprinting and spellcasting were worthy of the most polished dwarf. If anything, he made the supposedly villanous elf a most sympathetic character. His enthusiasm was enough to carry the entire story, though he did receive some competent help from John Raitt as the king, Phyllis Love as Elsa and Kurt Kasznar as Hans, her father. Even Shirley Temple's storytelling technique seemed improved. She was less nervous and more sure of herself . . .

Sid Caesar hit his old hysterical stride last night. The pantomime featuring Sid as a seal and Imogene Coca as his trainer was a gem. So was the closing satire on the "three horsetails." It should set Rock 'n Roll back at least a year. The "second date" sketch, more compressed than last week's, also was successful. A few more shows like this and Caesar and company will really be solidly entrenched in Sunday night TV . . . Somehow I just can't seem to work up any great enthusiasm for rodeos—not even for rodeos starring Roy Rogers, Dale Evans and Trigger . . .

The teenage parking skit repeated by Elaine May and Mike Nichols was just as delightful the second time around Saturday night on Perry Como's show as it was a few weeks back on "Omnibus" . . . Dean Martin may have been the "star" of Saturday night's hour-long telecast, but guests Frank Sinatra and Danny Thomas didn't give him much time to be alone. Maybe it helped, for the show was extremely diverting. Why is it that Sinatra is so much better on other people's shows than on his own? . . . Leonard Bernstein's lecture on "What is American Music?" may not have been as explicit as his first New York Philharmonic Young People's Concert, but it was just as entertaining. The music—Gershwin, Aaron Coplan, Virgil Thompson et al.—was wonderful . . . Steve Allen's take-off on the rating systems fell flat on its statistical face. The same thing can be said of his married men skit with Henry Fonda . . . Tried "End of the Rainbow" again Saturday night, but just couldn't stick with it. What garbage . . . Mike Wallace's session with Fulton Lewis Jr. comes under the heading of the dullest interview of the year . . .

Atherton, J. Wm.

ERM
FYI
FS 2/5

ATHERTON & CURRIER, INC.

ADVERTISING

420 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: ATHURIER

February 4, 1958

Mr. Frank Stanton,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Stanton:

After viewing Mr. Edward Morrow last Sunday, I was quite frankly so extremely annoyed at a number of things which he permitted to go out over the air that I fully intended to sit down and write you about it. Mr. David Lawrence has done so much better a job than I could ever do in his column in this morning's Herald-Tribune that I am sending it to you and if you have not already read it, I hope you will do so.

Also, I trust that you will in some manner, shape or form get over to your great TV audience the points made by Mr. Lawrence because if it was not done it would be a damnable outrage against both President Eisenhower and Mr. MacArthur. It seems to me that someone in your Editing Department could easily have caught these obvious errors whether they were malicious or otherwise.

Why not give Mr. MacArthur the opportunity to go on the air on Mr. Morrow's time some Sunday and let the American public once again have the real truth brought to their attention.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

J. Wm. Atherton

J. William Atherton

SIN
Brooks, Jack

March 19, 1958

Dear Congressman Brooks:

Very many thanks for your cordial letter of March 4th. I am delighted to hear that you enjoyed our SEE IT NOW interview with President Truman, and Fred Friendly and I greatly appreciate your taking the time to write to us about it.

Sincerely yours,

Congressman Jack Brooks
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

mcc

JACK BROOKS
2D DISTRICT, TEXAS

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House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

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CHAIRMAN:
GENERAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES SUBCOMMITTEE

March 4, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It's been several weeks since CBS's "See It Now" interview with President Truman, but the program still stands strong in my mind, so I am adding my compliments to the many you have received already.

Jack Gould of the New York Times called the interview "One of the most remarkable human documents ever shown on television," and I certainly agree with him.

"See It Now" has an excellent record of television achievement in the past, and your interview with President Truman hit a new peak.

You and your colleague, Fred W. Friendly, are broadening the public's knowledge very beneficially with programs such as this one, and I look forward to viewing future presentations of this same high caliber.

Sincerely,
Jack Brooks

cc: Mr. Fred W. Friendly

Butler P. M

February 4, 1958

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the note about the scheduling of the Truman piece.

I hope you had a chance to see it.

Sincerely,

Mr. Paul M. Butler, Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

fc

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

PAUL M. BUTLER
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 7-1717

January 21, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I was delighted to read in the New York Times that "See It Now" has scheduled a one-hour documentary on former President Harry S. Truman's rise "From Precinct to President," Sunday, February 2.

I thought that you might be interested in knowing that Mr. Truman will be honored by thousands of Democrats at "The Harry S. Truman Dinner" in Washington, D. C., Saturday night, February 22, in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Butler

Ferry, W. H.

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The program yesterday was, as always, absolutely top bracket. Historians are going to owe you and Fred Friendly a very great deal.

Congratulations and thanks from everybody here.

Best regards,

W. H. Ferry

Sin
Kupcinet, I.

February 25, 1958

Dear Kup:

Many thanks for your note on the Truman program. It was fascinating to work on, and we have received most favorable comment on the results of our labors.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Irv Kupcinet
Chicago Sun-Times
Sun-Times Plaza
Chicago 11, Illinois

mac

KUP'S COLUMN

KUPCINET

Among the suggestions **County Board President Dan Ryan** is considering in l'affaire **Frank Keenan:** Raise Keenan's bond as county assessor to such astronomical heights, in view of his income tax conviction, that he would be unable to post the bond and thus be forced out of office. . . . Capsule comment on former **President Harry Truman's** filmed interview with **Ed Murrow:** A chapter in history come to life. It was one of television's finest hours, accomplished with remarkable simplicity: Just two men talking, yet the excitement was breathtaking.

ADLAI STEVENSON'S TIMING was well-nigh perfect Friday night, but to his own detriment. Just as he reached the climax of his Roosevelt Day address, on the ABC-TV network, and was saying in effect, "don't sell America short, I don't believe our nation has lost the capacity for heroic response to great demands"—he was cut off for the dramatic announcement that our first satellite, Explorer, had been launched. . . . ABC officials later explained that they tried to get Stevenson to interrupt his speech and make the announcement, but all their frantic wig-wagging went for naught.

PAMELA MASON, SERVING as **Tom Duggan's** telephone girl on his Hollywood TV show, stormed off the program the other night after a violent argument over racial discrimination. Up to now, she's been one of Duggan's stanchest supporters. . . . . Attorneys for **Tommy** and **Jamie Hamm** (of the Mello Larks) are trying to reach a financial settlement that will make their divorce amicable. Tommy erroneously has been linked with another girl singer. "Absolutely not true," he reports.

PAMELA MASON

"LONESOME GEORGIE" GOBEL just plunked down $250,000 to purchase the **Phil Harris-Alice Faye** home in Encinco, Calif. The 6½-acre estate also includes a huge guest home, which Georgie is giving to his parents. This is how the deal was made: Harris guest'd on Gobel's TV show recently and mentioned that he hasn't occupied his Encino home for five years because he and Alice preferred living in Palm Springs. Gobel, who had been looking for a larger home (commensurate with his standing as a top TV star), immediately popped up, "I've got a buyer for you—me." A quick visit to the Harris home cemented the deal.

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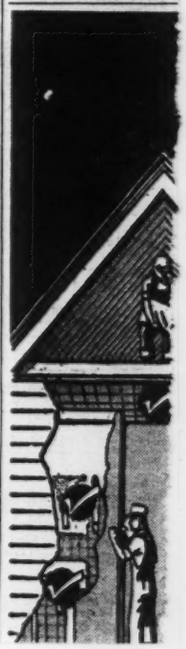

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
Sun-Times Plaza, Chicago 11, Illinois

WHitehall 3-3000

February 4, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
645 Madison Avenue
New York, NY

Dear Ed:

Congratulations on what an interview should be!

Clipping enclosed.

Best regards,

Irv Kupcinet

IK:chc

Sin
Mindling, Lou

February 25, 1958

Dear Lou:

Many thanks for your nice note about the Truman program. The response was very favorable.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Lou Mindling
William Morris Agency
918 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

mce

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Feb. 4, 1958

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, New York

Dear Ed,

Just wanted to say "Thank You" for the "See It Now" program with President Truman this past Sunday. I'm sure you must have heard the same thing from thousands of other viewers. If they're looking for programs to plug free TV you gave it to them on Sunday!

Come see us in Chicago soon. As always, kindest regards,

Sincerely,

LOU MINDLING

LM/pp

Rosenman, S. I.

Sam

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January 20, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

sent Jan. 29.

Could you let me know about when you are going to send the script which you are going to use in February to Independence?

I think the President would like to see it, and I certainly would appreciate a copy.

Very sincerely yours,

Sam

SIR:AHS

Samuel I. Rosenman

SIN
Wallace, J. T.

February 25, 1958

Dear Mr. Wallace:

Many thanks for your letter of February 5th and for sending me the clipping on your play on the Truman interview.

We are glad that everything worked out so well.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John T. Wallace
Sun-Telegraph
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

mcc

Sun-Telegraph PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH 30, PA.

JOHN T. WALLACE
EDITOR

February 5, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Morrow
Mr. Palmer Williams
CBS TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Gentlemen:-

Thought you both might like to see our play on the Truman interview. Between the cooperation of Mr. Palmer rushing me the Q&A transcript and the cooperation of TV station WQED here, (in letting us shoot HST from their moniter), we were able to put together a good package.

Thanks again for your fine help.

Sincerely,

John T. Wallace

John T. Wallace

JTW:js
Inclosure

cc: John S. White - WQED
Ralph Tangney - "

Truman Talks On Music, Bomb, Prayer, Generals

Sun-Tele-Tape

(Here are former President Harry S. Truman's actual words—frank and forthright, as usual—spoken in a televised interview with Edward R. Murrow last evening.

(The transcript was taken from a tape recording of the interview. The CBS-TV program was carried over WQED in Pittsburgh and the accompanying photograph of Mr. Truman was taken from the station's monitor screen.

(This new feature, called Sun-Tele-Tape, employing a new technique in news reporting and presentation, will appear in the Sun-Telegraph from time to time.)

MURROW: Mr. Truman, would you think that that phrase "Give 'em hell, Harry" helped you considerably in 1948?

TRUMAN: I don't know whether it did or not. I don't know who originated that but I always told them when they would say that to me in a crowd that I never did give anybody hell. I just told the truth on 'em and they thought it was hell.

MURROW: Did the knowledge you gained at three dollars a week working in the drug store as a boy that some of the uplifters acted just like ordinary people serve you in good stead later on in politics?

TRUMAN: Yes, it did, for the simple reason that my old grandfather had told me when I was about seven or eight years old that whenever he heard one of his neighbors up in the Amen corner of the church praying too loud, he went home and locked his smoke house.

MURROW: I am told that at one point just before we got into World War II, you went to see General Marshall and asked to go back into the Service. Is that right?

TRUMAN: Yes, that's correct. I went down to see the General and told him that I'd spent my time since I'd been in the Reserve Corps, training young men and that I'd like very much to go back into the Service in command of an artillery group, and I felt like I owed it to the country. The General pulled his spectacles down over his nose like that, and he said—"Senator, how old are you?" I said, "I'm fifty-six." He says, "Senator, you're too damned old. You go on back and stay in the Senate." I says, "I'm four years younger than you are." He said, "Yes, but I'm already in," so I went back and stayed in the Senate.

MURROW: Mr. President, I must be a bad reporter because I have neglected to ask you when you learned to play the piano.

MR. TRUMAN: Well when I was about—oh, I guess I must have been eight or nine years old. I got a viewpoint on good music which was a wonderful asset to me as—in an educational way, but when I was about fifteen or sixteen years old, I decided that it was a sissy thing to be a piano player and I quit.

MURROW: How was it that the Missouri Waltz became rather your unofficial theme song, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: I hate to go into the details on that but the Missouri Waltz was composed by a man from Iowa in 1914, and is called "Hushaby My Baby." It's a ragtime song and if you let me say what I think—I don't give a damn about it, but I can't say it loud because it's the song of Missouri. It's as bad as the Star Spangled Banner so far as music is concerned.

MURROW: Which President had the most trouble?

TRUMAN: Andrew Johnson.

MURROW: Why?

TRUMAN: Because he didn't have loyalty in his Cabinet—was the principal reason, and because he was trying to carry out the policy of Abraham Lincoln, and the radicals in charge of the Congress were determined to make an example of the South on secession, and they succeeded in preventing Andrew Johnson from carrying out the policies of Abraham Lincoln.

MURROW: Which act of yours do you think will go down in history as being the most significant, strictly in terms of the constitutional history of this country?

TRUMAN: Well, the—the action that was taken with the Berlin Airlift and the Greece and Turkish thing, and the Korean affair — I think you'll find that that established beyond a doubt that the President has the power to meet an emergency when it comes up, and he should take the bull by the horns and meet it when necessary.

MURROW: I was rather expecting that you might have suggested it would have been the dismissal of General MacArthur in terms of re-establishing or rather establishing again the control of the civilian over the military.

TRUMAN: That was only following a precedent. If you remember, James K. Polk had the same sort of trouble with some of his Generals in the Mexican war, and Abraham Lincoln had to fire General after General.

MURROW: How did you decide to remove General MacArthur and whom did you consult, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: Well, General MacArthur had been becoming rather insubordinate as the Pro-Consul in Asia, which he considered himself, and when he disobeyed orders directly, it became necessary to find out the best thing to do about it. MacArthur had been making statements on policy in the government which he had no right to do.

I stood it as long as I could, and I made up my mind the best thing to do with him was to give him the McClellan treatment — that was to retire him.

Bradley said he ought to be fired—he's a good military man. Averell Harriman, the Ambassador, said if he were in my place he'd have fired him long ago. I had my mind already made up but I didn't tell them.

MURROW: Much of the criticism, perhaps the major criticism of you, has been aimed at your continuing loyalty to friends even when they were in trouble, and particularly I remember your attending Mr. Prendergast's funeral.

TRUMAN: I imagine that was the truth but I've always felt that a man's career is based on his friendships and his loyalty to those friends. I always believed in loyalty to friends unless they did something radically wrong which required prosecution or something like that. I never fronted for any of them when they got into trouble with the law, but I always felt that when a fellow was in trouble was the time that he needed his friends most and that's when they should stick with him, and when you have an idea that your friends are not guilty of anything; when they're even being prosecuted, I believe in loyalty to 'em, but of course, I don't believe in interfering with the law, and I never fronted for anybody in a criminal case.

MURROW: Well, when the atom bomb was dropped, the war was near to ending anyway. Was this the result of miscalculation of the Japanese potential? Was our Intelligence faulty in this area?

TRUMAN: It was done on the theory that our troops were expecting to invade Japan in a very short time through the Tokyo plain and on the southwest side of Japan also, and it was estimated that it would take about a million and a half men to make that invasion, and in all probability there'd be a half a million of them casualties and two hundred and fifty thousand of them killed, and when we had this powerful new weapon, I had no qualms about using it, because a weapon of war is a destructive weapon. That's the reason none of us want war and all of us are against war, but when you have the weapon that will win the war, you'd be foolish if you didn't use it.

MURROW: Is it true that

Sun-Telegraph

OF THE 'MISSOURI WALTZ' HE SAID—
. . . "I don't give a damn about it"
Sun-Telegraph Photo by Tom Toia

you offered Gen. Eisenhower the Presidency at Potsdam?

TRUMAN: No — no, I didn't offer him the Presidency. I told him that a great many people who had been in his position had been willing to run for the Presidency, but it was my opinion that a man at the top with a military reputation could only have that reputation smeared if he went into politics, because being the Commanding General of the Armed Forces of a nation is entirely different from being the head of the State in a political job.

MURROW: What essentially is the relationship or should be the relationship between the President and the people?

TRUMAN: Well, the people of the United States have but one man—but two men really—the Vice President and the President are the only ones that are elected at large by the whole country. The President is elected by the whole people and he must look out for the interests of all the people. I've made the statement many a time that there are about fifteen million people in the country that can afford to have a representative in Washington to look after their interests in addition to the Congressmen and Senators that they have there and they're called lobbyists. There's nothing wrong with them. They have a perfect right to do that, but there are a hundred and fifty million people that can't afford that. They have but one man in the government to look after their interests, and that's the President of the United States. He is the lobbyist for a hundred and fifty million people, and when he ceases to be that, those people are in a pretty bad way so far as the government of the United States is concerned.

MURROW: Do you think the limitation on the third term was a wise amendment?

TRUMAN: No, I do not. It was passed in 1948 because they had—they were afraid that another Roosevelt would come along in the Democratic Party and that there'd be maybe a three or four-term President.

MURROW: So then they hated Roosevelt so much that they made a lame duck out of Eisenhower. Is that it?

TRUMAN: That's exactly what they did. That's exactly what they did. They made a lame duck out of their own man and I think they're as sorry as they can be, but they can't get that amendment repealed. It's not like the Prohibition Amendment.

"SEE IT NOW"

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA - HAWAII?

March 2, 1958

See It Now
Carlson, Senator
Frank

March 19, 1958

Dear Frank:

Many thanks for your cordial note of March 5th.

I am delighted to hear that you and Mrs. Carlson enjoyed our SEE IT NOW on Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. I greatly appreciate your taking the time to write me about it.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable Frank Carlson
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

mcs

FRANK CARLSON
KANSAS

COMMITTEES:
FINANCE
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
REPUBLICAN POLICY
APPROPRIATIONS, EX OFFICIO

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 5, 1958.

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Co.,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

This is just a note to tell you how much Mrs. Carlson and I enjoyed your last Sunday's television program in regard to giving statehood to Alaska and Hawaii.

You rendered a real public service in arranging this program, and as one who favors statehood for both, I sincerely hope we can get action this year.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Frank Carlson

Frank Carlson

FC/MF

See It Now
Hanschman,
Nancy

March 20, 1958

Dear Nancy:

Many thanks for sending us a copy of Senator Neuberger's remarks concerning the SEE IT NOW program on Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. Ed was pleased to see it, and we both appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

KAY CAMPBELL
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Miss Nancy Hanschman
3616 'P' Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

mcc

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Office Communication

to: Kay Campbell

from: Nancy Hanschman N.H. 3/13/58

In case Senator Neuberger didn't send you a copy of this I thought Ed might be interested as it's always good to hear the nice things.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER
OREGON

JOHN G. JONES
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
HANS A. LINDE
LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT
MARY JANE CHRISTGAU
PERSONAL SECRETARY

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 3, 1958

Miss Nancy Hanschman
3616 'P' Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Nancy:

So sorry to learn that you have been ill. I do hope you will be better soon.

I thought you might like to see these brief remarks which I have just delivered on the Senate floor today.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

RLN:cag
Encl.

Richard L. Neuberger
United States Senator

Honorable Richard L. Neuberger
348 Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

March 3, 1958

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM PROGRAM
FEATURING STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII.

Mr. President, as a supporter and co-sponsor of bills providing for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, I wish to commend the Columbia Broadcasting System and Mr. Edward R. Murrow for the "See it Now" television program of March 2, which featured the statehood aspirations of these two great territorial possessions of the United States.

I felt this was a public-service program of the highest order. It was factual, complete, unbiased and thorough. I have never visited Hawaii, but I have been to Alaska on many occasions and served there in our Army during World War II. From my personal knowledge of Alaska, I can truthfully say that the portion of Mr. Murrow's program devoted to Alaska was accurate and authentic.

While I undoubtedly am prejudiced myself, I doubt if any neutral citizen of our country, seeing the broadcast in its entirety, could fail to believe that the case for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii was far stronger than the adverse case in each instance. I was particularly impressed by the direct and effective manner in which brave combat veterans of our armed forces challenged the canard that any substantial manner of Hawaii's residents are subversive or unpatriotic.

I congratulate Edward R. Murrow and CBS for this excellent presentation, and I look forward to more programs of an equal calibre.

- 0 -

Sun
Kupcinet, I

March 11, 1958

Dear Kup:

Many thanks for your note on the "Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska" program. It was fascinating to work on, and we have received most favorable comment on the results of our labors.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Irv Kupcinet
Chicago Sun-Times
Sun-Times Plaza
Chicago 11, Illinois

mcc

~~7A00~~ SI 14
Malone, Senator G. W.

February 6, 1958

Dear Senator:

Pursuant to my telephone conversation with you today, we will plan to film your comments on Statehood for Alaska sometime on February 20th. I will telephone your office at about 10:00 on the morning of the 20th to suggest an agreeable time and place.

I am delighted you are willing to participate in this program, and I look forward to talking with you on other matters, too.

As ever yours,

The Honorable George Wilson Malone,
The United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

mcc

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ELIZABETH B. SPRINGER, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

February 11, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter of February 6 on behalf of Senator Malone who is currently spending a week in Nevada. As he probably indicated in his phone conversation with you last week he will be back in Washington by the 20th to participate in this program.

Yours truly,

Arthur D. Peterson
Executive Secretary to
Senator George W. Malone

SIN
Muncey, Cpt A.R.

March 19, 1958

Dear Allen:

Many thanks for your cordial letter of March 3.

I am delighted to hear that you enjoyed the SEE IT NOW program on the Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. We found the response to it on the whole most favorable.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Captain Allan R. Muncey
U. S. Navy
7321 111th Street, N.
Largo, Florida

mcc

7321 111th.St.N
Largo Fla.
3 March 1958

Mr.Edward R.Murrow;
CBS 485 Madison Ave
New York N.Y.

Dear Ed;

My congratulations on the fine Statehod job of yesterday. You made the "Congressional" leaders sound like those with anaxe to grind. They certainly were not nearly as sure or sound in their arguments as the people,the little people,who want statehood. Your show "P to P" is always good,but I believe this one will stand out.I suspect that you have kindled quite a few bonfires around the nation. The people of several states must have been'real proud'of their congressmen. You and your damned grin did more to make them look silly than anything you could have said. Hearty Congratulations.

In the event that you may think the writer isnt familiar with your work, I was on the engineering staff at WCAU for 21 years and handled your shows when you were in the area.

Best regards to you and best wishes to you and the boys who put your shown together.It is a terrific job and being well done.

Regards again

AL

Allan R.Muncey
Captain USN (ret)

(HAWAII

Stu
Neuberger, Sen. R.L.

March 19, 1958

Dear Dick:

Belated but sincere thanks for your kind words on the Alaska-Hawaii piece. You were most generous.

I hope to see you soon.

As ever yours,

The Honorable Richard L. Neuberger
The United States Senate
Washington 25, D.C.

fc

JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT., CHAIRMAN
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GORDON ALLOTT, COLO.

RICHARD L. CALLAGHAN, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

March 4, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought you might be interested in seeing this brief comment of mine on the Senate floor March 3rd, about your excellent "See It Now" television program featuring the statehood aspirations of Alaska and Hawaii.

My comments speak for themselves, but I do want to add my personal congratulations for an excellent presentation.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Dick Neuberger

Richard L. Neuberger
United States Senator

RLN:cag
Encl.

cc: Mr. Frank Stanton

SURVEYS BY DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE TEAMS OF HOROLOGICAL FIRMS

These inspections were made in order to observe the manufacturing processes in the various plants, with special emphasis on an examination of the firms' research and development capabilities. While operations in this field reflecting real credit on the industry were noted, there did not appear to be an unusual research or development capability that could not be found elsewhere. This view was shared by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering.

STUDIES BY LABOR DEPARTMENT TEAMS

In the studies conducted in various plants by the teams of the Department of Labor, an examination was made of nine skills agreed upon by the jeweled-lever industry as being representative of key skills in the industry to determine the characteristics and employment of such skills and to obtain information as to the training period required to reach proficiency. Examination was also made of the skills in a number of pin-lever and nonhorological precision plants in order to determine if similar skills were to be found in such plants, and the length of time required to reach proficiency upon transfer from one group to the other. The wartime requirements for jeweled-lever industry skills were estimated on the basis of the production programs provided by the Department of Defense.

The Department of Labor investigation showed that in most of the skills examined, with a brief training period, there was relative ease of interchangeability between the jeweled and pin-lever segments of the horological industry, and with training periods of varying lengths, there could be some interchangeability of key skills between precision manufacturers outside the horological industry and those within the horological industry.

CONSULTANT'S REPORTS

The consultant referred to above read and considered all evidence presented up to September 25, 1957, the date of his report. In the process of his investigation he visited the plants of the domestic jeweled watch manufacturers, observed the operations of a number of importers, and also spent several days visiting jeweled watch plants in Switzerland. While he did not have the benefit of data developed by investigations made in recent months by the Department of Defense, his conclusion read as follows:

"It is desirable to have a jeweled watch industry in being in this country for the contribution it can make, along with other precision manufacturers, for production of the timing devices and other items needed by civilian and military users both in peacetime and in emergencies. However, due to significant reductions in recent years in the mobilization requirements for jeweled movements, the tremendous advances in the diffusion of precision production techniques and the availability of necessary skills and production capacity, there does not appear to be a threat to the national security because of imports of jeweled watch movements."

The engineering consultant, after visits to horological plants, to precision manuafcturers outside the horological industry, and to a number of missile plants, reported in June 1957 that he had identified four items for military use which he believed only the jeweled watch industry could produce. Based on this belief and his study of the subject from an engineering and organization standpoint, he concluded that the jeweled watch industry was essential to national defense.

Investigation later made by the Department of Defense established that three of these items were then being produced outside of the horological industry and the fourth had been found unsuitable for use in the missile complex in which it had been expected it could be beneficially incorporated.

CHANGES IN TECHNOLOGY

In the years intervening since 1954 when this subject was last officially reported on by this agency, a substantial expansion of precision skills and plant capabilities has become incorporated in our industrial economy. This trend was developing rapidly by 1954 but had not reached its present degree of maturity and application. These skills and capabilities may now be found in many industries with a consequent enlargement of the base in precision production.

SUMMARY

1. On the basis of the studies it has conducted, the Department of Defense has concluded that the horological industry is not essential in the supply of items critically needed by the military in times of national emergency.

2. It is the opinion of the Department of Commerce, after giving consideration to all factors, that essential civilian requirements for high precision jeweled timepieces during a national emergency could be met from domestic production that would be available, from inventories of such movements that are constantly widespread throughout distributive channels, and such imports as may be possible from foreign sources.

3. The mobilization requirements for watches and clocks have markedly decreased.

4. New weapons and new strategic concepts have drastically reduced the requirements for the types of military items in the production of which the horological industry has participated.

5. The base for precision production and skills in our industrial economy has expanded substantially.

6. The interagency advisory committee on the watch industry is of the opinion that the level of imports of horological products does not threaten to impair the national security.

CONCLUSION

I have examined the report of the Department of Defense on this subject transmitted to me by the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the report made by the Department of Labor, the report of the consultant appointed to undertake and coordinate an examination of the jeweled watch segment of the horological industry and the report of the engineering consultant. I have also considered the requirements data submitted by the Department of Defense and the Departments of Commerce, the evidence presented at public hearings and the briefs and statements subsequently filed. In addition I have had the benefit of opinions of a number of individuals knowledgeable in this field and have considered the advice of the Interagency Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry.

On the basis of the evidence developed by the study, I am unable to find there is reason to believe that the level of imports of horological products threatens to impair the national security.

Sincerely yours,

GORDON GRAY,
Director.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM PROGRAM FEATURING STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, as a supporter and cosponsor of bills providing for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, I commend the Columbia Broadcasting System and Mr. Edward R. Murrow for the "See It Now" television program of March 2, which featured the statehood aspirations of these two great Territorial possessions of the United States.

I felt this was a public-service program of the highest order. It was factual, complete, unbiased, and thorough. I have never visited Hawaii, but I have been to Alaska on many occasions, and served there in our Army during World War II. From my personal knowledge of Alaska, I can truthfully say that the portion of Mr. Murrow's program devoted to Alaska was accurate and authentic.

While I undoubtedly am prejudiced myself, I doubt if any neutral citizen of our country, seeing the broadcast in its entirety, could fail to believe that the case for statehood for Alaska and Hawaii was far stronger than the adverse case in each instance. I was particularly impressed by the direct and effective manner in which brave combat veterans of our Armed Forces challenged the canard that any substantial number of Hawaii's residents are subversive or unpatriotic.

I congratulate Edward R. Murrow and CBS for this excellent presentation, and I look forward to more programs of an equal caliber.

Mr. President, I desire now to refer to another subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The junior Senator from Oregon has the floor.

CANCELLATION OR SUSPENSION OF AWARD OF TELEVISION CHANNEL NO. 10, MIAMI, FLA., TO NATIONAL AIRLINES

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I wish to read a letter I have written to the Attorney General of the United States:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR
AND INSULAR AFFAIRS,
March 3, 1958.

The Honorable WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Attorney General of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I should like to inquire what steps, if any, are being taken by the Department of Justice toward canceling or suspending the award of television channel No. 10 in Miami, Fla., to National Airlines.

It would seem to me most distressing if Commissioner Richard Mack should resign under fire in this chaotic situation, while the beneficiaries of his dubious activities were allowed to benefit permanently by retaining a television channel valued in the neighborhood of some $1 million.

It is my hope that the Department of Justice will study the possibility of bringing a suit in court, which seeks to vacate the licensing of channel No. 10, in Miami, and to require a totally new series of hearings and proceedings by the Federal Communications Commission with respect to the granting of this channel.

As a Member of the Senate, I urge such a course of action upon your department.

With good wishes, I am,
Respectfully,

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
United States Senator.

AUTHORIZED PUBLIC-SERVICE PROJECTS IN ARKANSAS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may

"SEE IT NOW"

FALLOUT

March 30, 1958

NEW STATESMAN

Juliet's balcony speech – poor girl, we think, that's the end of *her*. Not a bit; everyone is ravished, the hard producer has eyes shiny as hers, and though there may be theatrical and sexual hazards ahead, for triumph and greatness she is bound. This takes the bite out of realism, and so far as I was concerned out of the film, though it kept on with incidentally striking moments. But do theatre people wander out of their super-heated apartments to talk endlessly and coatless in the falling snow? Would Miss Strasberg get past by looks and stance alone, while delivering speeches in a sleep-walking fashion with an eye on the metronome? The effect is bizarre, and we leave *Stage Struck* with the conviction that most stage-struck of all have been the original author and his latest producers.

The artificialities of *The White Nights* (Curzon), are at least those of the cinema. A Dostoevsky novelette about a lonely man and a lonely girl meeting at nights on a bridge has been transferred from St Petersburg to Italy, or rather to an Italian studio in which a most beautiful set of back streets and canal has been employed to revive French romanticism. Here are the bridge of *Hotel du Nord*, the stray dog from *Quai des Brumes*, the midnight pacings of *Sous les Toits de Paris*. The naive lovers appeal – up to a point; Maria Schell, ever laughing and crying, is like a Bergner overflowing; Marcello Mastroianni patiently eggs her on, and rather deserves in the end to go off with the dog. It is a pity that this equivocal film should be our second introduction to the talent of Luchino Visconti: his *Senso*, somewhat garbled as it was, had already done him very much less than justice.

A breath of fresh air comes from Canada in the shape of the youthful *Dangerous Age* (Academy): 24-year-old director (Sidney J. Furie), two kids trying to get married despite parents and the caprice of registrar's offices. Individual freshness, a social problem, and a realist approach more than make up for an inexperience that sometimes loses the tautness. I think we may see and hear more of Mr Furie.

WILLIAM WHITEBAIT

Testing Time

I WAS shocked to see quoted in the *Observer* a description of Ed Murrow's voice as 'the voice of an unfrocked bishop'. 'Unfrocked', with its suggestion of seedy disreputability, seems to me quite wrong: Mr Murrow's television *persona*, which consists largely of his voice, plus glimpses of that crumpled, decent face, is indeed that of a bishop and an important one – chairman, I would guess, of one of the preparatory committees of the Lambeth Conference; but he is emphatically not a bishop in disgrace but a bishop in mufti, one who has shed his purple stock and pectoral cross to reconnoitre a heathen terrain, himself unscathed, on behalf of the forces of light.

Mr Murrow has followed his famous Oppenheimer interview with an exhaustive investigation, in his *See It Now* series, of the dangers of nuclear radio-activity. This programme, called *Fall-out*, lasts 80 minutes and was broadcast by the BBC late one night last week – the only painful aspect of this being that some of it clashed with a serious, though less weighty, report on kleptomania by Dan Farson.

It might be thought that so long a programme as Mr Murrow's would become monotonous; but, in fact, it is the 'Well, I'm afraid that's all we have time for' of the typical British TV interview whose hurried superficiality begins to pall. Mr

OVER

Murrow can go into detail: he can force his subjects, in his tellingly undramatic way, to dredge up from the corners of their minds just the facts and arguments that they would never have used if a time-limit of two or three minutes had let them get away with something more plausible. Not that he is always *versus* rather than *vis-à-vis* them: on this occasion, one of his most rewarding interviews was with an editor in a small town 90 miles from the Nevada testing-ground – a steady, conventional, likeable man who would not ordinarily, one felt, be a crusader; he had been stirred to protest by such disquieting incidents as the death from leukæmia of a robust eight-year-old farm-boy, and by the offhand arrogance with which districts such as his (like English coastal villages doomed by the technocrats who site nuclear power-stations) are dismissed as 'virtually uninhabited'.

The attitude of some of the scientists on the USA's Atomic Energy Commission is the contemporary *trahison des clercs*; and Mr Murrow displayed the best-known of them, Dr Libby, at his full, unappetising length: pleasant, glib manner, all the technical know-how and know-what, narrow eyes set close together, the smiler with the strontium 90.

The point about the ample time available to Mr Murrow is important here. If he had been interviewing Dr Libby for *Tonight* he would not have been able to explore so thoroughly the subsidiary, but significant, episode of the AEC's misleading communiqué on last autumn's underground test: the original statement that this had not been detected more than 250 miles from the explosion – serviceable for the propaganda of those who oppose the suspension of tests – was false and was, reluctantly and belatedly, admitted by the AEC to be false. As Murrow probed, those eyes became mere slits, but the hygienic mouth smiled on: the false communiqué had been put out through 'a pure inadvertence'; it was 'just a plain mistake'. Mr Murrow never rubs in a point, and there was no need to: we expect not merely integrity but infallibility in those who claim the right to poison the atmosphere for our good.

For of course Dr Libby is inspired by what seem to him the highest motives. He wants to make nuclear weapons 'clean'. His philosopher's stone is the 'small clean bomb' – for practical as well as ethical reasons, since, as he put it, 'if we wanted to take a canal, for instance, it would be embarrassing to use small dirty bombs – it would spread too much radio-activity around'. See? He's as humane as you or I or Dr Oppenheimer or Mr Murrow – within the terms of reference of the Atomic Energy Commission. He knows better than you and I that all nuclear testing involves a risk; but Mr Murrow drew from him the assurance that it is 'a tolerable risk'. Some tests mean only 'a little dribble' of fall-out 'here and there'. By comparison with the largest bombs, A-bombs are almost cosy nowadays: 'these little fellows will sprinkle a band of fall-out round the world at about the latitude of Nevada'.

Besides the interviews with these distinguished human beings, the programme included some grisly shots of very important beasts at an 'atomic animal farm' – mice inhaling vaporised strontium 90, sows that had been fed pellets of it, sheep with burn-marks on their skin. The BBC, which did a notable service to humanity by renting this brilliant and unhysterical CBS programme, will more than double its educational value by broadcasting it again at a better viewing time. Those now seeking to enlighten the public on these matters might try to get the film from CBS for private showing.

TOM DRIBERG

RECEIVED
1958 MAY 21 AM 11 55
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

T Collingwood
See LT
Nov.

CBSINC NY

CBS ACR2/WCA674/TD252

LONDON 55 21 429P

PRESS CBSXINC

BURKE FOR MURROW FRIENDLY FALL OUT SHOW RECEIVED MUCH FAVOURABLE COMMENT STOP AT HOMEOFFICE REQUEST AM LENDING THEM PRINT FOR PRIVATE SHOWING THEIR TOP OFFICIALS STOP FRIDAYS ISSUE NEW STATESMAN FLOGGING DYING HORSE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT WILL SUGGEST GROUPS ASK CBS FOR PRINTS SHOW AT MEETING STOP WHATS YOUR POLICY QUERY REGARDS COLLINGWOOD

LC 1039AM AMAY 21 1958

ACK'

Libby, W. F.

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to thank you for your thoughtful gift which I received upon boarding the Queen Elizabeth a fortnight ago. It contributed a great deal to a pleasant voyage.

Also, your kind invitations for luncheon the day of my departure and breakfast and a showing of the recent fallout film upon my return were more than appreciated. It was with great reluctance that I had to refuse same, but the weather changed my travel plan out of Washington; and, upon my landing in the States, pressing official matters necessitated my immediate return to Washington.

Hoping this finds you in good health and thanking you once again, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

W. F. Libby

W. F. Libby
Commissioner

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Sir
Strauss, Adm

Office Communication

to: Mr. Paley

from: Mr. Murrow

April 9, 1958.

I thought you might like to see what Admiral Strauss thought of our piece on atomic fallout.

E.R.M.

3 April 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I was one of the millions of intent listeners to your program on Sunday. You and Mr. Friendly handled this radioactively-hot issue with fairness and thoroughness and a very great contribution to public understanding must be the result.

with warm regard

Faithfully yours,

Lewis Strauss

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

"SEE IT NOW"

SPECIAL

CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER MacMILLAN

May 23, 1958

See Collingwood, C.

CBS NEWS London Bureau
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

Charles Collingwood

27 May 1958

Dear Judge:

The reaction to the Macmillan interview has been uniformly excellent. Although Macmillan himself hasn't got back from Scotland yet, so I've had no word directly from him, the Downing Street people are quite ecstatic about the whole thing and especially its domestic effect. Both the BBC and ITV are also very pleased.

Downing Street tells me that they have assembled a file of about 20 cuttings from the national and provincial press for the PM on his return. The only ones I have are from the national press. There is somewhat less of them than would normally be the case because the show ran on Saturday night and, as you know, the inside pages of the Sunday papers lock up early. However, I am enclosing a small anthology of Monday comments plus a piece on your fall-out show from the New Statesman.

It really seemed to me that the show did what we wanted it to do and what we had told people it would do. I hope those amateaur mix-masters in the executive hierarchy are now eating a little crow.

As I cabled you, I thought I looked extremely odd but that the show itself was damned good.

As ever,

Charles

[Collingwood]

DAILY MAIL - May 26th 1958

Comment

MONDAY, MAY 26, 1958

THE GOOD LIFE

WHITSUN so far may not have been all we could desire, but we in the West enjoy a good life.

We may not be able to order the weather, but in everything else we ought to be grateful for what we have built up and cling to it.

That was the PRIME MINISTER's concluding thought in his interview on the Columbia Broadcasting System which was televised in the United States on Friday and repeated in this country on Saturday.

Criticism of MR. MACMILLAN that he fails to "get across" to the people would not be fair on this occasion. Here, clearly, was a leader of broad outlook who looks on world problems in human terms.

Co-operation

FORCEFULNESS was lacking. The manner was still Edwardian. But the thoughtful words demanded attention and conveyed confidence and strength.

America was impressed. Reports say that TV stations throughout the country received many telephone calls from appreciative viewers who admired the PREMIER's manner as much as his calm common sense.

It may be that to Americans, more than to Britons, the manner was as appealing as the words, if only because of the hesitancies and uncertainties of recent pronouncements on the other side of the Atlantic.

Is Britain in decline? In reply the PRIME MINISTER was blunt: "If that had been true the United States would not be there at all." Where

DAILY MAIL - May 26th 1958

It may be that to Americans, more than to Britons, the manner was as appealing as the words, if only because of the hesitancies and uncertainties of recent pronouncements on the other side of the Atlantic.

Is Britain in decline? In reply the PRIME MINISTER was blunt: "If that had been true the United States would not be there at all." Where else could the U.S. look for leadership in Europe but to Britain?

On atomic developments he pointed out that "the whole concept began here." In this field "the more we (Britain and the U.S.) are together the better we shall be." But we should go on alone if necessary.

Domination

MR. MACMILLAN was looking forward when he said the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were far the most glorious in the British tradition. More glorious than the 100 years during which we dominated the world.

The reason, of course, is that in those earlier decades we were a very tiny country. Yet we stood up to the Spain of PHILIP, the France of NAPOLEON, and the other world Powers of those times.

Now, our era of dominance over, the odds are against us once more. So MR. MACMILLAN urges us to think more of those times so that we can find the inspiration to meet the 20th-century challenge.

MR. MACMILLAN underlined that interdependence in the Free World needs more than military co-operation. "The Free World isn't going to defend itself by rockets and bombers, however good they are. . .

Inspiration

"IT is going to defend itself because, when tested, people say: 'This is a better way of living. It gives the individual a fuller life. It gives him the kind of things he wants.'"

All the rockets in the world would not defend the West against Communism in circumstances of world unemployment. We would defend ourselves if we could prove ours was the best way of living.

These are some of the thoughts the PRIME MINISTER will be taking with him when he goes to Washington to see PRESIDENT EISENHOWER next month.

The West desperately needs the inspiration of good leadership. This televised thinking aloud to the millions in Britain and America could be a beginning.

NEWS CHRONICLE

May 26th 1958

News Chronicle

TV . . . in my view

A TV star with some old-world courtesy —that's Macmillan

THE television event of the weekend was the domestic screening on both channels of Ed Murrow's interview with the Prime Minister, in which Mr. Macmillan not only coined a useful phrase—diplomacy by propaganda—but ably demonstrated it.

His old-world courtesy, careful reflection and unfailing optimism must have been as reassuring to American viewers as those British holiday and travel ads in U.S. periodicals which feature Beefeaters, village greens and smiling milkmaids.

Here were all the legendary English virtues of the past realistically adapted to the present day; an astute performance matched in diplomacy only by Murrow's own in his grilling by Robin Day yesterday (ITV).

Three lessons

Mr. Macmillan's TV personality, always effective, has improved considerably. He bared his teeth only once or twice in the manner which used to preface every other utterance.

His optimism, approximating closely to that quality American "upbeat," was over-cosy; democracy is not such a foolproof commodity that it always floats to the top, like cream in milk.

But his political philosophising was a good deal more profound than statesmen ordinarily care to lavish on television.

With a little bit of luck the interview should have taught even the most isolationist Americans three things:

THAT Mr. Macmillan is not an Edwardian still living in the past;

THAT the term egghead is not necessarily one of abuse; and

THAT paradoxically his well-groomed head may yet come between those two bald pates in the White House and the Kremlin and prevent them from making a complete mess of it.

Agreeable

To provide some genuine Edwardiana, the B.B.C. mounted an agreeable production of Arnold Bennett's The Great Adventure, a comedy of gathering interest about an artist who assumes the identity of his valet and allows his public self to die.

Alec Clunes was the painter and Margaret Lockwood, now something of a specialist in attractive widowhood: the lady from Putney with whom he finds Philistine bliss; both agreeably.

Philip Purser

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
May 26 1958

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
May 26th

A MASTER OF URBANE CONVERSATION

The Premier in fine form

By a Television Critic

The Conservatives in recent years have had few more effective party political broadcasts than Mr Macmillan's on Saturday night. The fact that it was not intended as a party political broadcast, but had been arranged principally for an American audience, made its service to the party none the less.

The programme, which was broadcast first on B.B.C. television and then on I.T.V., showed Mr Macmillan being interviewed by two C.B.S. reporters, Edward R. Murrow and Charles Collingwood. Mr Macmillan spoke to them (and thus to his television audience) as man to man. This was not Mr Macmillan's first appearance on television, but never before, perhaps, has he so successfully put aside his platform manner.

No wonder some of the Prime Minister's qualities as a speaker are lost at political rallies. He is a master of understatement, of the aside, of the throw-away line—all qualities of conversation rather than oratory. How superficial, if spoken from a platform, might have seemed his comment that his contribution to the "diplomacy of letters" was to keep his replies to Mr Khrushchev short. What mattered was the shadow of a suggestion in the inflexion of his voice that, in brevity, he was a match for any windbag.

Mr Macmillan had the same urbane attitude towards "summit" conferences. "I enjoy them very much—everything is worth having," he said. But there was going to be no general agreement as long as one side wanted a propaganda victory or a row. His purpose in going to such a conference was "to make a little progress here, unwind a little there." The thing for us to do was to go forward with confidence, believing the other people were playing the game. "If they are not, it will soon be proved. There's nothing to worry about," he said.

The very long-range prospects in our relations with the Russians, he said, must be

"the hope and belief that if a country like Soviet Russia develops so tremendously, as it is doing in all the technical, scientific, and material improvements of life, and as the revolution sinks farther and farther into the background, and the period of mass murder and torture and revolutionary methods become more remote, that as the revolution becomes subject to the normal pressure of life and changes into the bourgeoisie, and as these very intelligent people go on with this process, sooner or later they will ask the questions . . . Who made us? Why are we here? What is the purpose? Is there a God? Is there a right and wrong? What is sin? And when that time comes, then the problem is solved. Meanwhile we have just got to hold on."

For our part, he added, we must not take such a passionate interest in Russia's behaviour, but "do a little more to make our own lives better—less vulgar, less crude, very often less sinful."

Mr Macmillan's last word was a cheerful one. "There are a lot of troubles, but then there always have been." There was also "a jolly good side to it." People who were free in the Western world were living a pretty good life, and were well looked after. "It is all in their hands, and although we are a bit apt to worry about the troubles, we ought to be jolly grateful for all we have been able to cling on to and build up." If we had courage and faith we could make it something better than it ever had been before.

LARGE SESS...

DAILY HERALD - May 26th 1958

MOSCOW ATTACKS MACMILLAN

MOSCOW RADIO last night attacked Prime Minister Harold Macmillan for statements in his filmed TV interview, screened in the U.S. last week and in Britain on Saturday.

"If this reflects Mr. Macmillan's mood for his Washington trip it bodes ill for the cause of peace and the lessening of tension.

"Mr. Macmillan argues with Dulles that it's better to have summit talks while he is in power than wait until a Labour Government takes over.

"A Labour Government might carry out its pledges for real talks which could lead to dismantling the rocket bases, grounding the bombers, disengagement in Europe, ending nuclear weapon tests.

The broadcast noted, too, that Macmillan has flown to Washington, Bermuda, to the Commonwealth and to Paris—but has not yet found time to accept an outstanding invitation to visit Russia.

DAILY HERALD

See LT Now

Johnston, Eric

June 12, 1958

Dear Eric:

Thanks for the kind words about the Macmillan piece.

I have more than a faint hope that we shall be able to get SMALL WORLD on the air in the autumn and hope that we may count on your continued counsel and cooperation.

As ever yours,

Mr. Eric Johnston
Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.
1600 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D.C.

fc

MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA, INC.
1600 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ERIC JOHNSTON
PRESIDENT

June 5, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Ed:

Unfortunately I had missed the Macmillan interview when it was telecast. Thanks to Charlie Mack I got a print and screened it in our place today.

It's superb and I want in this inadequate way to congratulate you and Charlie Collingwood.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Eric

RECEIVED
1957 FEB -5 PM 1:20
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

MacMillan, Prime Minister
Smith, Howard K.

IO

CBS ACR2 CCB345 TD419

LDN 35 5 557P

PRESS CBSINC

NY

BURKE MURROW FOREIGN OFFICER PHONED SAID YESTERDAYS QUESTIONS WERE MERELY ENQUIRIES BUT NOT CONDITION AND WERE POORLY PHRASED BY MACMILLANS NEW PRIVATE SECRETARY WHICH HE REGRETTED STOP THINKS THERE NO PROBLEMS

SMITH

[Special Program: "Conversation With Prime Minister MacMillan - May 23, 1948]

UG 118PM FEB5 PSE ACK

.R2 CBS

MacMILLAN

PROGRAM BUSINESS

Collingwood

RECEIVED
1958 MAY 19 AM 9:28
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

CBSINC NY

CBS ACR1 WEA154/TD148

LONDON 26 19 220P

PRESS CBSINC

NYK

BURKE FOR MURROW GLAD MACMILLAN INTERVIEW STOOD INSPECTION STOP WHEN CAN I TELL BBC AND ITV THEY CAN EXPECT PRINTS QUERY REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

OH 826AM MAY 19 1958 EST OH

PLS ACK ACR1 CBS

FORM 2—(6/56)
W. & S. LTD.

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Sen Bus.

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Commercial Cables

A. C. & R. SERVES THE WORLD BY CABLE AND RADIO

Mackay Radio

All America Cables and Radio

No. 731
1958 MAY 13 PM 9 42 8
HWW ERD

HEAD OFFICE:
27/33, WORMWOOD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.

THE FOLLOWING CABLEGRAM WAS RECEIVED "VIA COMMERCIAL"

AL

ERD229/CBS2 NYK 90 1/50 13 335P

PRESS ED MURROW HOTEL CANNAUGHT LDN

EXFRIENDLY EYED CALL THIS A TEN STRIKE AND IN ITS WAYIN CLASS WITH ISLAMORADA STOP PICTURE IN MCCLURE TRADITION SOUND FIRSTRATE BUT WITH SLIGHT OVERTONE OF BASINESS BUT GUESS THATS HIS VOICE PRIME MINISTERS SENSE OF HUMOR HISTORY AND CONVERSATION ON ATOMIC POWER SUMMIT

CONFIRMATION OF CABLE
TELEPHONED
BY 10 61

FORM 2—(6/56)
W. & S. LTD.

Commercial Cables

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PLEASE SE[illegible] REPLY
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TELE[illegible]ONE YOUR [illegible]ESSAGE
LONDON [illegible] 5678

Commercial Cables

A.C. & R. SERVES THE WORLD BY CABLE AND RADIO

Mackay Radio

All America Cables and Radio

1958 MAY 13 PM 9 43 6

HWW ERD

HEAD OFFICE:
27/33, WORMWOOD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.

THE FOLLOWING CABLEGRAM WAS RECEIVED "VIA COMMERCIAL"

AL

ERD229/CBS2 PRESS ED 2/40

TALKS AND HIGH MORTALITY OF OFFICE HIGH POINTS AND AS MAN SAYS YOURE A VERY PRACTICED CHAP SAME GOES FOR CHARLIE MAY TWENTYTHIRD OFFICIAL AND ANNOUNCED REUTERS QUERY APPARENTLY BASED TIMES STORY ANNOUNCING POSTPONEMENT WITHOUT ANNOUNCING NEW DATE REGARDS BURKE

CONFIRMATION OF CABLE
TELEPHONED AT 10 6
BY

Sir

MAY 19, 1958

PRESS
COLUMBIA
LONDON

FOR MCCLURE MURROW SAYS ZOOM EVERYTHING ELSE DOWNING STREET

EXCELLENT. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-43
fc

VCBS RADIO NEWS NY GA PLS

WESTERN UNION INTL CABLES ZP PARIS 29/28 19 940A

CBSINC

NYK

FOR MURROW REPORTED UPON ARRIVAL WE AT BUREAUS DISPOSAL HAVE BEEN STANDINGBY FULL BATTLE PACK SINCE STOP DID TEN DOWNING ZOOM SHOTS WORK QUERY REGARDS

MCCLURE

REPT BUREAUS ZOOM

Macmillan
Misc.

MAY 5, 1958

GEOFFREY COX
INDEPENDENT TELEVISION NEWS LIMITED
TELEVISION HOUSE
KINGSWAY, LONDON W.C. 2
ENGLAND

UNDERSTAND MACMILLAN FILM BEING MADE AVAILABLE EVERYBODY. REGARDS.

EDWARD R. MURROW

514-43
fc

Fred Friendly
Please authorize, London
to Geoffrey Cox, ITN. 5/5/58
Thanks. H Kany.

May 8 - Murrow going
May 12 - possible interviewing
on this date

IS THIS NY 1-3398

YES

RCA/TWXA29/RY

7966
Natalie Forster
(Friendly's Pic)

UWS3182 OPH342 LONDON 21 3 1302

KANY CBS NEWYORK

UNDERSTAND MURROW LIKELY INTERVIEW MACMILLAN STOP WE WOULD

LIKE REQUEST OPTION OF ENGLISH RIGHTS REGARDS

GEOFFREY COX-TELINDEP

SENT 8.08AMEST PLS ACK

THAT IS FOR COEXXXX COTELFILM NY 122395

SORY PLS BUST AND SIXX DISREGARD

OK

CBS RAD GA

McMillan
5/2/58

No

TWXB6 VIA RCA UES499 OPH746 LONDON 20 6 137

PRESS RPDLRS2.38 ED MURROW COLUMBIA BROADCASTING

SYSTEM NEWYORK

HOPE YOU CAN AGREE INTERVIEW LONDON FRIDAY

WRIGHT MANAGING EDITOR REYNOLDS NEWS

801A

S1 END.

MAY 2, 1958

COLUMBIA
LONDON

MURROW SAYS CALLING IT "CONVERSATION AT DOWNING STREET" STOP NOT ANNOUNCING OR PUBLICIZING UNTIL FILM SHOT STOP OK BICKNELL WRIGHT MAY 12 OK ROBIN DAY MIDAFTERNOON MAY 13 STOP UNDERSTAND WE SPENDING EVENING MAY 13 YOU LOUISE STOP INFORMATIVELY I HOPE DO RADIO ENDPIECE DAILY WITH BIG ASSIST YOU ALEX STOP SUGGEST FOLLOWING AREAS CONVERSATION WHICH COURSELY YOU AMEND AMPLIFY BEFORE SUBMITTING DOWNING STREET: ONE WHAT THINK CURRENT PRACTICE DIPLOMACY BY PUBLISHED LETTERS TWO WHAT VIEW PROSPECTS SUMMIT MEETING THREE HOW MUCH CONCERN RE GERMANY'S ECONOMIC DOMINATION AND POSSESSION NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOUR POSSIBILITY COORDINATION ANGLO-AMERICAN POLICY OUTSIDE NATO SPECIFICALLY MIDDLE EAST FIVE BRITISH ATTITUDE RE CONTINUED TESTING AND PRESENT LOADED SAC BOMBERS SIX BRITISH PROGRESS PEACETIME USES ATOMIC ENERGY SEVEN EFFECT U.S. RECESSION EIGHT WHAT BRITAIN GAINED RESULT DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION CHINA STOP SUGGEST YOU EMPHASIZE OUR DESIRE TO MAKE THIS THREE-WAY CONVERSATION RATHER THAN FORMAL INTERROGATION STOP HOPING THAT QUESTIONS WILL FLOW FROM PRECEDING ANSWER RATHER THAN FOLLOW PRE-ARRANGED PATTERN. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-43

fc

T CBS NY GA PLS

13 to Collingwood x

TWX/ACR/B7/WEA2508 TD100

LONDON 53 2 1.05PM

PRESS CBSINC

NYK

BURKE FOR MURROW NIGEL BICKNELL AND PAUL WRIGHT WANT YOU

JANET DINNER AND MEETING PEOPLE AFTER EITHER MAY 9 OR 12

ALSO ITNS ROBIN DAY WANTS DO TEN MINUTE FILMED INTERVIEW

WITH YOU FOR PROGRAMME QUOTE TELL THEXTPEOPLE UNQUOTE WHICH

DONE MACMILLAN GAITSKELL NIXON ETCETERA

HOW QUERY REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

CFM 9 12

DG 7 21AMEST

END PLS ACK,,

ACK ONE TKS END

O

RECEIVED

1958 MAY -2 PM 12:40

C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

CBSINC NY

CBS ACR4/WCC374 /TD272

LONDON Z 35 2 506PM

PSS CBSINC

NY

BURKE FOR MURROW PALEY JONES DOWNING STREET AGREE OFFER MACMILLAN ALL COMERS ON COST FREE BASIS STOP EVERYTHING SET MACLURE CASING IEN JOINT TOMORROW STOP DOWNING STREET PRESSING FOR AREAS QUESTIONS REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

May 2, 1958

Press
Columbia, London

MURROW SAYS JANET ARRIVING MAY 8 PAN AMERICAN FLIGHT 100 AT 9:30 AM STOP I ARRIVING MAY 9 BOAC FLIGHT 550 AT 3:30 PM

REGARDS

Burke

514-43
News

Upc,

April 28, 1958

Charles Collingwood
Columbia, London

PRO COLLINGWOOD EDMURROW WE DOING MACMILLAN TOGETHER STOP

UNDERSTAND BERNSTEIN RUNNING TRUMAN PIECE FRIDAY NIGHT STOP

IF MACMILLAN LOOKED HE'D GET IDEA STOP REGARDS

Burke

514-43
News

Ufc

April 25, 1958

Columbia, London

PROCOLLINGWOOD EDSURROW I PROBABLY ARRIVING MAY 8TH OR 9TH STOP TENTATIVELY PLANNING SHOW MACMILLAN INTERVIEW MAY 18 STOP ALSO INFORMATIVELY MERLE JONES WANTS 35MM PRINT NEW PILOT SMALL WORLD TO SHOW PALEY AND OTHERS LONDON ACTUALLY PRINT BEING SHIPPED YOU MONDAY KEEP PRINT LONDON THROUGH MY VISIT REGARDS

Burke

514-43
News

TO BE INCLUDED IN YOUR WIRE TO COLLINGWOOD

ALSO INFORMATIVELY MERLE JONES WANTS 35MM PRINT NEW PILOT SMALL WORLD TO SHOW PALEY AND OTHERS LONDON ACTUALLY PRINT BEING SHIPPED COLLINGWOOD MONDAY KEEP PRINT LONDON THROUGH MY VISIT REGARDS

Upcoming

April 25, 1958

Mr. Gustav
Connaught Hotel
Carlos Place
London, England

MRS. MURROW AND I ARRIVING LONDON MAY 8TH STOP WILL GREATLY APPRECIATE IT IF WE COULD HAVE OUR USUAL SUITE STOP WE SHALL BE STAYING UNTIL MAY 15TH STOP REGARDS

Edward R. Murrow

514-43
News

RECEIVED
1958 APR 25 AM 10:57
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

18th

VCBSINC NY

CBS/ACR2/CCD172/TD250

LONDON 28 25 443P

PRESS CBSINC

NY

BURKE FOR MURROW FRIENDLY DOWNIN STREET WANTSXXXD KNOW APPROXIMATE DATE SHOWING MACMILLAN INTERVIEW INFORMATIVELY THEY HOPE WONT HELD UP UNTIL HIS NEWYORK VISIT REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

(MAKE 5TH LINE 1 DOWING STREETXXXX RPT DOWNING STREET)

CB 1053 APR 25 1958

ACK

V

upcoming

April 21, 1958

Charles Collingwood
CBS News
Columbia, London

ONE CAMERA FOR MACMILLAN STOP POSSIBLY ARRIVING MAY 10 STOP

WILL ADVISE DEFINITELY LATER STOP REGARDS

Edward R. Murrow

514-43
News

RECEIVED
1958 APR 18 AM 11:47
C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

VZ

CBS ACR1 CCD246 TD236

LONDON 42 18TH 4.31PM

PRESS CBSINC

NYK

BURKE FOR MURROWNAND FRIENDLY DOWNING STREET STILL STICKY ABOUT USING JOINT FOR INTERVIEW STOP NEED KNOW SOONEST WHETHER ONE OR TWO CAMERAS IN ORDER LIST EQUIPMENT TO JUSTIFY MY CLAIM WONT DISARRANGE THEIR LIFE TOO MUCH REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

upcoming

APRIL 8, 1958

PRESS
~~CBS~~ Columbia
LONDON

FOR KENDRICK MURROW SAYS DELIGHTED CONFIRM MACMILLAN STOP ASKING ONE OR TWO BRITISHERS HERE OUTPOINT ADVANTAGES DOWNING STREET OVER STUDIO STOP COLLINGWOOD SENDS GREETINGS. REGARDS.

BURKE

BX
fc
514-43

T

CBS GA

A-TWX ACR1 WDD111/TD56

LONDON 44 8 1214P

PSS CBSINC

NY

BURKE MURROWS DOWNING STREET TODAY AGREED MACMILLAN FOR MONDAY EVENING MAY 12 STOP THEY PREFER STUDIO TO NUMBER TEN BUT YOU CAN ARGUE THE POINT STOP PLEASE ADVISE SO WE CAN MAKE IT DEFINITE FINAL ALSO PLEASE TELL COLLINGWOOD REGARDS

KENDRICK

GI S725A APL8TH

MARCH 31, 1958

COLUMBIA
LONDON

FOR COLLINGWOOD MURROW SAYS I WILL DEFINITELY DO MACMILLAN INTERVIEW IF ARRANGEABLE STOP HOPE IT CAN BE DONE SOMETIME BETWEEN MAY 5 AND MAY 15. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-43
fc

upc.

RECEIVED

1958 APR -1 AM 10:34

C.B.S. TELETYPE ROOM N.Y.

CBS ACR1 WEA809 TD165

LONDON 21 1 322P

PRESS CBSINC

NY

BURKE FOR MURROW BRAVO EXCLAMATION KEY MAY OUT OF TOWN BUT WILL SETTLE MAY DATES TOMORROW REGARDS

COLLINGWOOD

KX 1028AM APR1/58

PLS ACK

MARCH 10, 1958

PRESS
COLUMBIA
LONDON

FOR COLLINGWOOD MURROW SAYS MICKELSON THINKS BEST IDEA YOU TELL DOWNING STREET I'LL COME OVER FOR FACE THE NATION PIECE RATHER THAN ATTEMPTING SET UP TWO SEPARATE SHOWS. REGARDS.

BURKE

514-43
fc

CBS NEWS
London Bureau
26 Hallam Street, London W1 Langham 1166-1167

Charles Collingwood

6 March 1958

Dear Judge:

I have just had a letter from Ted Koop in Washington asking me to make a pitch for Macmillan on a Face The Nation to be filmed here early in April for showing on April 20. As the channel for such CBS invitations here in London, I have done so. However, I am also aware of your own approaches to Macmillan and the understanding you have with him and his people. Therefore, I think you ought to know that they -- that is, Face T he Nation -- have made this request and that I have forwarded it to Downing Street. I don't know whether you want to renew your own invitation, but if you do, I shall be happy to press it.

Actually, I think the climate is more favorable for getting Macmillan now than it has been in a long time. As you may know, when he got back from his Commonwealth tour he subjected himself to both radio and television interviews and came across so well that his managers are busily congratulating themselves on having projected a New Macmillan to the public. In addition the summit controversy and so forth gives him something to talk about, and I suspect the iron might be hot enough now to be worth striking with some vigor.

I don't know, of course, how all this fits in with your schedule, but I thought I ought to mention it because of all the spadework you have put in on a Macmillan appearance and Face The Nation's current invitation.

Life continues to go well enough here -- up to our ass in budget stuff from New York, but we try to rise above it. A reasonable facsimile of Spring has arrived and London is peculiarly pleasant. Taking advantage of the good weather, the zealots are passing around petitions and organizing marches against the H-Bomb. Its all rather frighteningly reminiscent of the 1930s and Peace Ballots and Peace Pledges. Sometimes I have the feeling that this is where I came in. A funny time. Still, this is a good place to be.

As ever,

Charles

"SEE IT NOW"

WATCH ON THE RUHR - GERMANY

July 7, 1958

SIN
Barnard, Harry

July 21, 1958

Dear Mr. Barnard:

Many thanks for your nice note of July 15th and for your column on WATCH ON THE RUHR.

I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harry Barnard
801 Lavergne
Wilmette, Illinois

mcc

Barnard, H.

from the desk of
HARRY BARNARD

801 Lavergne
Wilmette, Illinois

July 15,1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought that the enclosed column in the Chicago Daily News —which also is to appear in the Madison(Wis.) Capital-Times— would have a special interest for you.

And thanks for all the good works you do!

Sincerely,

Harry Barnard

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER FOUNDED JANUARY 1, 1876
JOHN S. KNIGHT, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Published daily by The Chicago Daily News, Inc., Chicago (6), Ill.
400 West Madison st. Tel. DEarborn 2-1111

ABC AVERAGE NET CIRCULATION FOR THE SIX-MONTH PERIOD ENDED MARCH 31 { 565,674 DAILY 557,674 SATURDAY

Pulitzer gold medals awarded the Daily News for "most disinterested and meritorious public service" in 1956 and 1948.
The award for 1956 is the 10th Pulitzer Prize received by the Daily News or members of its staff since 1925.

EDITORIAL PAGE STAFF: A. T. Burch, Associate Editor
John M. Johnston Fred J. Pannwitt Van Allen Bradley Cecil Jensen Sydney J. Harris Louis Marlane

8 MONDAY, JULY 14, 1958

LIBERAL AT LARGE

Finds Americans Mislead Germans

BY HARRY BARNARD

IN THAT German military bible, "On War," by Von Clausewitz, it is written that the final decision of war is not always to be regarded as "absolute." It can be only "a transitory evil," for which, it says, a remedy can be found "in the political circumstances of a later day."

Were he still alive, old Junker Clausewitz would have felt quite set up watching Edward R. Murrow's recent "See It Now" telecast on the subject, "Can You Trust the Germans?"

BARNARD

As no economist could, it showed that Germany now enjoys total prosperity, thanks mainly to "political circumstances" that concern Russia.

I do not begrudge legitimate prosperity for redeemed Germans.

Yet there was cause for disquiet, not only in what Murrow showed, but in the fact that on that very day came news that the Adenauer-controlled Bundestag bitterly berated America for abandoning, at least for now, the scheme to hand back to Germans, as individuals (including some former Nazis), property in this country that was German before the war.

* * *

DOUBLED in value, these holdings were legally assigned to us forever by treaty—not confiscated—in lieu of reparations.

Solemnly, the Germans agreed to this. Today some of their officials want to renege.

Up to now, they have been very polite about this. But the Bundestag action was arrogant and hard to square with assurances that Germany is now a changed nation.

If Germany really felt shame for its war crimes, and valued public opinion outside Germany, would its leaders even consider thus going to bat for former Nazis?

* * *

THE ANSWER to this puzzle, I think, lies more than with Germans with certain Americans who, for reasons that must appear dubious, have misled Germany into this indiscretion.

These Americans, in serving the former Nazis, set up a fantastic outcry that America is turning its back on a constitutional principle, alleged "inviolability" of private property, thereby acting "like Communists."

Oddly, Sen. Olin Johnston (D., S.C.), who boasts of opposing constitutional rights for Negroes, is the leader.

Very cleverly, too, agents of this effort spread the word that Israel approves. The office of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion of Israel has informed me there is no truth in this.

* * *

JUST AS baseless is that "principle" of "inviolability" that Johnston (usually echoed by Dirksen of Illinois) touts so passionately.

The applicable principle, which he twists, is something far different — that property shall not be taken "without due process of law and just compensation."

These protections the former Nazis received, even if they did not grant them to their victims when they were in power, especially as it was specifically agreed that their own government was to reimburse them for losses if it wished to do so.

Besides, if any principle should guide our government, as well as the Germans', in this matter, it is that war must not be sanctioned as a way for individuals to garner riches or for nations to win prosperity. Returning the German war assets would mean such unconscionable sanction.

* * *

SOME innocent people are involved. They should get compensation. But the scheme now shelved by our State Department meant rewarding Hitlerism, confirming a young German on Murrow's show in his belief that "Hitler was not all bad," and proving that Clausewitz is still a fine guide for German nationalism.

It also meant that if anybody screams "Communism!" as Hitler did to get power, we will turn over anything we have, including honor.

This folly I do not believe the American people support—yet.

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER FOUNDED JANUARY 1, 1876
JOHN S. KNIGHT, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

Published daily by The Chicago Daily News, Inc., Chicago (5), Ill.
400 West Madison st. Tel. DEarborn 2-1111

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EDITORIAL PAGE STAFF: A. T. Burch, Associate Editor
John M. Johnston Fred J. Pannwitt Van Allen Bradley Cecil Jensen Sydney J. Harris Louis Marisne

MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1958

LIBERAL AT LARGE

U.S. Ideas of 1776 Can Whip Marxism

BY HARRY BARNARD

ANYONE WHO cherishes the humanist values of Western culture, as I do, must oppose Marxian communism. Especially is this so concerning communism as it has evolved from the diseased soil of Russia.

One may hope that just as communism succeeded equally loathsome czarism, something better, even in our time, will emerge there. For the face of Soviet communism today is an ugly one—cold, mechanical, devoid of humor, brutal.

BARNARD

Liberals are especially sensitive to this face. J. Edgar Hoover (in the strongest point of his recent book) says:

"Make no mistake, Communists do not like liberalism; that is, the genuine liberalism of Western civilization. They denounce liberals ('liberal blockheads,' Lenin called them) and attempt by every means to destroy them."

* * *

PRECISELY SO. So long as liberalism is strong, thus offering hope for orderly correction of society's faults, the Communists are deprived of their strongest appeal.

Liberalism, then, is the one sure answer to communism. To the extent that our most vocal anti-Communists overlook or do not know this, they do not fight communism. They help it.

Brutal and amoral as communism now is, it is a mistake to base opposition to it wholly, or even largely, on these aspects. For these are not uniquely Communist aspects.

* * *

KEEPING in mind that, for all its ugliness, communism has achieved some good for the Russians, the Chinese and others, upon what, then, should an intelligent case against communism be based?

We should cease, I think, filling the air with cries about Communists being "godless," "cruel," "untrustworthy," "aggressive," "enslavers of mankind."

Obviously, it is no longer possible to say that communism cannot achieve economic and technological gains.

* * *

BUT THIS we can say: Communism represents a warped and mean view of human life. All its emphasis is on man as an economic being. Its key words are all concerned with economics—"the proletariat," "the bourgeois," "abolition of property," "distribution of wealth," "industrial power."

The Communist Man is the Economic Man. This is a dreary, degrading concept.

The West is against this concept—and so, too, are people of the East, perhaps more so. But we cannot make these points stick if our own propaganda is overweighted with key words that really are just capitalist variants of those the Communists use, like "private enterprise" and "private property."

This is what we have been doing. It explains why we are losing the cold war.

* * *

OUR SOCIETY'S meaningful words—have we forgotten?—are: "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." These words, representing what differentiates us, or should, from the Communists, illuminate a goal specifically stated in the one document, our Declaration of Independence in 1776, that makes every Communist manifesto from Marx to Khrushchev, a shabby mockery of human aspirations.

Mr. Dulles, Rep. Walter (D., Pa.) and lots of others really should read it.

With those classic American ideas on our banner, unfurled as if we meant them, we can wage the ideological fight with communism, not fearfully or apologetically, but with the optimism and inner security that assure victory—not only for us, but for all mankind, the Russians included.

FROM

SIDNEY L. BERNSTEIN

GRANADA THEATRES LIMITED

GRANADA TV NETWORK LIMITED

Transatlantic Pictures Corporation Limited

36 GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON W1

REGENT 8080

REVIEWS OF:
WATCH ON THE RUHR

EDINBURGH EVENING DESPATCH
30.7.58

Germans thinking and working hard

Scottish Television devoted an hour to discuss the problem of Germany, posed many questions, showed many interesting glimpses of life to-day, and inevitably left the answers in the air. It could not be otherwise.

U.S. commentator Edward R. Murrow offered a comprehensive survey of the problem, presented a balanced summary, and raised politically what one might say were all the right questions. While one view is that the German economy is very unstable, he was supported in the contention that Germany stands upright by one of the industrialists who refuted the old suggestion that if America sneezes Europe catches pneumonia; at the most Germany would have only a slight cold.

The Ruhr, 50 miles of blood and iron, was quoted as being more prosperous than under Hitler. Miners earn high wages and Krupps employ 91,000 men. Full cycle again, quite simply because N.A.T.O. needs the Ruhr and the Ruhr needs Krupps.

What was very impressive throughout this analysis was that the Germans almost everywhere are thoughtful of their position, are prepared to discuss it, and are thinking hard and working hard.

There was no desire expressed to break away from the West; indeed, the view was "if there is to be any future for Germany it is only if we remain alive with the free world."

As outspoken and serious as any were the university students and their divisions afforded a real insight into the perplexities of the country as a whole.

BIRMINGHAM MAIL 30.7.58

★ ★ ★

"WATCH on the Ruhr," Edward R. Murrow's investigation on Channel Eight, was a little disappointing. It gave an interesting picture of the rebuilding of Germany, but some of the interviews were confusing and inconclusive.

The frankness of the industrialist who spoke of the value of a recession in bringing "labour back to a more reasonable attitude" was a little startling. One can imagine the storm there would be if a British industrialist had made such a comment on television.

BRADFORD ARGUS 30.7.58

Reminder shamed the Germans

THERE was an unmistakable sense of shame and guilt revealed on the faces of a group of Germans seen on ITV last night. They were watching that strong anti-Nazi play "The Diary of Anne Frank," which tells of a Jewish girl in occupied Holland during the war and how she met her untimely and cruel death at the hands of the Germans.

A hidden camera was focussed on this German audience while they watched the more harrowing moments of the play. Many of those in that theatre were old enough to remember the atrocities of Belsen, and this vivid theatrical reminder—judging by their facial expressions and their leaving the theatre in complete and utter silence—must certainly have jogged their conscience.

Another side of this admirable feature, "Watch on the Ruhr," showed how the thorough and workmanlike German nation has rebuilt factories, flats and hotels and laid spacious gardens out of the wilderness of rubble. Would that we British, in bombed cities like Sheffield, had shown such determination to recreate.

This was an hour's film produced by United States commentator Edward R. Murrow, and although it had an American flavour, it achieved its firm purpose of making us think and ponder.

YORKSHIRE EVENING POST
30.7.58

ITV **There were subtle variations in the atmosphere created by the extremely interesting documentary "Watch on the Ruhr;" sometimes it inspired confidence, and sometimes it was disturbing.**

Obviously people in Britain have good reason for being a little mistrustful of the Germans, but there was in this programme an air of solid adherence to democracy that seemed to say we need have no more fear. Yet here and there were hints that the Hitler legend is not quite dead.

We saw the amazing vitality of the Germans, expressed in the gigantic feat of rebuilding they have accomplished since 1945, yet though there was a categorical assurance from Krupps that the greatest of all German steel plants would never again be used to produce weapons, one could not help feeling that with a change of political climate, here was the basis for a fearful new arms industry. **F. G. L.**

YORKSHIRE EVENING NEWS
30.7.58

ITV Murrow looks at Germany

A REELING, bomb - battered wreck of a country 13 years ago, Germany has fought back until she now "stands erect, on her own feet."

The quote is that of Edward R. Murrow, ace U.S. commentator, who put our ex-enemies under his microscope in "Watch on the Ruhr" and brought sharply into focus today's picture of a nation bursting with prosperity and fearless of the future.

Most publicised part of this documentary was the German audience reaction to the tragic play "The Diary of Anne Frank," but anyone expecting hysterical weeping from the watchers of this drama of a Jewish girl's ordeal under the Nazis would be disappointed.

Moving though the shots of the stony-faced audience leaving the theatre were, I was much more fascinated by the sight of a country with its coat off, sleeves rolled up and battling with that familiar Teutonic fervour to make a name for itself.

The question Murrow posed "Can we trust the Germans?" was I thought left unanswered.

This absorbing study so well photographed and skilfully narrated left me so full of thought that I hardly noticed the following show, "Summertime," although the brilliant monologue of American comic Shelley Berman broke in enough to give me my one big laugh of the evening—and I really felt I needed that laugh.—**D.H.**

BLACKBURN EVENING TELEGRAPH
30.7.58

The Ed Murrow interviews and documentaries have a deservedly high reputation which was at least maintained by "Watch on the Ruhr" (ITA) which caused the still disturbing question: "Can we trust the Germans?" It gets full marks, but so too, should the excellent daily commentaries of the BBC, such as "Behind the Headlines." **S. D.**

BOLTON EVENING NEWS 30.7.58

Televiewpoint — **Edited by Cathode**

B.B.C. NEWS SERVICE MAY LACK VERVE, BUT...

THE Ed. Murrow interviews are all excellently contrived, and last night he gave us a valuable 60-minute analysis of the modern Germans in "Watch on the Ruhr" (I.T.A.) At the same time, writes Cathode, I am bound to say that the B.B.C. news service is always, in a sober way, excellent.

It may lack some of the verve of the service provided by the opposition, but is verve so very necessary? And is it to be preferred to the wider, more comprehensive service which the B.B.C. is able to give?

It is not only the news bulletin but the supporting background feature such as "Behind the Headlines" which makes the B.B.C. news service so good.

Last night, for example, "Behind the Headlines" gave us a picture of the position in the Lebanon which was first-rate.

G. W. Stonier's dramatic episode—it was that rather than a play—in the B.B.C.'s "Television Playwright" series was as notable as much for the technique as the content. Mary, thinking aloud to a background of her father's querulousness, the dramatic quality of the one-room setting which is capable of evoking, on television, the whole outside world.

The story began when Mary, looking out from the room in which she had to dance attendance upon her bedridden father, saw a murder committed. Not just any murder, though that would have been dramatic enough, but one which, as flashbacks showed, involved her too.

Mary, I thought, was superbly played by Jessica Dunning and the disappointment was in the support given her.

Alan Webb was not sharp enough for an invalid pukha sahib, and Richard Leech seemed too mildly impersonal for someone who had just killed his wife.

On the whole it more than deserved its place in a series designed to encourage writing for television.

ONLY ONE INTERRUPTION FOR THE COMMERCIALS

Tuesday night on ITV is morons' night, I said last week, because of the succession of feather-light offerings dished up, *writes R.L.* But not last night—thanks to Edward R. Murrow's "Watch on the Ruhr." This was an extremely informative, intelligent programme.

Congratulations to Granada for screening it, and for acknowledging its importance by interrupting the hour-long documentary only once with commercials.

"Watch on the Ruhr" showed how Germany, grovelling in the ashes of total defeat 13 years ago, has become an immensely prosperous phoenix. West Germany's steel industry, and the country's economic position were highlighted and discussed in frank interviews with political and industrial leaders.

The programme gave a remarkable insight into the character of the new Germany, its problems and achievements.

LIVERPOOL ECHO. 30.7.58

TELE'RIT

EDWARD R. MURROW is undoubtedly television's ablest commentator to-day. Although we are lucky to be able to hear him in the infrequent Columbia Broadcasting System productions that come across the Atlantic to us, I often find myself wishing that we had a few of his calibre in our own television studios.

His "Watch on the Ruhr" last night presented by Granada TV, was a shining example of all that is excellent in television commentary on events of the day. Into one tight hour, Murrow hammered a dramatic survey of the spectacular and thought-provoking rise of Germany from the grim days of 1945 when all that was left was a battered shell of a nation.

From the uncouth sprawl of devastated towns, disembowelled industries and wrecked economy, from the paralysing horror of Belsen, a new Germany has risen in the brief span of thirteen years.

Last night we saw a vivid picture of it. A Germany which eats well, dresses well, works hard, plays hard, and which has its own air force and army again.

There was some evidence that the German conscience is still troubled by memories of the war. The cameras showed us the faces and the clenched hands of a theatre audience watching a play about the destruction of a Jewish family by the Nazis. Was there shame and compassion in some of those faces?

And what goes on in the minds of the young German soldiers who told us what they thought of the late German Fuhrer? There seemed to be no strong desire to remember Hitler as a monster.

It is disturbing to think that the German Army of to-morrow may be led by men who will remember Hitler because he solved the unemployment problem—conveniently forgetting that he solved it largely by liquidating the Jews and his political opponents.

"Watch on the Ruhr" was an intelligently provocative programme. And Murrow's off-screen commentary was a masterpiece of economic journalism. **N.C.**

MANCHESTER EVENING CHRONICLE 30.7.58

ITV

The serious type of programme came nowhere. But last night one which beat the lot held the screen—and my attention—for nearly 60 minutes.

The report on West Germany, "Watch on the Ruhr," was one of the most effective and thought-provoking programmes I have seen for a long time. I admit it had its touch of propaganda value and I didn't like the concentration camp shots.

But it was a tremendous tribute to a country which was a shambles only 13 years ago.

LIVERPOOL EVENING EXPRESS 30.7.58

Ed Murrow discovers what Fritz is thinking

WHEN Ed. Murrow asked the question, "Can you trust the Germans?" he didn't intend to answer it himself. Instead he gave us last night an excellent review of post-war Germany and left it to us to decide what Fritz had in mind.

Like every other Ed. Murrow assignment, "Watch On The Ruhr" was thorough, painstaking and scrupulously fair. We saw Germany's remarkable recovery from the havoc she brought down on herself during the war, we saw an extract from an anti-Nazi play, and we heard politicians and industrialists gently disclaiming warlike intentions.

But we also saw the new German army, minus the jack-boots, it is true—wearing the same tightlipped, set expression, roaring out their marching songs and looking every inch the soldiers upon whom Hitler relied to conquer the world.

"The memory of Adolf Hitler should not be entirely bad," said one young warrior. "He gave us the autobans and pensions for old people.

"He also gave them death and the concentration camps, and Ed Murrow included in his programme a sickening glimpse of one of them. The young soldier was little more than a babe in arms when such atrocities were being committed in his name.

The impression the programme gave was that as long as Germany remains prosperous and if she can achieve unity in a reasonable period of time, we have little to fear from the former Master Race.

But should unemployment come there is still a danger that the moment might produce the man, and the whole beastly business might start all over again.

Here's looking forward to a prosperous, united Germany and the next absorbing Ed Murrow report.

MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS 30.7.58

Out of the rut

RIGHT out of the rut was Ed Murrow's investigation into the new Germany on ITV last night. We have heard about the tremendous industrial upsurge in the Ruhr, but to see the vast steel plants, stretching for miles and miles, makes it much more real—and in view of economy—brings the danger much closer.

Murrow was trying to find out if we could trust the Germans; the programme didn't tell us, but it certainly made us wonder.

By comparison the rest of the evening's viewing paled, which was a pity, because for once the standard kept to a high level.

DAILY HERALD 30.7.58

Germany mourns and weeps

By Philip Phillips

THERE were two moving moments in last night's Ed Murrow I T V programme on present-day Germany.

One showed hundreds of Germans standing in front of a mass grave of Belsen victims.

Somewhere among the bodies was that of 14-year-old Ann Frank. The Germans had brought spring flowers to lay on the grave of the girl they murdered with eight million other Jews.

The other moment, caught with hidden cameras, showed, the audience near to tears as it came out of a Dusseldorf theatre showing "The Diary of Ann Frank."

There were other things which stuck in the memory. There was the senior German officer who said the new German Army was no longer a danger to democracy because "they now wear helmets like the Americans and have rubber soles to their army shoes—not hobnails."

The first part of the programme dealt with the human side of post-war Germany. The second, which was concerned with the complex political situation, probably bored all viewers except the specialists on German affairs.

NEWS CHRONICLE
30.7.58

Ed Murrow's The Watch on the Ruhr (ITV) was a vivid and momentously important report on Western Germany after 10 years of the miraculous Deutsches mark. There was prosperity, remorse, more prosperity.

"Can we trust the Germans?" asked Murrow. Oddly enough the shot of young German soldiers reciting a kind of catechism of democracy by heart was not the most encouraging of the answers.

A generation which needs to itemise the evils of totalitarianism is half way to forgetting those evils. But the hard-headed idealism of all those bull-necked politicians was refreshing.

PHILIP PURSER

DAILY MAIL 30.7.58

IT used to be held that the purest television was the outside broadcast.

It has now been overtaken in prestige by the Current Affairs programme, which is becoming TV's major justification and opportunity.

Last night's ITV report (at peak time!) by Ed Murrow on the Germans, *Watch on the Ruhr*, was a fascinating example of Current Affairs TV at its best.

Vivid comment

It told the story of the last 13 years in Western Germany; at one end ruins to the horizon and Belsen; at the other endless double-decked trains of Volkswagens, plump matrons eating pastries under the hair-dryers in beauty parlours, young conscripts pointing out how Hitler had improved the roads

All this was put across with brilliantly selected photography and a typically vivid and laconic commentary by Murrow.

Here is his eight-word sketch of Dusseldorf, the boom town of the Ruhr: "A combination of soft ruins and hard currency."

Gradually, a collective German face was built up; well fleshed, intelligent, energetic, imparting urgency to the programme's sub-title, *Can You Trust The Germans?*

The programme left no doubt in anybody's mind that a wrong guess on this point might be a decisive calamity.

Altogether the film was a sobering record of events since 1945 in a world that could not afford to deal in right and wrong, only in expediences.

YORKSHIRE DAILY POST 30.7.58.

* ON TELEVISION LAST NIGHT *

By JOHN MARSHALL

PICTURES of a West German audience watching a play about a Jewish family who, after years of fear and hiding, were arrested by the Gestapo and murdered in Belsen, were the most memorable feature of a 60-minute American film on ITV entitled "Watch on the Ruhr." There was no doubt that the audience, photographed by a hidden camera, was visibly shaken as it saw these Jews being taken away to a concentration camp. Later, as they quietly left the theatre without applauding, there was a sense of communal shame in the air.

But the report did not only deal with Germany's humiliation. A considerable portion was devoted to economic prosperity and the apparent stability of democratic government. But from the facts and figures one other significant feature emerged, comments on Hitler by young men in the new German Army. They did not idolise the dictator, but some stressed that he did good things and that the evil should be forgotten.

SHEFFIELD STAR
30.7.58

WHAT was the cry at VE-Day? Germany is done for, never will the mighty nation rise again from the ashes of World War II. And we all believed it.

Edward R. Murrow, the ace American commentator, brought to the Granada screens a frightening picture of Germany 1958.

The Ruhr factories are once again working at full blast—they indeed have risen from the Ashes; the young Germans are once again training for military service; and about the whole country there is an air of progress and, let's face it, a touch of the old arrogance.

One gained the impression the Nazis are gone for ever, but the Germans are so subtle at the arts of deception and diplomacy that one really cannot judge what they think.

At any rate they are on our side, but as for being beaten? One judges they have already forgotten 1945—we mustn't!

REVIEWS ON
WATCH ON THE RUHR

RYENOLDS NEWS
3.8.58

CAN you trust the Germans? The question nagged its way through Ed Murrow's ITV report, **Watch on the Ruhr.**

Germany's public figures, even the general manager of Krupps, were most convincing with their professions of peaceful intent.

Then . . . on marched a platoon of young German soldiers singing a marching song.

It wasn't until those taut-faced robots recited a creed which, while acclaiming their devotion to democracy, worked in a respectful tribute to Hitler for building autobahns. that this viewer got the impression Ed Murrow was trying to tell me not to trust the Germans.

SUNDAY TIMES
3.8.58

ITV did very well to show Ed Murrow's absorbing report, "Watch on the Ruhr." The scriptless three-day courtroom serials, "The Verdict Is Yours," are working out much better than some which have, or are said to have, the advantage of a script.

THE OBSERVER.
3.8.58

NEWS that the famous Edward R. Murrow "See It Now" C.B.S. series, pearl of American TV documentary, has come to an end because United States advertisers won't support it enough could send one into a black fume of despair. (Chorus of misanthropes throughout the ages yelling "What did we tell ya!" Diogenes bumps a tattoo on the roof of his tub. Thersites carves another thumbs-down sign on the wall of his cave.) Fortunately, the shock is buffered by reports that Murrow is making more, though possibly shorter, programmes.

Anyway, just how good these detailed C.B.S. eye-probes are, and how they surpass, for thoroughness and perspicacity, anything else in the current affairs field, we saw last Tuesday when ITV showed the last "See It Now" programme, **Watch on the Ruhr.** This was a survey of West German progress since the war with a focus on Dusseldorf, its astonishing commercial recovery, its rather garish hedonism. The vividness and condensation of significant detail was quite remarkable. The overtone, expressed in the sub-title, was "Can You Trust the German?"

The answer was never stated explicitly. I thought it was meant to be: "probably not." But the facts were weighed with scrupulous balance. There was no attempt to prove a case or demonstrate the persistence of traditional patterns. You got an overall impression of the new State as a whole, as well as of individual manifestations.

THE STAR 30.7.58

EDWARD MURROW'S Watch On The Ruhr on ITV was an object lesson in TV reporting.

It set out to be only a "casual examination" of West Germany today, but the subject was tackled with almost Teutonic thoroughness.

The visual side—so often submerged by weight of words in such documentaries—was particularly effective.

Vivid shots of a giant Volkswagon transporter plane; a row of factory chimneys crashing down to make way for the new; the expressive hands of people being interviewed. All these told their story eloquently.

DAILY MAIL 30.7.58

IT used to be held that the purest television was the outside broadcast.

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Last night's ITV report (at peak time!) by Ed Murrow on the Germans, *Watch on the Ruhr*, was a fascinating example of current affairs TV at its best.

☆

It told the story of the past 13 years in Western Germany.

At one end ruins to the horizon and Belsen, at the other, endless double-decked trains of Volkswagens, plump matrons eating pastries under hair-driers in beauty parlours, and young conscripts pointing out how Hitler had improved the roads and cured unemployment.

All this was put across with brilliantly selected photography and a typically vivid and laconic commentary by Murrow.

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Altogether the film was a sobering record of events since 1945 in a world that could not afford to deal in right and wrong, only in expediences.

DAILY MIRROR 30.7.58

LAST NIGHT'S TV

Germans—for export

SEVERAL faces of modern Germany came out of ITV's "Watch on the Ruhr" with a lot of soft answers to hard questions.

American commentator Ed Murrow asked the 64-dollar question: "Can we trust the Germans?"—and the question was still unanswered after 100,000ft. of film had been shot.

The programme, however, was a four-star contribution to current affairs on a problem that is too easily by-passed nowadays. It was obvious that West Germany is fatly prosperous, still scarred mentally by the last war—and democratic on the surface.

Its soldiers still looked like automatons, its politicians still rant. But apart from the German audience—who were watched by a hidden camera—I had the feeling that every manjack of them were only too aware they were being filmed for export.

They are a nation to be reckoned with once again.

NEWS CHRONICLE
30.7.58

You cannot mix the two.

Ed Murrow's "The Watch on the Ruhr" (ITV) was a vivid and momentously important report on Western Germany after 10 years of the miraculous Deutschmark. There was prosperity, remorse, more prosperity.

"Can we trust the Germans?" asked Murrow. Oddly enough the shot of young German soldiers reciting a kind of catechism of democracy by heart was not the most encouraging of the answers.—P.P.

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

83D CONGRESS, 2d Session | SENATE | REPORT No. —

REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY CENSURE CHARGES

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO THE ORDER ON

S. Res. 301

AND AMENDMENTS

A RESOLUTION TO CENSURE THE SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN, MR. McCARTHY

Printed for the use of the Select Committee To Study Censure Charges

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY CENSURE CHARGES

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[COMMITTEE PRINT]

83d Congress, 2d Session } SENATE { Report No. ——

REPORT ON RESOLUTION TO CENSURE

Mr. Watkins, from the Select Committee To Study Censure Charges, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. Res. 301]

The Select Committee To Study Censure Charges, consisting of—

Arthur V. Watkins (chairman)
Edwin C. Johnson (vice chairman)

John C. Stennis
Frank Carlson
Francis Case
Sam J. Ervin, Jr.

to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 301) and amendments, having considered the same, reports thereon and recommends that the resolution be adopted with certain amendments.

Introduction

On August 2 (legislative day, July 2), 1954, Senate Resolution 301, to censure the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, submitted by Senator Flanders on July 30, and amendments proposed thereto, was referred to a select committee to be composed of 3 Republicans and 3 Democrats and named by the Vice President. By said order the select committee was authorized—

(1) To hold hearings;

(2) To sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate;

(3) To require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony as is deemed advisable.

The select committee was instructed to act and to make a report to the Senate prior to the adjournment sine die of the Senate in the 2d session of the 83d Congress.

The order of the Senate is set forth in the hearing record, page 1 et seq.

The Vice President, on August 5, 1954, acting on the recommendations of the majority leader and the minority leader, made the follow-

ing appointments of members of the select committee: From the majority, the Senator from Utah (Mr. Watkins), the Senator from Kansas (Mr. Carlson), and the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. Case). From the minority, the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Johnson), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Stennis), and the Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Ervin). The select committee chose the Senator from Utah (Mr. Watkins) as chairman, and the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Johnson) as vice chairman.

The select committee, on August 24, 1954, served upon the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and other interested persons, a notice of hearings, setting forth 5 categories containing 13 specifications of charges from certain of the proposed amendments, establishing the general procedural rules for the hearings before the select committee, and formally requesting the appearance of Senator McCarthy. The notice of hearings will be found in the hearing record, page 8.

All testimony and evidence taken and received by the select committee was at public hearings attended by Senator McCarthy and his counsel. No testimony or evidence was taken or received in executive session, except the testimony of the Parliamentarian, which was taken with the knowledge and consent of the attorney for Senator McCarthy. The public hearings were held in accordance with said notice of hearings, on August 31, September 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13, 1954. The entire testimony, evidence, and proceedings at said public hearings is in the printed record of the hearings and made part of this report by reference.

At the commencement of the hearings, on August 31, 1954 (p. 11 of the hearings), the chairman stated:

Statement of Purposes of Committee Made at Commencement of Hearing

Now, at the outset of this hearing, the committee desires to state in general terms what is involved in Senate Resolution 301 and the Senate order on it, which authorized the appointment of the select committee to consider in behalf of the Senate the so-called Flanders resolution of censure, together with all amendments proposed in the resolution.

The committee, in the words of the Senate order was "authorized to hold hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena, or otherwise, the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable, and that the committee be instructed to act and make a report to this body prior to the adjournment sine die of the Senate in the second session of the 83d Congress."

That is a broad grant of power, carrying with it a heavy responsibility—a responsibility which the committee takes seriously. In beginning its duties, the committee found few precedents to serve as a guide. It is true that there had been other censure resolutions before the Senate in the past, but the acts complained of were, for the most part, single occurrences which happened in the presence of the Senate or one of its committtees. Under such circumstances, prolonged investigations and hearings were not necessary.

It should be pointed out that some forty-and-odd alleged instances of misconduct on the part of Senator McCarthy referred to this committee are involved and complex, both with respect to matters of fact and law. With reference to the time element, the incidents are alleged to have happened within a period covering several years. In addition, 3 Senate committees already have held hearings on 1 or more phases of the alleged incidents of misconduct. Obviously, with all this in mind, the committee had good reason for concluding it faced an unprecedented situation which would require adoption of procedures, all

within the authority granted it in the Senate order, that would enable it to perform the duties assigned within the limited time given by the Senate.

The committee interprets its duties, functions, and responsibilities under the Senate order to be as follows:

1. To analyze the charges set forth in the amendments and to determine—

(*a*) If there were duplications which could be eliminated.

(*b*) If any of the charges were of such a nature that even if the allegations were established as factually true, yet there would be strong reasons for believing that they did not constitute a ground for censure.

2. To thoroughly investigate all charges not eliminated under No. 1 in order to secure relevant and material facts concerning them and the names of witnesses or records which can establish the facts at the hearings to be held.

In this connection the committee believes it should function as an impartial investigating agency to develop by direct contacts in the field and by direct examination of Senate records all relevant and material facts possible to secure.

When Senate Resolution 301 and amendments offered were referred to the committee, the committee interprets this action to mean that from that time on the resolution and charges became the sole responsibility of the Senate. To state it another way, the Senator, or Senators, who offered Resolution 301, and proposed amendments thereto, have no legal responsibility from that point on for the conduct of the investigations and hearings authorized by the order of the Senate. The hearings are not to be adversary in character. Under this interpretation, it became the committee's duty then to get all the facts and material relevant to the charges irrespective of whether the facts sustained the charges or showed them to be without foundation.

The foregoing statement seems to be necessary in view of a widespread misunderstanding that the Senator who introduced the resolution of censure into the Senate and the Senators who offered amendments thereto, setting up specific charges against the Senator from Wisconsin, are the complaining witnesses, or the parties plaintiff, in this proceeding. That is not true, as has been explained. However, because of the fact that they had made some study of the situation, the committee did give them an opportunity to submit informational documentation of the charges they had offered. Also they were asked to submit the names of any witnesses who might have firsthand knowledge of the matters charged and who could give relevant and material testimony in the hearings.

Since matters of law also will be involved in reaching evaluation of the facts developed, pertinent rules of the Senate and sections of law, together with precedents and decisions by competent tribunals, should be briefed and made a part of the hearing record, the committee believes.

3. To hold hearings where the committee can present witnesses and documentary evidence for the purpose of placing on record, for later use by the Senate, the evidence and other information gathered during the preliminary investigation period, and for the development of additional evidence and information as the hearings proceed.

The resolution of censure presents to the Senate an issue with respect to the conduct and possible punishment of one of its Members. The debate in the Senate preceding the vote to refer the matter to a select committee made it abundantly clear that the proceedings necessary to a proper disposal of the resolution and the amendments proposed, both in the Senate and in the select committee, would be judicial or quasi-judicial in nature, and for that reason should be conducted in a judicial manner and atmosphere, so far as compatible with the investigative functions of the committee in its preliminary and continuing search for evidence and information bearing on all phases of the issues presented.

Inherent in the situation created by the resolution of censure and the charges made, is the right of the Senator against whom the charges were made to be present at the hearings held by the select committee. He should also be permitted to be represented by counsel and should have the right of cross-examination. This is somewhat contrary to the practice by Senate committees in the past, in hearings of this nature, but the present committee believes that the accused Senator should have these rights. He or his counsel, but not both, shall be permitted to make objections to the introduction of testimony, but the argument on the objections may be had or withheld at the discretion of the chairman. The Senator under charges should be permitted to present witnesses and documentary evidence in his behalf, but, of course, this should be done in compliance with the policy laid down by the committee in its notice of hearing, which is a part of this record.

In general, the committee wishes it understood that the regulations adopted are for the purpose of insuring a judicial hearing and a judicial atmosphere as befits the importance of the issues raised. For that reason, and in accordance with the order the committee believes to be the sentiment of the Senate, all activities which are not permitted in the Senate itself will not be permitted in this hearing.

4. When the hearings have closed, to prepare a report and submit it to the Senate. Under the order creating this committee, this must be done before the present Senate adjourns sine die.

By way of comment, let me say that the inquiry we are engaged in is of a special character which differentiates it from the usual legislative inquiry. It involves the internal affairs of the Senate itself in the exercise of a high constitutional function. It is by nature a judicial or semijudicial function, and we shall attempt to conduct it as such. The procedures outlined are not necessarily appropriate to congressional investigations and should not, therefore, be construed as in any sense intended as a model appropriate to such inquiries. We hope what we are doing will be found to conform to sound senatorial principles and traditions in the special field in which the committee is operating.

It has been said before, but it will do no harm to repeat, that the members of this committee did not seek this appointment. The qualifications laid down by the Senate order creating the commission, said the committee should be made up of 3 Democrat Senators and 3 Republican Senators. This was the only condition named in the order. However, in a larger sense the proper authorities of the Senate were charged with the responsibility of attempting to choose Members of the Senate for this committee who could and would conduct a fair and impartial investigation and hearing. Members of the committee deemed their selection by the Senate authorities as a trust.

We realize we are human. We know, and the American people know, that there has been a controversy raging over the country through a number of years in connection with the activities of the Senator against whom the resolution is directed. Members of this committee have been conscious of that controversy; they have seen, heard, and read of the activities, charges, and countercharges, and being human, they may have at times expressed their impressions with respect to events that were happening while they were happening.

However, each of the Senators who make up this special select committee are mature men with a wide background of experience which should enable them to disregard any impressions or preconceived notions they may have had in the past respecting the controversies which have been going on in public for many years.

We approach this matter as a duty imposed upon us and which we feel that we should do our very best to discharge in a proper manner. We realize the United States Senate, in a sense, is on trial, and we hope our conduct will be such as to maintain the American sense of fair play and the high traditions and dignity of the United States Senate under the authority given it by the Constitution.

As the investigations and the hearings progressed, the committee found that the period of time allotted to perform the task assigned would not be sufficient if all the charges were given thorough investigation and hearings were held thereon. The committee also was aware of the practical situation that required that its task be completed sufficiently early to permit the Senate to consider its report before that body must adjourn sine die.

Procedure for Committee Hearings Established in Notice of Hearings

All testimony and evidence received in the hearings shall be such as is found by the select committee to be competent, relevant, and material to the subject matters so under inquiry, with the right of examination and cross-examination, in general conformity to judicial proceedings and in accordance with said order of the Senate.

The select committee will admit, subject to said order, as competent testimony for the record, so far as material and relevant, the official proceedings and pertinent actions of the Senate and of any of its committees or subcommittees, taking judicial notice thereof, and using official reprints when convenient. Following

Senate tradition, witnesses may be examined by any member of the committee, and they may be examined or cross-examined for the committee by its counsel. Witnesses may be examined or cross-examined either by Senator McCarthy or his counsel, but not by both as to the same witness.

Senator McCarthy was permitted to and made an opening statement in his own behalf at the commencement of the first hearing, on condition that it be relevant and material, and not to be received as testimony (hearing record, p. 14).

By unanimous vote of the members of the select committee taken after the issuance of the notice of hearings, it was decided to proceed with hearings only upon the 13 specifications set forth in the 5 categories contained in the notice of hearings, to which reference is hereby made (hearing record, p. 8).

I

Category I. Incidents of Contempt of the Senate or a Senatorial Committee

A. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence on the question whether Senator McCarthy was guilty of contempt of the Senate or a senatorial committee involves his conduct with relation to the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. An analysis of the three amendments referring to this general matter (being amendment (3) proposed by Senator Fulbright, amendment (a) proposed by Senator Morse, and amendment (17) proposed by Senator Flanders) reveals these specific charges:

(1) That Senator McCarthy refused repeated invitations to testify before the subcommittee.

(2) That he declined to comply with a request by letter dated November 21, 1952, from the chairman of the subcommittee to appear to supply information concerning certain specific matters involving his activities as a Member of the Senate.

(3) That he denounced the subcommittee and contemptuously refused to comply with its request.

(4) That he has continued to show his contempt for the Senate by failing to explain in any manner the six charges contained in the Hennings-Hayden-Hendrickson report, which was filed in January 1953.

We have decided to consider and discuss in our report under this category the incident with reference to Senator Hendrickson, since the conduct complained of is related directly to the fact that Senator Hendrickson was a member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. This incident is referred to in the amendment proposed by Senator Flanders (30), the specific charge being:

(5) That he ridiculed and defamed Senator Hendrickson in vulgar and base language, calling him: "A living miracle without brains or guts."

The report referred to as the Hennings-Hayden-Hendrickson report is the report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to the Committee on Rules and Administration, pursuant to Senate Resolu-

tion 187, 82d Congress, 1st session, and Senate Resolution 304, 82d Congress, 2d session, filed January 2, 1953, made part of this report and printed in the appendix. The select committee admitted in evidence the Hennings-Hayden-Hendrickson report for the limited purposes of showing the nature of the charges before that subcommittee, as bearing upon the question of jurisdiction of that subcommittee, and what was the subject matter of the investigation (pp. 55, 121, and 524 of the hearings).

As stated by the chairman (p. 17 of the hearings), the select committee did not construe this category as involving in any way the truth or falsity of any of the charges against Senator McCarthy considered by that subcommittee. These charges, as shown by its report and as stated briefly by the chairman, Senator Hennings, in a letter to Senator McCarthy under date of November 21, 1952 (Hennings-Hayden-Hendrickson report, p. 98), were:

> Pursuant to your request, as transmitted to us through Mr. Kiermas, we are advising you that the subcommittee desires to make inquiry with respect to the following matters:
>
> (1) Whether any funds collected or received by you and by others on your behalf to conduct certain of your activities, including those relating to "communism," were ever diverted and used for other purposes inuring to your personal advantage.
>
> (2) Whether you, at any time, used your official position as a United States Senator and as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Joint Housing Committee, and the Senate Investigations Committee to obtain a $10,000 fee from the Lustron Corp., which company was then almost entirely subsidized by agencies under the jurisdiction of the very committees of which you were a member.
>
> (3) Whether your activities on behalf of certain special interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China, were motivated by self-interest.
>
> (4) Whether your activities with respect to your senatorial campaigns, particularly with respect to the reporting of your financing and your activities relating to the financial transactions with, and subsequent employment of, Ray Kiermas involved violations of the Federal and State Corrupt Practices Acts.
>
> (5) Whether loan or other transactions which you had with the Appleton State Bank, of Appleton, Wis., involved violations of tax and banking laws.
>
> (6) Whether you used close associates and members of your family to secrete receipts, income, commodity, and stock speculation, and other financial transactions for ulterior motives.

The evidence taken by the select committee under this category consisted of letters and documents, oral testimony by Senator McCarthy and oral testimony by Senator Hayden, and by the Parliamentarian. As to the statement regarding Senator Hendrickson, there is the testimony of a reporter. There is no material contradiction in any of the testimony relating to this category. The sending and receipt of the correspondence is admitted. There is no contradiction of the verbal testimony of Senator McCarthy with reference to his conversations with Chairman Gillette, or of that of Chairman Hayden with reference to the constitution of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and the filing of its report, or of that of Parliamentarian Watkins, discussed fully hereinafter.

The evidence shows that the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was proceeding to investigate and report on Senate Resolution 187; that Senator McCarthy was invited to appear to testify before the subcommittee on five separate occasions extending from September 25, 1951, to November 7, 1952, and formally requested to appear by letter and telegram of November 21, 1952; that Senator McCarthy could

not appear at the times specified in the request because of his absence in Wisconsin; that Senator McCarthy did not appear before the subcommittee in answer to the matters under investigation regarding his own conduct, but did appear on one occasion in support of his Senate Resolution 304 directed against Senator Benton; that Senator McCarthy accused the subcommittee of acting without power and beyond its jurisdiction, of wasting vast amounts of public money for improper partisan purposes, of proceeding dishonestly, of aiding the cause of communism, and that these accusations were directed toward an official subcommittee of the Senate. The uncontradicted testimony further shows that Senator McCarthy directed and gave to the press an abusive and insulting statement concerning Senator Hendrickson, calculated to wound a colleague, solely because Senator Hendrickson was a member of the subcommittee and performing services required by the Senate.

Senate Resolution 187, introduced by Senator Benton, was not voted upon by the Senate, but when the jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and the integrity of its members was attacked, the Senate by its vote of 60 to 0 in Senate Resolution 300, affirmed and ratified both.

Counsel for Senator McCarthy advanced the contention that these specifications relating to "Incidents of contempt of the Senate or a senatorial committee" were legally insufficient on their face as a predicate for the censure of Senator McCarthy because (1) there has never been a case of censure upon a Member of Congress for conduct antedating the inception of the Congress which is hearing the censure charges (p. 18 of the hearings), and (2) because the subcommittee acted unlawfully and beyond its jurisdiction (pp. 53 to 58 of the hearings).

B. FINDINGS OF FACT

From the evidence and testimony taken with reference to the first category, the select committee finds the following facts:

1. On August 6, 1951, Senate Resolution 187, 82d Congress, 1st session, was introduced by Senator Benton and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration (p. 20 of the hearings).

2. In turn, this resolution was referred by the Committee on Rules and Administration to its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections (p. 280 of the hearings).

3. This resolution provided, inter alia, that whereas "any sitting Senator, regardless of whether he is a candidate in the election himself, should be subject to expulsion by action of the Senate, if it finds such Senator engaged in practices and behavior that make him, in the opinion of the Senate, unfit to hold the position of United States Senator,": Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate is authorized and directed to proceed with such consideration of the report of its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections with respect to the 1950 Maryland senatorial general election, which was made pursuant to Senate Resolution 250, 81st Congress, April 13, 1950, and to make such further investigation with respect to the participation of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in the 1950 senatorial campaign of Senator John Marshall Butler, and such investigation with respect to his other acts since his election to the Senate, as may be appropriate to enable such committee to determine whether or not it should initiate action with a view

toward the expulsion from the United States Senate of the said Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

It will be noted that this proposed resolution authorized and directed such investigation as may be appropriate "with reference to his other acts since his election to the Senate."

4. Senator McCarthy was elected to the Senate in the fall of 1946, and took his seat in January 1947.

5. Among the charges pending before and investigated by that Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, charges (1), (2), (3), and (4) related to matters since Senator McCarthy's election to the Senate in 1946, and charges (5) and (6) may or may not have referred to matters since his election to the Senate, or to matters both before and after his election.

6. Senator Guy M. Gillette was chairman of that Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections until his resignation on September 26, 1952 (p. 22 of the hearings).

7. By letter of Senator McCarthy to Chairman Gillette dated September 17, 1951, Senator McCarthy stated that he intended to appear to question witnesses and that the subcommittee, without authorization from the Senate was undertaking to conduct hearings in the matter (p. 280 of the hearings).

8. By letter of September 25, 1951, Chairman Gillette notified Senator McCarthy that the Benton resolution (S. Res. 187) would be taken up by the subcommittee on September 28, 1951, and that Senator McCarthy could be present to hear Senator Benton in executive session and make his own statement also, if time permitted (p. 23 of the hearings).

9. Senator McCarthy did not reply to this letter.

10. By letter of October 1, 1951, Chairman Gillette advised Senator McCarthy that Senator Benton had appeared and presented a statement in support of his resolution looking to action pertaining to the expulsion of Senator McCarthy from the Senate, that the subcommittee had taken action to accord to Senator McCarthy the opportunity to appear and make any statement he wished to make concerning the matter, and that the subcommittee "will be glad to hear you at an hour mutually convenient," before the 10th of October, if Senator McCarthy desired to appear (p. 23 of the hearings).

11. Under date of October 4, 1951, Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette, in reply to the latter's letter of October 1, 1951, that "I have not and do not even intend to read, much less answer, Benton's smear attack" (p. 23 of the hearings).

12. By letter of December 6, 1951, Senator McCarthy advised Chairman Gillette (p. 24 of the hearings).

(*a*) That the "Elections Subcommittee, unless given further power by the Senate, is restricted to matters having to do with elections.

(*b*) That "a horde of investigators hired by your committee at a cost of tens of thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money, has been engaged exclusively in trying to dig up on McCarthy material covering periods of time long before he was even old enough to be a candidate for the Senate—material which can have no conceivable connection with his election or any other election."

(*c*) That the "obvious purpose is to dig up campaign material

for the Democrat Party for the coming campaign against McCarthy.

(*d*) That "when your Elections Subcommittee, without Senate authorization, spends tens of thousands of taxpayers' dollars for the sole purpose of digging up campaign material against McCarthy, then the committee is guilty of stealing just as clearly as though the Members engaged in picking the pockets of the taxpayers and turning the loot over to the Democrat National Committee."

(*e*) That "if one of the administration lackies were chairman of this committee, I would not waste the time or energy to write and point out the committee's complete dishonesty."

(*f*) That instead of obtaining the necessary power from the Senate, "your committee decided to spend tens of thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money to aid Benton in his smear attack upon McCarthy."

(*g*) That "I cannot understand your being willing to label Guy Gillette as a man who will head a committee which is stealing from the pockets of the American taxpayer tens of thousands of dollars and then using this money to protect the Democrat Party from the political effect of the exposure of Communists in Government."

(*h*) That "to take it upon yourself to hire a horde of investigators and spend tens of thousands of dollars without any authorization from the Senate is labeling your Elections Subcommittee even more dishonest than was the Tydings committee."

13. Chairman Gillette replied to Senator McCarthy by letter of December 6, 1951 (p. 26 of the hearings), stating that the subcommittee did not seek its unpleasant task, but that since Senate Resolution 187 was referred by the Senate to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and by it to its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, its duty was clear and would be discharged "in a spirit of utmost fairness to all concerned and to the Senate."

14. In the same letter, Chairman Gillette informed Senator McCarthy, "your information as to the use of a large staff and the expenditure of a large sum of money in investigations relative to the resolution is, of course, erroneous."

15. By letter from Senator McCarthy to Chairman Gillette dated December 7, 1951, information was requested of the number and salaries of employees of the subcommittee (p. 26 of the hearings).

16. Chairman Gillette gave this information to Senator McCarthy under date of December 11, 1951 (p. 27 of the hearings).

17. Under date of December 19, 1951, Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette stating that: "the full committee appointed you chairman of an Elections Subcommittee, but gave you no power whatsoever to hire investigators and spend vast amounts of money to make investigations having nothing to do with elections. Again, may I have an answer to my questions as to why you feel you are entitled to spend the taxpayers' money to do the work of the Democratic National Committee" (p. 27 of the hearings).

18. In the same letter, Senator McCarthy stated: "You and every member of your subcommittee who is responsible for spending vast amounts of money to hire investigators, pay their traveling expenses, etc., on matters not concerned with elections, is just as dishonest as

though he or she picked the pockets of the taxpayers and turned the loot over to the Democratic National Committee."

19. In the same letter, Senator McCarthy stated: "I wonder if I might have a frank, honest answer to all the questions covered in my letter of December 7. Certainly as a member of the Rules Committee and as a Member of the Senate, I am entitled to this information. Your failure to give this information highlights the fact that your subcommittee is not concerned with dishonestly spending the taxpayers' money and using your subcommittee as an arm of the Democratic National Committee" (p. 28 of the hearings).

20. On December 21, 1951, Chairman Gillette wrote Senator McCarthy, advising him as follows:

(*a*) "I shall be very glad to give you such information as I have or go with you, if you so desire, to the rooms occupied by the subcommittee and aid you in securing any facts that are there available, relative to the employees of the subcommittee or their work," and stating further that:

(*b*) Previous correspondence had been printed in the public press, even before receipt by Chairman Gillette.

(*c*) That it was improper to discuss matters pertaining to pending litigation in the public press.

(*d*) That a meeting of the subcommittee was being called for January 7, 1952, to consider the Benton resolution.

(*e*) That if Senator McCarthy cared to appear before the subcommittee, he would be glad to make the necessary arrangements as to time and place.

(*f*) That he would be glad to confer with Senator McCarthy personally as to matters concerning the staff and the work of the subcommittee.

(*g*) That neither the Democratic National Committee nor any person or group other than an agency of the United States Senate has had or will have any influence on his duties and actions as a member of the subcommittee, and that no other member of the subcommittee has been or will be so influenced (p. 28 of the hearings).

21. Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette on January 4, 1952, asking: "the simple question of whether or not you have ordered the investigators to restrict their investigation to matters having to do with elections, or whether their investigations extend into fields having nothing whatsoever to do with either my election or the election of any other Senator" (p. 29 of the hearings).

22. Chairman Gillette replied to Senator McCarthy by letter dated January 10, 1952, informing him that the staff of the subcommittee had just submitted a report on the legal question raised by Senator McCarthy, that this was being studied, and the subcommittee would then determine what action, if any, they would take (p. 29 of the hearings).

23. Because Senator McCarthy questioned the jurisdiction of the subcommittee, the subcommittee adopted a resolution, approved by a majority of the Committee on Rules and Administration, that Senator McCarthy be requested to bring to the floor of the Senate a motion to discharge the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections (p. 30 of the hearings).

24. Senator Hayden, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, informed Senator McCarthy that the purpose would

be to test the jurisdiction and integrity of the members of the subcommittee (p. 30 of the hearings).

25. Under date of March 21, 1952, Senator McCarthy wrote to Senator Hayden, chairman of the parent Committee on Rules and Administration, that he thought it improper to discharge the subcommittee for the following reasons:

The Elections Subcommittee unquestionably has the power and, when complaint is made, the duty to investigate any improper conduct on the part of McCarthy or any other Senator in a senatorial election.

The subcommittee has spent tens of thousands of dollars and nearly a year making the most painstaking investigation of my part in the Maryland election, as well as my campaigns in Wisconsin. The subcommittee's task is not finished until it reports to the Senate the result of that investigation, namely, whether they found such misconduct on the part of McCarthy in either his own campaigns or in the Tydings campaign to warrant his expulsion from the Senate.

I note the subcommittee's request that the integrity of the subcommittee be passed upon. As you know, the sole question of the integrity of the subcommittee concerned its right to spend vast sums of money investigating the life of McCarthy from birth to date without any authority to do so from the Senate. However, the vote on that question cannot affect the McCarthy investigation, in that the committee for a year has been looking into every possible phase of McCarthy's life, including an investigation of those who contributed to my unsuccessful 1944 campaign.

As you know, I wrote Senator Gillette, chairman of the subcommittee, that I considered this a completely dishonest handling of taxpayers' money. I felt that the Elections Subcommittee had no authority to go into matters other than elections unless the Senate instructed it to do so. However, it is obvious that insofar as McCarthy is concerned this is now a moot question, because the staff has already painstakingly and diligently investigated every nook and cranny of my life from birth to date. Every possible lead on McCarthy was investigated. Nothing that could be investigated was left uninvestigated. The staff's scurrilous report, which consisted of cleverly twisted and distorted facts, was then "leaked" to the left-wing elements of the press and blazoned across the Nation in an attempt to further smear McCarthy.

A vote of confidence in the subcommittee would be a vote on whether or not it had the right, without authority from the Senate, but merely on the request of one Senator (in this case Senator Benton) to make a thorough and complete investigation of the entire life of another Senator. A vote to uphold the subcommittee would mean that the Senate accepts and approves this precedent and makes it binding on the Elections Subcommittee in the future.

A vote against the subcommittee could not undo what the subcommittee has done in regard to McCarthy. It would not force the subcommittee members to repay into the Treasury the funds spent on this investigation of McCarthy. A vote against the subcommittee would merely mean that the Senate disapproves what has already been done insofar as McCarthy is concerned, and therefore, disapproves an investigation of other Senators like the one which was made of McCarthy. While I felt the subcommittee exceeded its authority, now that it has established a precedent in McCarthy's case, the same rule should apply to every other Senator. If the subcommittee brought up this question before the investigation had been made, I would have voted to discharge it. Now that the deed is done, however, the same rule should apply to the other 95 Senators.

For that reason, I would be forced to vigorously oppose a motion to discharge the Elections Subcommittee at this time.

I hope the Senate agrees with me that it would be highly improper to discharge the Gillette-Monroney subcommittee at this time, thereby, in effect, setting a different rule for the subcommittee to follow in case an investigation is asked of any of the other 95 Senators (p. 30 of the hearings).

26. In view of Senator McCarthy's refusal to make the requested motion in the Senate, Chairman Hayden, of himself, and for the other four members of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections (Senators Gillette, Monroney, Hennings, and Hendrickson), submitted Senate Resolution 300, 82d Congress, 2d session, on April 8, 1952 (p. 31 of the hearings).

27. Senate Resolution 300 provided that whereas Senator McCarthy in a series of communications addressed to Chairman Gillette between December 6, 1951, and January 4, 1952, had charged that the subcommittee lacked jurisdiction to investigate such acts of Senator McCarthy as were not connected with election campaigns, and attacked the honesty of the members of the subcommittee, charging that in their investigation of such other acts, the members were improperly motivated and were guilty of stealing just as clearly as though the members engaged in picking the pockets of the taxpayers, and whereas the subcommittee adopted a motion, as the most expeditious parliamentary method of obtaining an affirmation by the Senate of its jurisdiction of this matter and a vote on the honesty of its members, that Senator McCarthy be requested to raise the question of jurisdiction and of the integrity of the members of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, by making a formal motion on the floor of the Senate to discharge the committee, and that unless Senator McCarthy did so, the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration or the chairman of the subcommittee would present such a motion, and since Senator McCarthy in effect had declined so to do, therefore, to determine the proper jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules and Administration and to express the confidence of the Senate in its committee in their consideration of Senate Resolution 187, be it resolved that the Committee on Rules and Administration be, and it hereby is, discharged from the further consideration of Senate Resolution 187 (p. 31 of the hearings).

28. The Senate voted upon this resolution on April 10, 1952, and the resolution was rejected by a vote of 0 to 60, with 36 Members not voting (p. 32 of the hearings).

29. Senator McCarthy is recorded as not voting but he stated in the Senate that he could not wait for the vote and if present would have voted against the discharge of the subcommittee (p. 378 of the hearings).

30. Chairman Gillette wrote to Senator McCarthy on May 7, 1952, fixing May 12, 1952, as the time for public hearing on Senate Resolution 187, informing him that the first charge to be heard would be the matter concerning the Lustron Corp. booklet, and extending to Senator McCarthy "the opportunity to appear at the hearings for the purpose of presenting testimony relating to this charge. The hearings in this case will probably continue for several days, and we shall make whatever arrangements for your appearance as are most convenient for you" (p. 32 of the hearings).

31. Under date of May 8, 1952, Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette, acknowledging receipt of the letter of May 7, 1952, asking on what point the subcommittee desired information, and giving a statement of facts with reference to the Lustron Corp. booklet, in argumentative fashion, and charging the subcommittee with knowingly allowing itself to serve the Communist cause, and stating:

> The Communists will have scored a great victory if they can convince every other Senator or Congressman that if he attempts to expose undercover Communists, he will be subjected to the same type of intense smear, even to the extent of using a Senate committee for the purpose. They will have frightened away from this fight a vast number of legislators who fear the political effect of being inundated by the Communist Party line sewage.
>
> If you have evidence of wrongdoing on McCarthy's part, which would justify removal from the Senate or a vote of censure by the Senate, certainly you have

the obligation to produce it. However, as you well know, every member of your committee and staff privately admits that no such evidence is in existence. It is an evil and dishonest thing for the subcommittee to allow itself to be used for an evil purpose. Certainly the fact that the Democrat Party may temporarily benefit thereby is insufficient justification. Remember the Communist Party will benefit infinitely more (p. 32 of the hearings).

32. Senator McCarthy again wrote to Chairman Gillette on the same day, May 8, 1952, demanding expeditious action in the Benton case (p. 35 of the hearings).

33. Chairman Gillette wrote to Senator McCarthy under date of May 10, 1952, informing him that the subcommittee had concluded to take testimony on May 12, 1952, and that it was the courteous thing to do to invite him to attend, to present evidence in refutation or explanation, and that the opportunity would continue to be that of Senator McCarthy to present such matter as he might wish in connection with the hearing and to attend if he so desired (p. 43 of the hearings).

34. On May 11, 1952, Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette, Senator Monroney, and Senator Hennings jointly, a sarcastic letter, the meaning and intention of which can be understood only by reading it in its entirety (p. 43 of the hearings).

35. The chief counsel for the subcommittee wrote to Senator McCarthy on November 7, 1952, inviting Senator McCarthy to appear before a subcommittee in executive session, in connection with Senate Resolution 187, during the week of November 17, 1952, and asking to be advised of the date of Senator McCarthy's appearance (p. 44 of the hearings).

36. The administrative assistant to Senator McCarthy replied for Senator McCarthy by letter of November 10, 1952, stating that Senator McCarthy was away and that he did not know when he would return to Washington, stating, however, that if the subcommittee would let him know what information was desired, he would be glad to try to be of help (p. 45 of the hearings).

37. Chairman Hennings, of the subcommittee, then wrote a letter to Senator McCarthy under date of November 21, 1952, which because of its importance is set forth in full:

DEAR SENATOR MCCARTHY: As you will recall on September 25, 1951, May 7, 1952, and May 10, 1952, this subcommittee invited you to appear before it to give testimony relating to the investigation pursuant to Senate Resolution 187.

Under date of November 7, 1952, the following communication was addressed to you:

"DEAR SENATOR MCCARTHY: In connection with the consideration by the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of Senate Resolution No. 187, introduced by Senator Benton on August 6, 1951, as well as the ensuing investigation, I have been instructed by the subcommittee to invite you to appear before said subcommittee in executive session. Insofar as possible, we would like to respect your wishes as to the date on which you will appear. However, the subcommittee plans to be available for this purpose during the week beginning November 17, 1952.

"It will be appreciated if you will advise me at as early a date as possible of the day you will appear, in order that the subcommittee may arrange its plans accordingly.

"Very truly yours,

"PAUL J. COTTER, *Chief Counsel.*"

On November 14, 1952, the subcommittee received the following communication, dated November 10, 1952:

"DEAR MR. COTTER: Inasmuch as Senator McCarthy is not now in Washington, I am taking the liberty of acknowledging receipt of your letter of November 7.

"I have just talked to the Senator over the telephone and he does not know just when he will return to Washington. It presently appears that he will not be available to appear before your committee during the time you mention. However, he did state that if you will let him know just what information you desire, he will be glad to try to be of help to you.

"Sincerely yours,

"RAY KIERMAS,"
"*Administrative Assistant to Senator McCarthy.*"

The subcommittee is grateful for your offer of assistance, and we want to afford you with every opportunity to offer your explanations with reference to the issues involved. Therefore, although the subcommittee did make itself available during the past week in order to afford you an opportunity to be heard, we shall be at your disposal commencing Saturday, November 22, through but not later than Tuesday, November 25, 1952.

This subcommittee has but one object, and that is to reach an impartial and proper conclusion based upon the facts. Your appearance, in person, before the subcommittee will not only give you the opportunity to testify as to any issues of fact which may be in controversy, but will be of the greatest assistance to the subcommittee in its effort to arrive at a proper determination and to embody in its report an accurate representation of the facts.

Pursuant to your request, as transmitted to us through Mr. Kiermas, we are advising you that the subcommittee desires to make inquiry with respect to the following matters:

(1) Whether any funds collected or received by you and by others on your behalf to conduct certain of your activities, including those relating to "communism," were ever diverted and used for other purposes inuring to your personal advantage.

(2) Whether you, at any time, used your official position as a United States Senator and as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, the Joint Housing Committee, and the Senate Investigations Committee, to obtain a $10,000 fee from the Lustron Corp., which company was then almost entirely subsidized by agencies under the jurisdiction of the very committees of which you were a member.

(3) Whether your activities on behalf of certain interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China, were motivated by self-interest.

(4) Whether your activities with respect to your senatorial campaigns, particularly with respect to the reporting of your financing and your activities relating to the financial transactions with and subsequent employment of Ray Kiermas, involved violations of the Federal and State Corrupt Practices Acts.

(5) Whether loan or other transactions which you had with the Appleton State Bank, of Appleton, Wis., involved violations of tax and banking laws.

(6) Whether you used close associates and members of your family to secrete receipts, income, commodity and stock speculation and other financial transactions for ulterior motives.

We again assure you of our desire to give you the opportunity to testify, in executive session of the subcommittee, as to the foregoing matters. The 82d Congress expires in the immediate future and the subcommittee must necessarily proceed with dispatch in making its report to this Congress. To that end, we respectfully urge you to arrange to come before us on or before November 25, and thus enable us to do our conscientious best in the interests of the Senate and our obligation to complete our work. We would thank you to advise us immediately, so that we may plan accordingly.

This letter is being transmitted at the direction and with the full concurrence of the membership of this subcommittee.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr., *Chairman.*

(P. 45 of the hearings.)

38. This letter was delivered by hand to the office of Senator McCarthy in Washington on November 21, 1952 (p. 47 of the hearings).

39. On the same day, November 21, 1952, Chairman Hennings sent the following telegram addressed to Senator McCarthy at Appleton, Wis.:

Today you were advised by letter delivered by hand to your office of the principal matters which the subcommittee desires to interrogate you in furtherance of your express desire transmitted to the committee by your administrative assistant, Mr. Ray Kiermas, under date of November 10. The subcommittee appreciates your willingness to help in the completion of the work in connection with the investigation of Resolution 187 and the investigations predicated thereon. Your prompt appearance before the subcommittee can save the Government much effort and expense. We are sure that you want to be of help to us in arriving at a proper determination of the issues in controversy. We are therefore at your disposal in executive session and for your convenience suggest that the subcommittee is available to you commencing with tomorrow, Saturday, November 22, but not later than Tuesday the 25th, to enable the committee to hear you and allow time thereafter to prepare the subcommittee report.

Senator Benton has also been notified to appear by similar communication. This action is being taken at the direction and with the full concurrence of the committee members (p. 47 of the hearings).

40. The copy of the telegram in the H-H-H Report, designated "Exhibit No. 42" at page 99 thereof, was not sent to Senator McCarthy and was inserted as an exhibit by error in place of the foregoing telegram of November 21, 1952, as shown by the fact it is not dated and as appears in the index of appendix, page 55, wherein exhibit No. 42 is described as "Telegram dated Nov. 21, 1952, from Senator Hennings to Senator McCarthy . . . . Page 99" (p. 51 of the hearings).

41. On November 21, 1952, Senator McCarthy was deer hunting in northern Wisconsin (p. 298 of the hearings).

42. Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Hennings on November 28, 1952, stating that he had just received the wire of November 22, and that, as Senator Hennings had been previously advised, Senator McCarthy was not expected to return to Washington until November 27, on which date he did return (p. 49 of the hearings).

43. Senator McCarthy did not see the letter or telegram dated November 21, 1952, until November 28, 1952 (p. 299 of the hearings).

44. Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Hennings under date of December 1, 1952, stating as follows:

Senator THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr.,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections,
Senate Office Building.

DEAR MR. HENNINGS: This is to acknowledge receipt of yours of November 21 in which you state that your object is to reach an "impartial and proper conclusion based upon the facts" in the Benton application which asks for my removal from the Senate.

I was interested in your declaration of honesty of the committee and would like to believe that it is true. As you know, your committee has the most unusual record of any committee in the history of the Senate. As you know two members of your staff have resigned and made the public statement that their reason for resignation was that your committee was dishonestly used for political purposes. Two Senators have also resigned. One, Senator Welker, in the strongest possible language indicted your committee for complete dishonesty in handling your investigation. Senator Gillette also resigned without giving any plausible reason for his resignation from the committee. Obviously, he also couldn't stomach the dishonest use of public funds for political purposes. For that reason it is difficult for me to believe your protestations of the honesty of your committee.

I would, therefore, ordinarily not dignify your committee by answering your letter of November 21. However, I decided to give you no excuse to claim in your report that I refused to give you any facts. For that reason you are being informed that the answer to the six insulting questions in your letter of No-

vember 21 in "No." You understand that in answering these questions I do not in any way approve of nor admit the false statements and innuendoes made in the questions.

I note with some interest your reference to my "activities on behalf of certain special-interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China." I assume you refer to my drafting of the comprehensive Housing Act of 1946, which was passed without a single dissenting vote in the Senate, either Democrat or Republican. Neither you nor any other Senator has attempted to repeal any part of that Housing Act. Or perhaps you refer to the slum-clearance bill which I drafted and introduced in 1948, which slum-clearance bill was adopted in toto by the Democrat-controlled Senate in 1949.

When you refer to sugar, I assume you refer to my efforts to do away with your party's rationing of sugar, as I promised the housewives I would during my 1946 campaign. If that were wrong, I wonder why you have not introduced legislation in the Democrat-controlled Senate to restore sugar rationing. You have had 2 years to do so.

I thought perhaps the election might have taught you that your boss and mine—the American people—do not approve of treason and incompetence and feel that it must be exposed.

You refer to the above as "special interests." I personally feel very proud of having drafted the Housing Act in 1948 which passed the Congress without a single dissenting vote—a Housing Act which contributed so much toward making it possible for veterans and all Americans in the middle- and low-income groups to own their own home. Likewise, I am proud of having been able to fulfill my promise to American housewives to obtain the derationing of sugar. I proved at the time that rationing was not for the benefit of the housewives but for the commercial users.

I likewise am double proud of the part I played in alerting the American people to your administration's traitorous betrayal of American interests throughout the world, especially in China and Poland.

You refer to such activities on my part as "activities for special interests." I am curious to know what "special interests" you mean other than the special interest of the American people.

This letter is not written with any hope of getting an honest report from your committee. It is being written merely to keep the record straight.

Sincerely yours,

JOE MCCARTHY.

(P. 51 of hearings.)

45. Senator McCarthy appeared before the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections once only, on July 3, 1952, in connection with his charges against Senator Benton under Senate Resolution 304, without requiring a subpena (pp. 52, 290, and 375 of hearings).

46. Senator McCarthy did not appear before that subcommittee, at any other time, nor make any explanation in defense, except as shown in the foregoing correspondence, in connection with the charges pending against him, either before or after the Senate action in Senate Resolution 300 (pp. 52 and 375 of hearings).

47. Senator McCarthy did make an explanation of the Lustron matter on the floor of the Senate, on August 2, 1954 (p. 53 of hearings).

48. Senate Resolution 187, introduced by Senator Benton, was not voted upon by the Senate, although it was considered by the Senate in its vote on April 10, 1952, upon Senate Resolution 300 to test the jurisdiction of the subcommittee and the integrity of its members.

49. The vote of the Senate upon Senate Resolution 300 notwithstanding any previous question of the jurisdiction of the Hennings subcommittee, was a grant of authority to that subcommittee to proceed with its investigation of the charges pending against Senator McCarthy, since his election to the Senate.

50. Senate Resolution 187, introduced by Senator Benton, confined the subcommittee to activities of Senator McCarthy subsequent to his election in 1946.

51. Senator McCarthy's position was that he would not appear before the Hennings subcommittee upon the charges pending against him unless he was ordered to appear (p. 288 of hearings).

52. Senator McCarthy did not say in any of the correspondence relating to the hearings and his appearance, that he would not appear before the subcommittee unless he was ordered to do so, but testified that he so notified Chairman Gillette orally (p. 288 of hearings).

53. Senator McCarthy advised Chairman Gillette that unless he was given the right to cross-examine, that he had no desire to appear before the subcommittee but that he would appear if ordered to do so (p. 288 of hearings).

54. At the hearings before the select committee, Senator McCarthy testified that the subcommittee knew that a witness was mentally incompetent "and they were going to call him solely for the purpose of doing a smear job" (p. 296 of hearings).

55. At the hearings before the select committee, Senator McCarthy testified that the insertion of the undated telegram, exhibit No. 42 in the Hennings report (found by this select committee to be a clerical error), "was completely dishonest," insisting upon this conclusion when the chairman asked whether it could not have been a mistake (pp. 299, 384, and 385 of hearing record).

56. Senator McCarthy told Chairman Gillette "that I would not appear unless I was ordered to appear or subpenaed. I forget which word I used. I told him I had no desire to appear before that committee and that his extending an opportunity meant nothing to me" (p. 305 of the hearing).

57. The report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was filed January 2, 1953 (p. 306 of the hearings).

58. On that day, Senator McCarthy, according to his own testimony, called Senator Hendrickson, a member of that subcommittee, by telephone and told him that it was completely dishonest to sign a report that was factually wrong (p. 306 of the hearings).

59. That evening Senator McCarthy gave a statement to the press regarding Senator Hendrickson, a member of that subcommittee, stating:

"This report accuses me either directly or by innuendo and intimation of the most dishonest and improper conduct.

"If it is true, I am unfit to serve in the Senate. If it is false, then the three men who joined in it—namely, Hendrickson, Hennings, and Hayden—are dishonest beyond words.

"If those 3 men honestly think that all of the 4 things of which they have accused me, they have a deep, moral obligation tomorrow to move that the Senate does not seat me as a Senator.

"If they think the report is true, they will do that. If they know the report is completely false and that it has been issued only for its smear value, then they will not dare to present this case to the Senate.

"This committee has been squandering taxpayers' money on this smear campaign for nearly 18 months. If they feel that they are honest and right, why do they fear presenting their case to the Senate?

"I challenge them to do that. If they do not, they will have proved their complete dishonesty.

"I can understand the actions of the leftwingers in the administration, like Hennings and Hayden. As far as Hendrickson is concerned, I frankly can bear him no ill will.

"Suffice it to say that he is a living miracle in that he is without question the only man in the world who has lived so long with neither brains nor guts" (pp. 67 and 68 of hearing record).

60. By letter of September 10, 1952, Chairman Gillette of the subcommittee wrote to Chairman Hayden, of the Committee on Rules and Administration, suggesting that the membership of the subcommittee be reduced from 5 members to 3, as it was originally, to facilitate the work of the subcommittee (p. 294 of the hearings).

61. Senator Welker resigned as a member of the subcommittee on September 9, 1952 (p. 291 of the hearings).

62. Chairman Gillette resigned as a member of the subcommittee on September 26, 1952 (p. 294 of the hearings).

63. After consultation with the Parliamentarian, Senator Hayden, chairman of the parent Committee on Rules and Administration, decided it was unnecessary to appoint 2 Members of the Senate to take the places of those who had resigned, because it was a committee of 5 with a majority of 3, and because the Senate not being in session, it was very difficult to obtain Senators who were members of the Committee on Rules and Administration (p. 361 of the hearings).

64. Senator Monroney, who was in Europe, resigned as a member of the subcommittee, on November 20, 1953 (p. 361 of the hearings).

65. On November 20, 1952, Senator Hayden made it a matter of record by writing to the clerk of the Committee on Rules and Administration that he was appointing himself a member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections in place of Senator Monroney (p. 362 of the hearings).

66. The subcommittee, with Senator Hennings as chairman, and Senators Hendrickson and Hayden as members, continued to function until January 16, 1953 (pp. 362 and 367 of the hearings).

67. Since January 1953 the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections has had but three members (p. 362 of the hearings).

68. The suggestion of Senator Gillette that the membership of the subcommittee be reduced to three members was given consideration by both the Committee on Rules and Administration and the subcommittee (p. 362 of the hearings).

69. Senators Hennings, Hayden, and Hendrickson signed the subcommittee report pursuant to Senate Resolution 187 and Senate Resolution 304 (p. 363 of the hearings).

70. It was the opinion of Chairman Hayden, of the Committee on Rules and Administration, that without reducing the subcommittee to 3 members, the subcommittee could continue to function as a committee of 5 with but 3 members (p. 365 of the hearings).

71. It was the opinion of Chairman Hayden, that the Senate not being in session, it was not necessary for him as chairman of the parent committee to obtain confirmation by the parent committee of appointments to the subcommittee (p. 365 of the hearings).

72. Chairman Hayden testified that there was immediate important work for the subcommittee to do and that there was no one other than himself on the Committee on Rules and Administration who could be appointed to the subcommittee (p. 365 of the hearings).

73. This manner of conducting the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was consistent with its practice since before the 81st Congress and did not violate any rule of the parent committee (p. 366 of the hearings).

74. Chairman Hayden continued as chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, and Chairman Hennings of the Subcom-

mittee on Privileges and Elections continued in office until about January 16, 1953 (pp. 367 and 369 of the hearings).

75. At the hearings before the select committee, Senator McCarthy testified when asked whether he had any evidence to support his written statements that the subcommittee was spending tens of thousands of dollars and as guilty as though engaged in picking the pockets of the taxpayers to turn the loot over to the Democrat National Committee, that he had produced this evidence in letters to the subcommittee (p. 377 of the hearings).

76. No such evidence appears in the letters.

77. When asked whether he had any evidence that the subcommittee had spent tens of thousands of dollars illegally, Senator McCarthy testified that, "They were spending a vast amount of money illegally, I don't know the exact figure" (p. 378 of the hearings).

78. When asked whether he knew that the matters pending before the subcommittee reflected seriously upon his character and activities and were of sufficient moment ordinarily to justify making some reply, Senator McCarthy testified that: "They were six insulting questions asked by the committee—by a Senator, not by a legal committee. I answered his questions. I told him the answer was 'No'." (p. 383 of the hearings). (But note that the above answer was contained in a letter from Senator McCarthy to Senator Hennings dated December 1, 1952, addressed to the latter as chairman of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections) (pp. 51–52 of the hearings).

79. At page 384 of the hearings, Senator McCarthy was asked whether it was his position that when matters of that serious nature are pending against a Member of the United States Senate, instead of appearing and making an answer, he can call them "insulting" and need not appear, and Senator McCarthy testified in reply that: "They are no more 'matters' than the 46 statements made by Senator Flanders."

80. On January 2, 1953, Senator McCarthy bitterly criticized Senator Hendrickson with reference to the latter's work with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, and then gave to the press a statement that Senator Hendrickson was "a living miracle in that he is without question the only man who has lived so long with neither brains nor guts" (pp. 66 and 425 of the hearings). (See also Finding of Fact No. 59.)

81. At the hearings before the select committee, when given the opportunity by Senator Case to withdraw or modify his remarks about Senator Hendrickson, a member of the subcommittee, Senator McCarthy indicated he had no desire to change his position (p. 425 of the hearings).

C. LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THIS CATEGORY

Several legal questions are involved and were considered in this part of the inquiry. They may be stated briefly as follows:

1. Is the Senate a continuing body?
2. Does the Senate have the power to censure a Senator for conduct occurring during his prior term as Senator?
3. Was it necessary for Senate Resolution 187 to be adopted by the Senate?

4. Was the Gillette-Hennings subcommittee acting beyond its power and jurisdiction?

5. Was it a lawfully constituted subcommittee?

6. Was it necessary for that subcommittee to subpena Senator McCarthy?

7. Was Senator McCarthy repeatedly invited to appear?

8. Was it the duty of Senator McCarthy to appear without an order or subpena to appear and was his failure to appear obstructive?

9. Was the request to Senator McCarthy to appear a legal basis for contempt, and was his reply contumacious?

10. Was Senator McCarthy's conduct toward that subcommittee contemptuous, independently of his failure to appear?

11. Did Senator McCarthy "denounce" the subcommittee?

12. Has the conduct of Senator McCarthy been contumacious toward the Senate by failing to explain the six charges contained in the subcommittee's report?

13. Did the reelection of Senator McCarthy in 1952 make these matters moot?

DISCUSSION OF LEGAL QUESTIONS

1. The Senate is a continuing body

The fact that the Senate is a continuing body should require little discussion. This has been uniformly recognized by history, precedent, and authority. While the rule with reference to the House, whose Members are elected all for the period of a single Congress may be different, the Senate is a continuing body, whose Members are elected for a term of 6 years, and so divided into classes that the seats of one-third only become vacant at the end of each Congress. Senate Document No. 99, 83d Congress, 2d session, Congressional Power of Investigation, page 7.

The continuity of the Senate was questioned at the beginning of the 83d Congress, and the issue was decided in favor of the precedents. Congressional Record, Senate—January 6, 1953, pages 92–114. Senate rule XXV (2) provides that each standing committee shall continue and have power to act until their successors are appointed. Senate rule XXXII provides that the legislative business of the Senate shall be continued from session to session, and that the legislative business which remains undetermined at the close of the next preceding session of that Congress shall be resumed as if no adjournment had taken place. This rule makes it clear that all legislative business continues from session to session. See Senate Document No. 4, 1953, 83d Congress. The rule that the Senate is a continuing body has been recognized by the Supreme Court, in *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* (273 U. S. 135, 182 (1927)), where the Court said:

> This being so, and the Senate being a continuing body, the case cannot be said to have become moot in the ordinary sense.

2. The Senate has the power to censure a Senator for conduct occurring during his prior term as Senator

The contention has been made by Senator McCarthy that since he was reelected in 1952 and took his seat for a new term on January 3, 1953, the select committee lacks power to consider any conduct on his part, occurring prior to January 3, 1953, as the basis for censure. His counsel based this contention on several cases cited as authority for this

proposition (p. 19 of the hearings), being *Anderson* v. *Dunn* (6 Wheat. 204); *Jurney* v. *McCracken* (294 U. S. 125); and *U. S.* v. *Bryan* (339 U. S. 323). The argumentative basis for this contention is that the power to censure is part of the power of the Senate to punish for contempt, and that any limitations on the latter power must necessarily limit the power to censure. This contention is without foundation for at least two reasons: (1) The power to censure is an independent power and may be exercised by the Senate for conduct totally unrelated to any act or acts which may be contemptuous; and (2) even assuming that the power to censure is limited to the extent of the power to punish for contempt, the authorities cited do not sustain the proposition advanced.

The case of *Anderson* v. *Dunn* (6 Wheat. 204 (1821)) was an action in trespass for an assault and battery and false imprisonment against the Sergeant at Arms of the House of Representatives. The Supreme Court held that the defendant Sergeant at Arms had a proper and lawful defense by showing that he acted under the orders of the Speaker and had taken the plaintiff into custody for a high contempt of the dignity of the House. The only possible relevancy of the opinion to the matters now pending before the select committee appears in the opinion by Mr. Justice Johnson, at page 231, that the duration of the imprisonment for contempt of the House is limited when the legislative body ceases to exist on the moment of its adjournment, and the imprisonment must terminate with that adjournment. It is clear that this was dictum, applies to the House and not to the Senate, does not involve a case of censure of a Member of the Senate, and was the law only until Congress by statute made contempt of either House a criminal offense.

In the case of *Jurney* v. *MacCracken* (294 U. S. 125 (1935)) the defendant, a lawyer, was arrested by the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, pursuant to a resolution of the Senate, for contempt in failing to produce and permitting the removal and destruction of certain papers, after they had been subpenaed by the special Senate committee investigating ocean and airmail contracts. The Supreme Court affirmed the dismissal of the defendant's writ of habeas corpus holding that where the offending act was of a nature to obstruct the legislative process, the fact that the obstruction has since been removed or that its removal has become impossible is without significance; that the enactment of Revised Statute 102 did not impair the right of Congress to punish for contempt; and that whether a recalcitrant witness has purged himself of contempt is for Congress to decide and cannot be inquired into by a court by a writ of habeas corpus. It is evident that this case does not deal with any question of censure or punishment of a Member of the Senate. MacCracken did contend that the Senate was absolutely without power itself to impose punishment for a past act, and that such punishment must be inflicted by the courts, as for other crimes, and under the safeguard of all constitutional provisions, but this contention was dismissed by the opinion of the Supreme Court, delivered by Mr. Justice Brandeis, at page 149.

The case of *United States* v. *Bryan* (339 U. S. 323 (1950)) involved a criminal trial for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the refusal of the defendant to produce certain records under subpena from that committee. In the opinion of the

Supreme Court, by Mr. Chief Justice Vinson, mention is made of Revised Statutes, section 102 (2 U. S. C., sec. 192), enacted in 1857. It is clear that one of the purposes of the act was to permit the imprisonment of a contemnor beyond the expiration of the current session of Congress. The Supreme Court states unequivocally that the judicial proceedings under the statute are intended as an alternative method of vindicating the authority of Congress to compel the disclosure of facts which are needed in the fulfillment of the legislative function. The select committee was advised by its counsel that this case has no apparent bearing upon the contention of Senator McCarthy in these proceedings with reference to his failure to appear before the Gillette-Hennings subcommittee. Counsel further advised that it is inappropriate to cite cases of criminal contempt as the basis for the law of censure by the Senate of one of its Members.

It seems clear that if a Senator should be guilty of reprehensible conduct unconnected with his official duties and position, but which conduct brings the Senate into disrepute, the Senate has the power to censure. The power to censure must be independent, therefore, of the power to punish for contempt. A Member may be censured even after he has resigned (2 Hinds' Precedents 1239, 1273, 1275 (1907)). Precedents in both the Senate and House for expulsion or censure for conduct occurring during a preceding Congress may be found in Hinds (op. cit., 1275 to 1289). Precedents in the House cannot be considered as controlling because the House is not a continuing body.

In this connection, it must be remembered that the report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was filed on January 2, 1953, and since the new Congress convened the next day, there was not time for action in the prior session.

While it may be the law that one who is not a Member of the Senate may not be punished for contempt of the Senate at a preceding session, this is no basis for declaring that the Senate may not censure one of its own Members for conduct antedating that session, and no controlling authority or precedent has been cited for such position.

The particular charges against Senator McCarthy, which are the basis of this category, involve his conduct toward an official committee and official committee members of the Senate. These committees continue from session to session and there is no lapse in their legislative business.

The reelection of Senator McCarthy in 1952 was considered by the select committee as a fact bearing on this proposition. This reelection is not deemed controlling because only the Senate itself can pass judgment upon conduct which is injurious to its processes, dignity, and official committees.

In the Senate on April 8, 1952 (Congressional Record, Senate, April 8, 1952, p. 3753), at the request of Senator Hayden, there were ordered printed Senate Expulsion, Exclusion, and Censure Cases Unconnected with Elections, 1871–1951.

A résumé of precedents on expulsion, exclusion, and censure cases since the organization of the Committee on Privileges and Elections is printed at page 73 of the Hennings-Hayden-Hendrickson report. Another collection of Senate precedents appears in the Congressional Record, Senate, August 2, 1954, page 12361, being a study prepared by William R. Tansill, of the Government Division of the Legisla-

tive Reference Service of the Library of Congress, printed on motion of Senator Morse. In election cases, the Senate, of course, considers conduct occurring before the commencement of the term of the Senator involved. Senator Morse, in the same day, had printed in the same Congressional Record at page 12371 certain pertinent material from Hinds' Precedents, and at page 12373 certain pertinent material from Cannon's Precedents.

From an examination and study of all available precedents, the select committee is of the opinion that the Senate has the power, under the circumstances of this case, to elect to censure Senator McCarthy for conduct occurring during his prior term in the Senate, should it deem such conduct censurable.

3. It was not necessary for Senate Resolution 187 to be adopted by the Senate

Senate Resolution 187, introduced by Senator Benton on August 6, 1951, was not actually a resolution for the expulsion of Senator McCarthy. In the resolution paragraph, the Committee on Rules and Administration is authorized to make an investigation—

> as may be appropriate to enable such committee to determine whether or not it should initiate action with a view toward the expulsion from the United States Senate of the said Senator, Joseph R. McCarthy.

In the regular order of Senate business, after this resolution was introduced, it was referred by the President of the Senate, without a vote by the Senate, to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, in section 102, which incorporates rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, provides that among the standing committees to be appointed at the commencement of each Congress, with leave to report by bill or otherwise, there shall be a Committee on Rules and Administration, to which committee shall be referred all proposed legislation, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to * * * credentials and qualifications. By section 134–A of the same act, each standing committee of the Senate, including any subcommittee of such committee, is authorized to hold such hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses * * * as it deems advisable. It is further provided in the same section that each such committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction and report such hearings as may be had by it.

As stated by Senator Case (at p. 61 of the hearings) reference is made on page 71 of the Hennings report, being the report of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to the Committee on Rules and Administration pursuant to Senate Resolutions 187 and 304, that investigations with reference to alleged misconduct by a Senator may be undertaken by the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections with or without specific Senate authorization or direction. That report states at the page indicated:

> The old Committee on Privileges and Elections was presented with five cases of expulsion or exclusion unconnected with an election. In three of these cases, those of Smoot, Burton, and Gould, the Senate adopted resolutions directing an investigation of the charges against the respective Senators. In the other two cases, those of La Follette and Langer, the petitions and protests of private

citizens were referred by the presiding officer to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which then conducted investigations without obtaining resolutions of authorization from the Senate.

These precedents indicate that the legal power of the subcommittee to conduct investigations of its own motion is not subject to question; and, also, that the subcommittee may act under a resolution formally adopted by the Senate.

It is the opinion of the select committee, in addition to the conclusion made evident by the foregoing precedents, that the vote of the Senate on April 10, 1952, upon Senate Resolution 300, 82d Congress, 2d session, introduced by Senator Hayden for himself and Senators Gillette, Monroney, Hennings, and Hendrickson, to obtain the sense of the Senate upon the right and power of the Committee on Rules and Administration and its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to proceed with the investigation of Senator McCarthy under Senate Resolution 187, and to obtain a vote of confidence from the Senate in the integrity of the committee members, carried all the implications, and was to the same effect, as if the Senate by vote had directed that committee and subcommittee, on August 6, 1951, to proceed with the investigation sought by Senate Resolution 187.

It is, therefore, the opinion of the select committee that it was not necessary for Senate Resolution 187 to have been adopted by the Senate.

4. The Gillette-Hennings Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was not acting beyond its power or jurisdiction

The action of the Senate upon Senate Resolution 300 must be considered as an affirmance that as of April 10, 1952, when the actions of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and the integrity of its members were ratified and approved by a vote of 60 to 0, the committee and subcommittee were acting within its power and jurisdiction.

The jurisdiction of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was not limited to the conduct of Senator McCarthy connected with elections only but extended to acts totally unconnected with election matters, but which were relevant in inquiries relating to expulsion, exclusion, and censure. The debate in the Senate and the vote of the Senate makes this abundantly clear. (See Congressional Record, Senate, April 8, 1952, pp. 3701, 3753–3756.) One of the principal purposes of the introduction of Senate Resolution 300 was to affirm or deny the contention of Senator McCarthy that the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections lacked jurisdiction to investigate such acts as were not connected with elections and campaigns. Senate Resolution 187, introduced by Senator Benton, provided for an investigation with reference to the other acts of Senator McCarthy since his election to the Senate (in the fall of 1946), as might be appropriate to carry out the purposes of the resolution. It is clear, therefore, that the subcommittee had the right and power to investigate the acts of Senator McCarthy at least since January 1947. While Senate Resolution 187 did not itself specify any charges against Senator McCarthy, the charges pending upon the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections were known to Senator McCarthy and were disclosed to him in detail in the correspondence between him and the chairman of the subcommittee. Most of the six charges referred clearly to activities of Senator McCarthy after January 1947. It may be, although this select committee is not in a position to so decide, that some parts of the investigations and proceedings of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elec-

tions were concerned with matters arising before January 1947, but it is the judgment of this select committee that this extension of power and authority did not ipso facto nullify the power and jurisdiction of that subcommittee to proceed with its lawful duties and powers.

It is, therefore, the judgment of the select committee that for purposes of the present inquiry, it can be stated that the Gillette-Hennings Subcommitee on Privileges and Elections was not acting beyond its power and jurisdiction so far as forming a basis for the possible censure of Senator McCarthy by reason of his conduct in relation with and toward that subcommittee.

5. The Gillette-Hennings Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was a lawfully constituted committee

As shown by the testimony taken in this proceeding, the subcommittee originally had five members. After the resignations of Senators Welker and Gillette, and the reduction of the number of acting members to 3, Senator Hayden, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration, the parent committee, decided that it was not necessary to fill the 2 vacancies, and that the work of the subcommittee would be better performed by the smaller number. After that time, Senator Monroney resigned, and Senator Hayden then appointed himself to that vacancy, so that the subcommittee continued with three members.

Senator Hayden testified that there was no rule of the parent committee or subcommittee which was contrary to the procedure adopted in this case, and that the procedure was consonant with the practice both before and after 1952. As a matter of fact, the subcommittee since 1952 has consisted of three members.

With the approval of Senator McCarthy and his counsel, testimony was taken from Charles L. Watkins, the Senate Parliamentarian, upon the status and legality of the Gillette-Hennings subcommittee. This testimony appears on page 535 of the hearings, and may be epitomized as follows:

1. The three-member subcommittee, as constituted by Senator Hayden, after the resignation of Senator Monroney, by appointing himself as the third member, was a legal committee for the discharge of regular business under the rules and precedents of the Senate.

2. There was no mandatory requirement for a chairman to fill a vacancy on a subcommittee.

3. Chairman Hayden of the parent Committee on Rules and Administration had the right to appoint himself a member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, without submitting the appointment to the Committee on Rules and Administration, for prior approval or subsequent ratification.

4. This was particularly true when the Senate was not in session.

5. Chairman Hayden had the right to recognize Senator Hennings as chairman of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, and had the right to appoint the chairman of the subcommittee.

6. The subcommittee of 3 members had the right to designate 1 member as a legal quorum for the purpose of taking testimony.

7. The subcommittee of 3 members was authorized and had the duty to make a report to the full committee, signed by its 3 members, Senators Hennings, Hayden, and Hendrickson, and file the report with the full Committee on Rules and Administration, with Senator Hayden as chairman.

8. In a quasi-judicial proceeding such as an expulsion matter, although 3 of the original 5 members of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections have resigned, although 2 of the vacancies have not been filled, and the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration has appointed himself to the third vacancy on the subcommittee, that subcommittee of 3 members had the right to file a valid legal report with the parent committee, when less than half of its original 5 members have heard the evidence.

6. It was not necessary for the subcommittee to subpena Senator McCarthy

A question has been raised in these proceedings whether it was necessary for the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to subpena Senator McCarthy to appear before it.

According to his testimony, he had no desire to appear before the subcommittee and advised the chairman that he would not appear before it to answer the charges made against him and pending before that subcommittee, unless he was ordered so to do. The provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act, above referred to, make it clear that the subcommittee had the power and right to require the attendance of Senator McCarthy for purposes of investigation and examination "by subpena or otherwise." It can be stated, therefore, categorically, that it was not necessary for the subcommittee to issue its subpena for him. Section 134–A of the Legislative Reorganization Act does refer to "requiring" the attendance of witnesses, and the select committee is of the opinion that an invitation to appear, is not such action indicating a requirement to appear as is contemplated by the act. It is the opinion of the select committee that a request to appear, such as the letter and telegram from the subcommittee to Senator McCarthy dated November 21, 1952, was sufficient (aside from any question whether Senator McCarthy received them in time) to meet the requirements of the law. The related questions whether Senator McCarthy was repeatedly invited to appear, and whether he should have appeared even without invitation and without request or subpena, are considered hereinafter.

7. Senator McCarthy was repeatedly invited to appear

The select committee has carefully considered all the letters in evidence between Senator McCarthy and the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, and all the testimony relating to his appearance before the subcommittee. The facts relating to whether or not Senator McCarthy was repeatedly invited to appear before that subcommittee in order to make answer to the very sericus charges against his character and his activities in the Senate have already been found by the select committee and incorporated hereinabove as finding of fact. This evidence and this testimony, upon analysis, has convinced the select committee that Senator McCarthy was invited by that subcommittee to appear before it in order to aid its investigation and to give

answer to the charges made against him and pending before that subcommittee. It must be remembered that Senator McCarthy wrote to Chairman Gillette under date of September 17, 1951, stating that he intended to appear to question witnesses (see finding of fact No. 7). Senator McCarthy was invited to appear before the subcommittee by letter of September 25, 1951 (finding of fact No. 8), by letter of October 1, 1951 (finding of fact No. 10), by letter of December 21, 1951 (finding of fact No. 20), by letter of May 7, 1952 (finding of fact No. 30), by letter of May 10, 1952 (finding of fact No. 33), and by letter of November 7, 1952 (finding of fact No. 35).

8. It was the duty of Senator McCarthy to accept the repeated invitations by the subcommittee and his failure to appear was obstructive of the processes of the Senate, for no formal order or subpena should be necessary to bring Senators before Senate committees when their own honor and the honor of the Senate are at issue

The matters against Senator McCarthy under investigation by the Gillette-Hennings subcommittee were of a serious nature. Apparently, Senator McCarthy knew the nature of these matters since he testified:

> I know all about this matter: I have been living with it. It had been underway. They had been going far beyond the resolution, investigating things they had no right to investigate; going back beyond the time that I was even old enough to run for Senator, investigating the income-tax returns of my father, who died before I was elected. So I knew those facts (p. 385 of the hearings).

Furthermore, Chairman Gillette specified one of the matters against Senator McCarthy (that of the Lustron payment), in his letter of May 7, 1952, to Senator McCarthy (p. 32 of the hearings), and Chairman Hennings specified all six of the matters in his letter to Senator McCarthy of November 21, 1952 (p. 45 of the hearings).

The mere reading of these matters (p. 46 of the hearings) without deciding or attempting to decide whether they are true or not, makes it clear that the honesty, sincerity, character, and conduct of Senator McCarthy were under inquiry. It is the opinion of the select committee that when the personal honor and official conduct of a Senator of the United States are in question before a duly constituted committee of the Senate, the Senator involved owes a duty to himself, his State, and to the Senate, to appear promptly and cooperate fully when called by a Senate committee charged with the responsibility of inquiry. This must be the rule if the dignity, honor, authority, and powers of the Senate are to be respected and maintained. This duty could not and was not fulfilled by questioning the authority and jurisdiction of the subcommittee, by accusing its members of the dishonest expenditure of public funds, or even by charging that the subcommittee was permitting itself to be used to serve the cause of communism. When persons in high places fail to set and meet high standards, the people lose faith. If our people lose faith, our form of Government cannot long endure.

The appearance which we believe was necessary was before a subcommittee of the Senate itself, to which subcommittee the Senate, through its normal processes, had confided a matter affecting its own honor and integrity. In such a case legal process was not and should not be required.

9. The request of November 21, 1952, to Senator McCarthy to appear did not form a legal basis for contempt, but his reply of December 1, 1952, was, in itself, contumacious in character

As appears from the findings of fact, Senator McCarthy was formally requested to appear by letter and by telegram from Subcommittee Chairman Hennings, dated November 21, 1952. The request was that he appear before the subcommittee between November 22 and November 25, 1952 (p. 46 of the hearings).

Senator McCarthy testified that he was in Wisconsin, on a hunting trip, and that he did not see the letter or telegram until November 28, 1952 (p. 298 of the hearings). The select committee accepts this testimony as true.

Considering this request as a formal request, and Senator McCarthy being unable to appear in the dates fixed because he did not know of the request in time, we believe that this request, considered independently, would not be contempt in the ordinary legal sense, but we think the letter which he wrote in reply to the request was contumacious in its entire form and manner of expression when directed at a committee of the Senate seeking to act upon a matter referred to it (p. 51 of the hearings).

10. The conduct of the junior Senator from Wisconsin toward the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was contemptuous, independently of his failure to appear

We have considered carefully all of the correspondence and all the conduct, relation, and attitude of Senator McCarthy toward the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. We believe it fair to say on the evidence in this record that the junior Senator from Wisconsin did not intend to appear before that subcommittee for examination.

He first questioned the jurisdiction of the subcommittee to inquire into any but election charges. Later he contended that the subcommittee was investigating conduct preceding his election to the Senate, and that, therefore, its activities were illegal.

He also stated that he would not appear unless he were given the right to cross-examine witnesses. We feel that this right should have been accorded to him and that upon proper request, either to the Committee on Rules and Administration, of which Senator McCarthy was a member (p. 27 of the hearings), or to the Senate itself, he could have obtained this right, but that in any event, this cannot be a justification for contemptuous conduct.

The letters of Senator McCarthy to the respective chairmen of the subcommittee dated December 6, 1951 (p. 24 of the hearings), December 19, 1951 (p. 27 of the hearings), March 21, 1952 (p. 30 of the hearings), May 8, 1952 (p. 32 of the hearings), May 8, 1952 (p. 35 of the hearings), May 11, 1952 (p. 44 of the hearings), and December 1, 1952 (p. 51 of the hearings), are clearly contemptuous, disregarding entirely his duty to cooperate, ridiculing the subcommittee, accusing these committee officers of the Senate with dishonesty and impugning their motives, and making it impossible for them to proceed in orderly fashion, or to complete their duties.

The same attitude was expressed in the statement given to the press by Senator McCarthy on January 2, 1953 (p. 68 of the hearings).

The letters to Senator McCarthy from Chairman Gillette, later from Chairman Hennings, and the letter from Chairman Hayden,

were uniformly courteous and cooperative, as one Senator should have the right to expect from colleagues. There is no justification in this record for the harsh criticisms directed by Senator McCarthy to the subcommittee, in letters apparently sometimes given to the press before receipt by the person to whom directed (p. 27 of the hearings).

It is the opinion of the select committee that this conduct of Senator McCarthy was contemptuous, independently of his failure to appear before the subcommittee.

11. The junior Senator from Wisconsin did "denounce" the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections without justification

We feel that the fact that Senator McCarthy denounced the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections is established by reference to a few of the letters in the exchange of correspondence. In his letter of December 6, 1951 (p. 24 of the hearings), to Chairman Gillette, Senator McCarthy states that when the subcommittee, without Senate authorization, is "spending tens of thousands of taxpayers' dollars for the sole purpose of digging up campaign material against McCarthy, then the committee is guilty of stealing just as clearly as though the members engaged in picking the pockets of the taxpayers and turning the loot over to the Democrat National Committee." Such language directed by a Senator toward a committee of the Senate pursuing its authorized functions is clearly intemperate, in bad taste, and unworthy of a Member of this body.

These accusations by Senator McCarthy are continued and repeated in his letter to Chairman Gillette dated December 19, 1951 (p. 27 of the hearings). Under date of March 21, 1952 (p. 30 of the hearings), Senator McCarthy wrote to Senator Hayden, chairman of the parent Committee on Rules and Administration that: "As you know, I wrote Senator Gillette, chairman of the subcommittee, that I consider this a completely dishonest handling of taxpayers' money." Similar language is used in Senator McCarthy's letters down to the last dated December 1, 1952 (p. 51 of the hearing).

If Senator McCarthy had any justification for such denunciation of the subcommittee, he should have presented it at these hearings. His failure so to do leaves his denunciation of officers of the Senate without any foundation in this record.

The members of the subcommittee were Senators representing the people of sovereign States. They were performing official duties of the Senate. Every Senator is understandably jealous of his honor and integrity, but this does not bar inquiry into his conduct, since the Constitution expressly makes the Senate the guardian of its own honor.

It is the opinion of the select committee that these charges of political waste and dishonesty for improper motives were denunciatory and unjustified.

In this connection, attention is directed to the charges referred to this committee relating to words uttered by the junior Senator from Wisconsin about individual Senators.

It has been established, without denial and in fact with confirmation and reiteration, that Senator McCarthy, in reference to the official actions of the junior Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Hendrickson, as a member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, questioned both his moral courage and his mental ability.

His public statement with reference to Senator Hendrickson was vulgar and insulting. Any Senator has the right to question, criticize, differ from, on condemn an official action of the body of which he is a Member, or of the constituent committees which are working arms of the Senate in proper language. But he has no right to impugn the motives of individual Senators responsible for official action, nor to reflect upon their personal character for what official action they took.

If the rules and procedures were otherwise, no Senator could have freedom of action to perform his assigned committee duties. If a Senator must first give consideration to whether an official action can be wantonly impugned by a colleague, as having been motivated by a lack of the very qualities and capacities every Senator is presumed to have, the processes of the Senate will be destroyed.

12. The conduct of Senator McCarthy has been contumacious toward the Senate by failing to explain three of the questions raised in the subcommittee's report

The report of the subcommittee was filed on January 2, 1953. Since that time Senator McCarthy has given to the Senate, on the Senate floor, an explanation of the Lustron matter only. Of the other 5 matters, mentioned in the November 21, 1952, letter by Chairman Hennings, 3 are of a serious nature, reflecting upon Senator McCarthy's character and integrity, and have not been answered either before the Senate or before any of its committees.

It is our opinion that the failure of Senator McCarthy to explain to the Senate these matters: (1) Whether funds collected to fight communism were diverted to other purposes inuring to his personal advantage; (2) whether certain of his official activities were motivated by self-interest; and (3) whether certain of his activities in senatorial campaigns involved violations of the law; was conduct contumacious toward the Senate and injurious to its effectiveness, dignity, responsibilities, processes, and prestige.

13. The reelection of Senator McCarthy in 1952 did not settle these matters

This question is answered in part by our conclusions that the Senate is a continuing body and has power to censure a Senator for conduct occurring during his prior term as Senator, and in part by the fact that some of the contumacious conduct occurred after his reelection, notably the letter of December 1, 1952. The Senate might have proceeded with this matter in 1953 or earlier in 1954 had the necessary resolution been proposed.

Some of the questions, notably the use for private purposes of funds contributed for fighting communism, were not raised until after the election. The people of Wisconsin could pass only upon what was known to them.

Nor do we believe that the reelection of Senator McCarthy by the people of Wisconsin in the fall of 1952 pardons his conduct toward the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. The charge is that Senator McCarthy was guilty of contempt of the Senate or a senatorial committee. Necessarily, this is a matter for the Senate and the Senate alone. The people of Wisconsin can only pass upon issues before them; they cannot forgive an attack by a Senator upon the integrity

of the Senate's processes and its committees. That is the business of the Senate.

D. CONCLUSIONS

It is therefore, the conclusion of the select committee that the conduct of the junior Senator from Wisconsin toward the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, toward its members, including the statement concerning Senator Hendrickson acting as a member of the subcommittee, and toward the Senate, was contemptuous, contumacious, and denunciatory, without reason or justification, and was obstructive to legislative processes. For this conduct, it is our recommendation that he be censured by the Senate.

II

Category II. Incidents of Encouragement of United States Employees To Violate the Law and Their Oaths of Office or Executive Orders

A. SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The committee, pursuant to the category 2, "Incidents of encouragement of United States employees to violate the law and their oaths of office or Executive orders," received evidence and took testimony regarding:

1. Amendment proposed by Mr. Fulbright to the resolution (S. Res. 301) to censure the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, viz:

> (5) The junior Senator from Wisconsin openly, in a public manner before nationwide television, invited and urged employees of the Government of the United States to violate the law and their oath of office.

2. Amendment proposed by Mr. Morse to the resolution (S. Res. 301) to censure the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, viz:

> (e) Openly invited and incited employees of the Government to violate the law and their oaths of office by urging them to make available information, including classified information, which in the opinion of the employees could be of assistance to the junior Senator from Wisconsin in conducting his investigations, even though the supplying of such information by the employee would be illegal and in violation of Presidential order and contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chief Executive under the separation-of-powers doctrine.

This category involves alleged statements of Senator McCarthy made at and during the hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Investigations for the Committee on Government Operations of the United States Senate pursuant to Senate Resolution 189, and reveals the following specific charges:

1. That Senator McCarthy openly, in a public manner before nationwide television, invited, urged, and incited employees of the Government to violate the law and their oaths of office.
2. That he invited, urged, and incited such employees to give him classified information.
3. That the supplying of such classified information by such employees would be illegal, in violation of Presidential orders and contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chief Executive.

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The committee received documentary evidence in the form of excerpts from the printed record of the testimony taken and published by the Special Subcommittee on Investigations for the Committee on Government Operations, oral testimony by Senator McCarthy in his own behalf, and received documentary evidence offered by him from the reports of the Internal Security Subcommittee and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate wherein Government workers were invited to supply certain information to congressional committees.

From the aforementioned relevant and competent evidence and testimony so adduced, the select committee regards the following as having been established:

That at the hearings of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for the Committee on Government Operations, following an attempt by Senator McCarthy to question Secretary Stevens about the "2½-page document," and following questioning by certain members of that subcommittee, relative to the legality of his receiving and using the document, the Senator made the replies or statements which are the subject of this category of charges.

At those hearings Senator McCarthy took the position that:

> * * * I would like to notify those 2 million Federal employees that I feel it is their duty to give us any information which they have about graft, corruption, communism, treason, and that there is no loyalty to a superior officer which can tower above and beyond their loyalty to their country * * * (hearing record, p. 87).
>
> Again, I want to compliment the individuals who have placed their oaths to defend the country against enemies—and certainly Communists are enemies—above and beyond any Presidential directive * * * (hearing record, p. 87).
>
> * * * I think that the oath which every person in this Government takes, to protect and defend this country against all enemies, foreign and domestic, that oath towers far above any Presidential secrecy directive. And I will continue to receive information such as I received the other day * * * (hearing record, p. 87).
>
> * * * that I have instructed a vast number of these employees that they are dutybound to give me information even though some little bureaucrat has stamped it "secret" to protect himself (hearing record, p. 87).
>
> I don't think any Government employee can deny the people the right to know what the facts are by using a rubber stamp and stamping something "secret" (hearing record, p. 89).
>
> * * * while I am chairman of the committee I will receive all the information I can get about wrongdoing in the executive branch (p. 89 of the hearings).
>
> I think that oath to defend our country against all enemies foreign and domestic, towers above and beyond any loyalty you might have to the head of a bureau or the head of a department (p. 90 of the hearings).
>
> I am an authorized person to receive information in regard to any wrongdoing in the executive branch. When you say "classified documents," Mr. Symington, certainly I am not authorized to receive anything which would divulge the names of, we will say, informants, of Army Intelligence, anything which would in any way compromise their investigative technique, and that sort of thing. * * * (p. 91 of the hearings).
>
> * * * no one can deny us information by stamping something "classified" (p. 92 of the hearings).
>
> Any committee which has jurisdiction over a subject has the right to receive the information. The stamp on the document, I would say, is not controlling * * * (p. 92 of the hearings).
>
> * * * anyone who has evidence of wrongdoing, has not only the right but the duty to bring that evidence to a congressional committee (p. 92 of the hearings).

That the Senator, at the hearings of the select committee, admitted making some of the foregoing statements charged against him (pp. 261–263 of the hearings), and did not deny having made the

others. At these hearings, Senator McCarthy took an affirmative position relative to the following question of Senator Ervin:

Senator, when you made the statement which Mr. de Furia characterized as an invitation to the employees of the executive departments, did you mean to invite those employees to bring to you, as chairman of the investigating subcommittee, information relating to corruption, wrongdoing, communism, or treason in Government, even though such employees could find such information only in documents marked "classified" by the department in which such employees were working?

By Senator McCarthy. Yes (hearing record p. 417).

In addition to the foregoing, which the committee believes to have been established, the select committee received the following additional evidence and testimony:

Senator McCarthy testified in his own behalf that—

* * * I was not asking for general classified information. I was only asking for evidence of wrongdoing. I was asking these people to conform with the criminal code which requires they give that evidence (p. 262 of the hearings).

* * * When I invited them to give the chairman of that committee evidence of wrongdoing, I am inviting them not to violate their oath of office but to conform to their oath of office * * *" (pp. 263 and 264 of the hearings).

I confined this information with regard to illegal activities on the part of Federal employees. It did not include general classified material * * * that as chairman of the Government Operations Committee and the investigation committee, if I did not try to get that information, then I should be subject to censure (p. 265 of the hearings).

* * * I feel very strongly that if someone in the executive knows of wrongdoing, of a crime being committed, and they do not bring it to someone who will act on it they are almost equally guilty * * * and let me emphasize again I am not asking for general classified information; I am merely asking for evidence of wrongdoing. I maintain that you cannot hide wrongdoing by using a rubber stamp, stamping "Confidential," "Secret," or "Top Secret"—I don't care what classification they stamp upon it—as long as it is evidence of wrongdoing (p. 266 of the hearings).

I am referring here, obviously, to valid information (p. 394 of the hearings).

The Senator contended that the following statutes permitted, even imposed a duty upon, Federal employees to give to him the information so requested:

Title V, United States Code, section 652 (d) (p. 264 of the hearings).
Title XVIII, United States Code, section 4 (p. 265 of the hearings).
Title XVIII, United States Code, section 798 (p. 395 of the hearings).

Senator McCarthy further stated that the position which he took was not new or unprecedented, but that the Vice President (then Congressman), Nixon, took a position much stronger, and the then Senator Hugo Black in 1934 took a similar position to the one presently taken by him (p. 267 of the hearings). He introduced into the record excerpts from a report of the Committee on the Judiciary, 1951. "Subversive and Illegal Aliens in the United States," wherein the subcommittee invited the employees of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to report to the subcommittee laxity in enforcement of immigration laws or other matters affecting national security; and also parts of a report of the Internal Security Subcommittee, "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments," wherein Government workers were invited to supply information of subversion to the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the congressional committees (pp. 418 and 419 of the hearings).

B. LEGAL ISSUES INVOLVED

The select committee believes that the charges in this category, and the evidence and testimony thereunder adduced, give rise to the following legal or quasi-legal question:

1. Whether Senator McCarthy openly invited, incited, and urged employees of the Government of the United States to report to him information coming to their attention without disinction to whether or not contained in a classified document; and thereby to violate (a) their oath of office, (b) the law of the United States, (c) Executive orders and directives.

Senator McCarthy contended at the hearings of the select committee, and by a brief submitted to the committee by his counsel, that he had not requested "classified" information, but only information relating to "graft, corruption, Communist infiltration and espionage" and that such information "could not be insulated from exposure by a rubber stamp." He asserts that by statute (U. S. C., title V, sec. 652 (9)) Federal employees are not precluded from furnishing such information to a Member of Congress; indeed, by virtue of United States Code, title XVIII, section 4, such employees have a duty to give such information. He further contends that as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, a duty is imposed upon him by the Senate itself to get such information, and that in seeking this information he was doing no more than had been done in the past by other Senators and senatorial committees.

The committee believes that from a reading of the entire section 652 of title V, it will appear that this portion of the Civil Service Act of 1912 does no more than affirm that Federal employees do not lose or forfeit any of their rights merely be virtue of their Federal employment. A study of title XVIII, section 4, by the committee leads it to the conclusion that it applies only to persons possessing actual personal knowledge of the actual commission of a felony, as distinguished from information obtained by reviewing files.

As to the alleged precedents of other Senators and senatorial committees, the committee has taken note of the statements contained in the reports of certain senatorial committees cited by Senator McCarthy, as expressing the official opinion of the members of such committees. The committee was of the opinion that any similar statements of other Senators are expressions of individuals and do not establish senatorial precedent unless confirmed by official action.

The charges contained in this category involve the right of the legislative branch of the Government to investigate the executive branch and to be informed of the operations of that branch. This committee believes that the principles, frequently enunciated by the Senate and its committees, sustaining the right of the Congress to be informed of all pertinent facts with respect to the operations of the executive branch should not be relaxed; and any contrary view is hereby disavowed. These principles certainly embrace information of wrongdoing in the executive branch of a general nonclassified nature, and the right of employees to inform the Congress of the same.

The precedents do show with certitude, however, that the Congress has the constitutional power to investigate activities in the executive branch to determine the advisability of enacting new laws directed to such activities, or to determine whether existing laws directed to

such activities are being executed in accordance with the congressional intent. To these ends, the Congress may make investigations into allegedly corrupt or subversive activities in executive agencies or departments. The power to investigate such activities necessarily carries with it the power to receive information relating to such activities.

By the Reorganization Act of 1946, the Congress conferred upon the Senate Committee on Government Operations express authority to study "the operation of Government activities at all levels with a view to determining its economy and efficiency," and also that "Each such (standing) committee may make investigations into any matter within its jurisdiction."

In so doing, Congress delegated, in part, to the Senate Committee on Government Operations its constitutional power to make investigations into alleged corruption or subversion in executive agencies or departments. The Senate Committee on Government Operations elected to exercise this delegated power through its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, whose chairman was Senator McCarthy.

The committee is immediately concerned with the conduct of Senator McCarthy rather than with the conduct of employees of the executive branch. The President no doubt has power to safeguard from public dissemination, by Executive order or otherwise, information affecting, for example, the national defense, notwithstanding that the regulations might indirectly interfere with any secret transmission line between the executive employees and any individual Member of the Congress. But the President, we think, cannot (nor do we believe he has sought by any order or directive called to our attention) deny to the Congress, or any duly organized committee or subcommittee thereof, and particularly the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate, any information, even though classified, if it discloses corruption or subversion in the executive branch.

This, we think, is true on the simple basis that the Congress is entitled to receive such information in the exercise of its investigatory power under the Constitution. The Congress, too, is charged with the responsibility for the welfare of the Nation.

What the executive branch may rightfully expect is that the coequal legislative branch, or its authorized committees, will inform the President, or his specially designated subordinate (ultimately the Attorney General) of the request, and that the desired information will be supplied subject to the protectives customarily thrown around classified documents by such committees.

In receiving such information, however, the Congress should refrain from thwarting or impeding the proper efforts of executive agencies, charged with duties incident to discovering, prosecuting, or punishing corruption or subversion in Government, or charged with safeguarding secrets involving the national defense.

However, the committee is equally of the view that the manner of approaching this important aspect of investigation in the light of the peculiar dangers of this hour, must be taken into account. The executive branch is initially peculiarly charged with inquiry into and suppression of insidious infiltrations of subversives into its own departments and agencies; this responsibility is a delicate and necessarily confidential one, because it involves the clearing of loyal personnel as well as the identification and elimination of disloyal em-

ployees. It also involves techniques of investigation which must be kept secret to be effective.

For this reason, there has been developed, under pressure of necessity, a system by which certain information, involving the national security, is protected in the executive branch by a machinery of classification, to insure that such information will remain confidential, as against unauthorized revelation or publication by employees, officers, or other agents of the executive branch.

If this system, which has expanded during recent years to keep step with the danger, were to be presented to the Congress as an iron curtain, denying to properly authorized agencies or persons (in which class the Congress and its committees are to be placed first) any right of access, a situation would be presented against which this committee would protest with all its power, as other committees have protested in the past. This we would regard as a challenge to the coequal powers of the legislative branch.

If on the other hand the Executive has recognized the prerogatives of the Congress, and incidentally other agencies of Government, even in the executive department itself, to be informed of classified material or information, by orderly and formal application to responsible heads of departments or to the Presidential office itself, then the committee believes another problem of orderly constitutional government may be presented, and that the Senate itself would be the first to respect the necessary right of the Executive to protect its special functions, so long as the equally important powers of the legislative branch are not unduly impeded thereby.

We would be of the view that for the executive department, even the President himself, to deny to a properly constituted committee or subcommittee of the Senate or any Senator operating with authority in the matter, facts involving wrongdoing in any executive department, might well offer a proper ground for challenging such decision, on the broadest and soundest constitutional grounds. But by the same token, a failure of the Congress or any Member to adapt itself or himself, to reasonable regulations by the President or his authorized department heads (for example, the Department of Defense or the Federal Bureau of Investigation), with respect to matters involving national security, might readily expose the Congress to an equally sound criticism.

In this connection, it is apparent that Congress itself, by specific legislation, has expressed an intent to protect documents relating to national security, and to prevent unauthorized disclosures of such information contained therein. At the same time, the executive branch, by departmental orders and Presidential directives ("not inconsistent with law") has expressed a cooperative attitude, by providing an orderly method of disclosing such information to proper authorities, including, of course, the Congress, in a reasonable prescribed manner, not harmful to the Nation's interest.

(For a further consideration and discussion of these authorities by this committee, reference is made to the legal discussion contained in pt. IV, category 3B of this report.)

If the invitation of Senator McCarthy to the Federal employees is more a solicitation of general information of wrongdoing, this committee would believe that he was within his senatorial prerogative, as

there appears to be no law or Presidential order prohibiting employees of the Federal Government from giving such information to the Congress or members thereof. Indeed, there is law which affirmatively imposes a duty upon such employees to disclose to proper authorities any actual knowledge of the commission of a felony.

A more difficult legal question is presented if the invitation of the Senator goes beyond general information of wrongdoing, and includes within its scope classified information and documents, such as the 2½-page document and the information contained therein. The law hereinbefore mentioned and Presidential orders would seem to prevent the receipt or disclosure of such information or documents except through established orderly procedures.

The task of considering the allegations embodied in category I is a perplexing one because of the ambiguity of the statements made by Senator McCarthy as well as because of the difficulty of distinguishing between the constitutional power of the Congress to investigate the executive branch and the constitutional power of the President to withhold information from the Congress.

The statements of Senator McCarthy are susceptible of alternative constructions.

The first construction is that Senator McCarthy merely invited employees of the executive branch to bring to him as chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and as chairman of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, information acquired by them in the ordinary course of their employment having a logical tendency to disclose corrupt or subversive activities in governmental areas.

The second construction is that Senator McCarthy in effect urged employees of the executive branch to ransack confidential files of executive agencies or departments regardless of whether they had lawful access to those files, and bring to him classified documents the confidential retention of which in those files was necessary to enable the executive agencies charged with such duties to discover, prevent, or bring to justice persons guilty of corrupt or subversive activities in governmental areas.

If his statements were susceptible of the second construction alone, Senator McCarthy might well merit the censure of the Senate upon the allegations embodied in category I for the conduct reflected by the second construction would evince an irresponsibility unworthy of any Senator and particularly of a Senator occupying the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Since his statements admit of the alternative construction set out above, however, the select committee feels justified in giving Senator McCarthy the benefit of the first or more charitable construction.

In receiving information relating to corruption or subversion in the executive branch under the circumstances delineated in the first construction, that is, without irregular and possibly illegal use of classified documents, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations would be exercising the investigatory power vested in the Congress by the Constitution. This would be true even though employees of the executive branch should communicate such information to him in disobedience to Presidential orders.

The committee does not overlook the allegation that the statements of Senator McCarthy were tantamount to incitement to employees of the executive branch to violate the provisions of the Espionage Act embraced in 18 United States Code 793 (d) (e), which are couched in this language:

> (d) Whoever having lawful possession of * * * any * * * information relating to the national defense which information the possessor has reason to believe could be used to the injury of the United States * * *, willfully communicates * * * the same to any person not entitled to receive it * * * shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.
>
> (e) Whoever having unauthorized possession of * * * any * * * information relating to the national defense which information the possessor has reason to believe could be used to the injury of the United States * * *, willfully communicates * * * the same to any person not entitled to receive it * * * shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 10 years, or both.

These statutory provisions do not define who is entitled to receive information relating to the national defense. Moreover, the code leaves to conjecture the question whether the definition embodied in 18 United States Code 798 (b) applies to 18 United States Code 793 (d) (e). Since it is a cardinal rule of statutory construction that statutes defining crimes are to be construed strictly against the Government and it does not appear that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations is a "person not entitled to receive" information relating to the national defense, within the purview of 18 United States Code 793 (d) (e), the select committee is of the opinion that the statements of Senator McCarthy cannot assuredly be deemed, under all the facts before us, to constitute an incitement to employees of the executive branch to violate the provisions of the Espionage Act embraced in 18 United States Code 793 (d) (e).

C. FINDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

After carefully considering, evaluating, and weighing the evidence and testimony presented at the hearings, and construing the applicable legal principles involved, the select committee is of the opinion—

1. That insofar as Senator McCarthy invited Federal employees to supply him with general information of wrongdoing, not of a classified nature, he was acting within his prerogative as a United States Senator and as head of an investigative arm of the United States Senate, and was not inviting such employees to violate their oath of office, Presidential orders, or any law.
2. That the invitation of Senator McCarthy, made during the hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, and affirmed and reasserted at the hearings before the select committee, is susceptible to the interpretation that it was sufficiently broad by specific language and necessary implication to include information and documents properly classified by executive department heads as containing information affecting the national security.
3. However, the select committee is convinced that the invitation so made, affirmed, and reasserted by Senator McCarthy was motivated by a sense of official duty and not uttered as the fruit of evil design or wrongful intent.

4. That were the invitation as made, affirmed, and reasserted to be acted upon by the Federal employees, as to classified material affecting the national security, the orderly and constitutional functioning of the executive and legislative branches of the Government would be unduly disrupted and impeded, and this select committee warns such employees that such conduct involves the risk of effective penalties.

D. CONCLUSIONS

The select committee feels compelled to conclude that the conduct of Senator McCarthy in inviting Federal employees to supply him with information, without expressly excluding therefrom classified documents, tends to create a disruption of the orderly and constitutional functioning of the executive and legislative branches of the Government, which tends to bring both into disrepute. Such conduct cannot be condoned and is deemed improper.

However, the committee, preferring to give Senator McCarthy the benefit of whatever doubts and uncertainties may have confused the issue in the past, and in recognition of the Senator's responsibilities as chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, does not feel justified in proposing his acts in this particular to the Senate as ground for censure.

The committee recommends that the leadership of the Senate endeavor to arrange a meeting of the chairman and the ranking minority members of the standing committees of the Senate with responsible departmental heads in the executive branch of the Government in an effort to clarify the mechanisms for obtaining such restricted information as Senate committees would find helpful in carrying out their duly authorized functions and responsibilities.

III

Category III. Incidents Involving Receipt or Use of Confidential or Classified Document or Other Confidential Information From Executive Files

A. SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The evidence adduced before this committee relating to this charge was evolved from the testimony before the Special Subcommittee on Investigations for the Committee on Government Operations (Mundt committee), together with some testimony taken at hearings of this select committee.

The charge is based upon the specifications contained in amendment (d) proposed by Senator Morse (hearing record, p. 3) and amendment (13) proposed by Senator Flanders (hearing record, p. 6).

The charge or charges inherent in these specifications are—

1. That Senator McCarthy received and used confidential information unlawfully obtained from an executive department classified document, and failed to restore the document.

2. That in so doing he was in possible violation of the Espionage Act.

3. That he offered such information to a Senate subcommittee in the form of a spurious document.

The evidence supporting these charges was in part derived in documentary form from the record of the Mundt subcommittee hearings held in April, May, and June 1954 and in part oral testimony presented before the select committee.

It is the opinion of the select committee that competent, relevant, and material testimony has been submitted before the committee to support the charge that Senator McCarthy, before the Mundt subcommittee, produced what purported to be a copy of a letter from J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to Major General Bolling, Assistant Chief of Staff, G2, Army, bearing the typed words "Personal and Confidential via Liaison," asserting it had been in the Army files (hearing records, pp. 95 and 96) and suggesting this was one of a series of letters from the FBI to the Army complaining "about the bad security setup at" the Fort Monmouth Signal Corps Laboratory, and giving information on certain individuals (hearing record, p. 96); that Mr. Hoover, after examining the "letter," which was dated January 26, 1951, declared that the "letter" was not a carbon copy or a copy of any communication prepared or sent by the FBI to General Bolling (hearing record, p. 99) but that "the letter" contained information identical in some respects with that contained in a 15-page interdepartmental memorandum from the FBI to General Bolling of the Army, dated January 26, 1951, marked "Confidential via Liaison"; also that Mr. Hoover had stated that "confidential" was the highest classification that could be put on a document by the FBI (hearing record, p. 110). *It is also established that Senator McCarthy urged that the document, 2¼ pages in length, which he had received from an Army Intelligence officer be made available to the public (hearing record, p. 111).*

It is further established that Attorney General Brownell on May 13, 1954, advised Chairman Mundt by letter that the 2¼-page document was not authentic; that portions of the 2¼-page document which were taken verbatim from the 15-page interdepartmental memorandum are classified "confidential" by law; this means they must not be disclosed "in the best interests of the national security * * *. It would not be in the public interest to declassify the document or any part of it at the present time" (hearing record, p. 116). The Attorney General further stated that "if the 'confidential' classification of the FBI reports and memoranda is not respected, serious and irreparable harm will be done to the FBI" (hearing record, p. 116).

Despite the fact that the Attorney General had ruled that the document was a classified document, Senator McCarthy insisted that all security information had been deleted from it, and a request was made by his attorney as follows:

> Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to read it, sir, because there is no security information in it.
>
> The CHAIRMAN. Are you offering it in evidence?
>
> Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes (p. 314 of the hearings).

but Senator McCarthy suggested that the names contained in the document be deleted (p. 326 of the hearings). This committee received the document into the possession of the chairman, without

making public the contents (p. 327 of the hearings) upon the advice of the Attorney General that the document was a security document and could not be declassified (p. 327 of the hearings). This committee thereupon ruled that the 2¼-page document is a security document and that the information contained in it should be kept classified (p. 328 of the hearings).

Clifford J. Nelson, of the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice, testified that in January 1951 the word "confidential" was the only classification officially recognized by the FBI (p. 510 of the hearings); and that there was no regulation requiring any particular way of imprinting the classification designation on the document or paper (p. 511 of the hearings); and that it was not necessary for Government agencies "to go through their files and * * * declassify restricted information" when a new classification order was promulgated (p. 513 of the hearings).

Senator McCarthy's position was that the names contained in the document were not security information (p. 389 of the hearings); he requested that, in accordance with the rule of his committee, the names be deleted if the document be made public, "unless * * * the individual named can appear * * * and answer the charges against him" (p. 389 of the hearings). His position also was that he had presented the document to the Mundt committee in good faith believing it was a copy of a letter in the Army files, it being self-evident that certain information had been deleted (pp. 397 and 417 of the hearings). Finally he insisted that the document and the information contained therein were not classified until Attorney General Brownell "classified it during the McCarthy hearings"; and "that it was not classified from the time I received it until the time that Brownell either classified it or attempted to classify it" (p. 432 of the hearings); "It did not disclose any secrets of our national defense of any kind" (p. 433 of the hearings).

B. LEGAL ISSUES INVOLVED

1. What were the statutes, Executive orders, and directives applicable to the 2¼-page letter or document?

2. Was the 2¼-page letter or document or the information therein classified?

3. Was it proper for Senator McCarthy to attempt to make the 2¼-page letter or document public?

Congress has long recognized the need for providing legislation authorizing the heads of executive departments to make regulations relative to records and papers within their departments. As early as the act of June 22, 1874 (R. S., sec. 161, U. S. C., title 18, sec. 22), the Congress authorized the heads of executive departments to prescribe regulations, not inconsistent with law, controlling the conduct of its officers and clerks, and the custody, use, and preservation of its records and papers.

This early act is cited by the Department of Justice Order No. 3229, filed May 2, 1946 (11 Fed. Reg. 4920, 18 Fed. Reg. 1368), protecting official files, documents, records, and information in the offices of the Department, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as "confidential," by providing that "no officer or employee may

permit the disclosure or use of the same for any purpose except in the discretion of the Attorney General."

To the same effect, Presidential directive of March 13, 1948, 13 Federal Register 1359, which was apparently in effect in May and June 1953; and the subsequent Executive Order No. 10290 of September 24, 1951, setting up a system of classification "to the extent not inconsistent with law." The regulations promulgated by such order expressly apply only to classified security information, which term is restricted to official information which requires safeguarding in the interest of national security. It restricts the dissemination of classified information outside the executive branch, but authorizes the Attorney General on request to interpret such regulations, in connection with any problem arising thereunder.

Of particular import is the Department of Justice order of April 23, 1948, directed to the "Heads of all Government Departments, Agencies and Commissions" (see testimony of Clifford J. Nelson, of the Department of Justice, hearing record, p. 512) providing as follows:

> As you are aware, the Federal Bureau of Investigation from time to time makes available to Government departments, agencies and commissions information gathered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation which is of interest to such departments, agencies or commissions. These reports and communications are confidential. All such reports and communications are the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and are subject at all times to its control and to all privileges which the Attorney General has as to the use or disclosure of documents of the Department of Justice. Any department, agency or commission receiving such reports or communications is merely a custodian thereof for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the documents or communications are subject to recall at any time.
>
> Neither the reports and communications nor their contents may be disclosed to any outside person or source without specific prior approval of the Attorney General or of the Assistant to the Attorney General or an Assistant Attorney General acting for the Attorney General.
>
> Should any attempt be made, whether by request or subpena or motion for subpena or court order, or otherwise, to obtain access to or disclosure of any such report or communication, either separately or as a part of the files and records of a Government department, agency or commission, and reports and communications involved should be immediately returned to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in order that a decision can be reached by me or by my designated representative in each individual instance as to the action which should be taken.

This order, providing that all reports and communications are confidential and shall remain the property of and in the control of the FBI, was effective in January of 1951.

Executive Order 10501, dated November 5, 1953, also undertakes to safeguard official information in the interest of national defense, and also commits to the Attorney General the interpreting of the regulations in connection with the problems arising out of their administration.

We mention in this connection the Espionage Act of June 25, 1948 (ch. 645, 62 Stat. 736; 18 U. S. C., secs. 793 (d) and (e); also ch. 645, 62 Stat. 736, 18 U. S. C. 792; also 18 U. S. C. sec. 4, ch. 645, 62 Stat. 684; also ch. 645, 62 Stat. 811, amended May 24 1949, ch. 139, sec. 46, 69 Stat. 96, 18 U. S. C. 2387). (a) (1) (2) and (b) (cited in the brief of committee counsel, supplement to the record, p. 545 of hearing record) as showing a legislative intent to protect documents relating to national security, to prevent concealment of felonies; to forbid publications or disclosures not authorized by law by any officer

or employee of the United States of information coming to him in the course of his employment or official duty.

These statutes are referred to here as affirmative evidence of congressional cooperation with the Executive, in a common effort to discourage unauthorized disclosures of confidential documents or information relating to the national defense, or obtained in the course of official duties; and to prevent interference with or impairment of the loyalty or discipline of the Armed Forces.

All the cited statutes, Executive orders and directives are applicable to the 2¼-page letter or document.

In determining whether the letter or document was classified or contained classified information, reference must be made to the facts which have been established that the contents of this letter or document were taken from the 15 page interdepartmental memorandum dated January 15, 1951, from the FBI to the Army marked and classified confidential; that the letter or document in some respects contained identical language with that of the 15-page memorandum; and that Senator McCarthy knew in May of 1953 when he acquired the 2¼-page letter or document that it had been in part extracted from a document containing security information and, therefore, a classified document. It must be admitted, and in fact was so admitted by Senator McCarthy's counsel, that the material copied from a classified document retains the same classification as the document from which it is copied (hearing record, p. 753). It follows that the 2¼-page document retains the character of a classified document. While Senator McCarthy contends that the deletion of certain information from the 2¼-page document renders it an unclassified document, this position overlooks the legal necessity that declassification can only be effected by a legally constituted authority. Furthermore, the Attorney General has formally ruled that the document still contains security information. The committee, after examining the document, likewise has agreed that the 2¼-page document contains security information.

Apart from these considerations, the established facts show that Senator McCarthy attempted to make public over nationwide television the contents of a document which he believed emanated from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the Intelligence Department of the Army regarding possible espionage in a defense installation and which bore a classified or confidential marking. This conduct on his part shows a disregard of the evident purpose to be served by such a document and overlooks the serious import which attaches to a document affecting the national defense, and the dangers flowing from causing such information to become public knowledge. This transgression is nonetheless grave even though the Senator personally may have been, as he contends, of the opinion that the document did not contain security information. This disposition on the part of Senator McCarthy to determine for himself what is or is not security information regardless of the evident classified marking on a document, confirmed by the opinion of a duly constituted agency authorized to make such a ruling, evidences a lack of regard for responsibility to the laws and regulations providing for orderly determination of such matters. This conduct on the part of Senator McCarthy is all the more serious when considered in the light of the act of June 25, 1948 (ch. 645, 62 Stat. 736, title 18, sec. 793 (d) and (e)) which

provides that whoever having lawful or unauthorized possession of any document relating to national defense or information relating to the national defense which information the possessor has reason to believe could be used to the injury of the United States, attempts to communicate the same to persons not entitled to receive it, is an offender against the criminal laws of the country.

We believe under the facts and our conception of the law that the 2¼-page document was a legally classified document entitled to the protection and respect legally surrounding such a document, and binding on all civil and military officers of the Government, as well as on all employees of the Government.

Such a conclusion is not inconsistent with the further view that representatives of the legislative branch have a complete legal right to obtain access to such documents by using the methods available to them to get such information by formal request to the classifying agency or to the Attorney General or to the President himself. It is only when such orderly methods are rebuffed that an issue between two coequal branches of the Government can or should develop.

It follows that any attempt to make public the contents or any portion of this 2¼-page document, affecting national security, would be a transgression upon authority. When Senator McCarthy offered to make public this document, which he knew involved information irregularly obtained and which on its face carried a classification of "confidential" by the FBI, it was an assumption of authority which itself is disruptive of orderly governmental processes, violative of accepted comity between the two great branches of our Government, the executive and legislative, and incompatible with the basic tenets of effective democracy.

C. FINDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

1. During the hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, Senator McCarthy, in the course of the development of his defense, offered to make public the contents of a document bearing the markings of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Personal and Confidential via Liaison," which contained classified information relating to the national defense. This offer was not accepted by the committee.

2. In offering to make the contents of the document public, Senator McCarthy acted in the bona fide belief that the document was a valid rather than a spurious instrument and offered it in evidence as such.

D. CONCLUSIONS

The committee concludes that in offering to make public the contents of this classified document Senator McCarthy committed grave error. He manifested a high degree of irresponsibility toward the purposes of the statutes and Executive directives prohibiting the disclosure to unauthorized persons of classified information or information relating to the national defense. He should have applied in advance to the Attorney General for express permission to use the document in his defense under adequate safeguards, or to the committee to receive its contents in evidence in an executive rather than an open session. The committee recognizes, however, that at the time in question Senator

McCarthy was under the stress and strain of being tried or investigated by the subcommittee. He offered the document in this investigation, which was then being contested at every step by both sides. The contents of the document were relevant to the subject matter under inquiry, in our opinion.

These mitigating circumstances are such that we do not recommend censure on the specifications included in category III.

It is the opinion of this committee that it will not serve the necessary purposes of this inquiry to make public the 2¼-page document or any part of the contents thereof. If the committee had been of different opinion, the chairman would have been authorized, in light of the opinions of the Attorney General, still adhered to by the latter officer (p. 116 of the hearings), to direct a request to the President for authority to declassify the same. Pending the final action of the Senate in this matter, the committee has directed its chairman to retain physical possession of this document, in confidence. Unless the Senate otherwise directs, it will be surrendered to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for such disposition as shall be proper after the Senate has concluded its consideration of Senate Resolution 301.

IV

Category IV. Incidents Involving Abuses of Colleagues in the Senate

A. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

Pursuant to the category designated by the select committee, "Incidents Involving Abuses of Colleagues in the Senate," it received evidence and took testimony relating to—

Amendment proposed by Mr. Flanders to the resolution (S. Res. 301) to censure the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, viz:

(30) He has ridiculed his colleagues in the Senate, defaming them publicly in vulgar and base language (regarding Senator Hendrickson—"a living miracle without brains or guts"; on Flanders—"Senile—I think they should get a man with a net and take him to a good quiet place").

Amendment proposed by Mr. Morse to the resolution (S. Res. 301) to censure the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, viz:

(b) Unfairly accused his fellow Senators Gillette, Monroney, Hendrickson, Hayden, and Hennings of improper conduct in carrying out their duties as Senators.

The alleged abuses of senatorial colleagues, considered in this category, result from certain oral and written statements of Senator McCarthy directed by him to and about certain fellow Members of the Senate, and center around the following specific charges:

1. That Senator McCarthy publicly ridiculed and defamed Senator Hendrickson in vulgar and base language by calling him "* * * a living miracle without brains or guts."

2. That Senator McCarthy publicly ridiculed and defamed Senator Flanders in vulgar and base language by saying of him, "Senile—I think they should get a man with a net and take him to a good quiet place."

3. That Senator McCarthy unfairly accused Senators Gillette, Monroney, Hendrickson, Hayden, and Hennings of improper conduct in carrying out their senatorial duties.

As relating to this category, the select committee received documentary evidence in the form of correspondence between Senator McCarthy and the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, testimony taken before and published by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, being part of the Army-McCarthy hearings, the testimony of two reporters, certain other record evidence, and the testimony of Senator McCarthy in his own behalf.

We point out that for convenience, and by reason of related subject matter, the select committee has already considered and disposed of two of the charges contained in this category, being the charge that Senator McCarthy publicly ridiculed and defamed Senator Hendrickson, in vulgar and base language, being No. 1 above-mentioned, and the charge that Senator McCarthy unfairly accused Senators Gillette, Monroney, Hendrickson, Hayden, and Hennings of improper conduct in carrying out their senatorial duties, being No. 3 above-mentioned. These two charges have already been considered and reported upon in this report under I—"Incidents of Contempt of the Senate or a Senatorial Committee." The discussion under this category IV, therefore, will be restricted to the one charge contained in the amendment proposed by Senator Flanders (30), that Senator McCarthy publicly ridiculed and defamed Senator Flanders, in vulgar and base language, by calling him "senile."

The evidence shows that on June 11, 1954, Senator Flanders walked into the Senate caucus room where Senator McCarthy was testifying before a vast television audience in the Army-McCarthy hearings, and unexpectedly gave Senator McCarthy notice of an intended speech attacking Senator McCarthy which he proposed forthwith to deliver on the Senate floor; that shortly thereafter Senator McCarthy was asked by the press to comment on Senator Flanders' intended speech; that Senator McCarthy thereupon made this remark concerning Senator Flanders:

> I think they should get a man with a net and take him to a good quiet place;

and that on occasions prior to that time Senator Flanders made provocative speeches in respect to Senator McCarthy on the Senate floor.

B. CONCLUSIONS

The remarks of Senator McCarthy concerning Senator Flanders were highly improper. The committee finds, however, that they were induced by Senator Flanders' conduct in respect to Senator McCarthy in the Senate caucus room, and in delivering provocative speeches concerning Senator McCarthy on the Senate floor. For these reasons, the committee concludes the remarks with reference to Senator Flanders do not constitute a basis for censure.

V

CATEGORY V: INCIDENT RELATING TO RALPH W. ZWICKER, A GENERAL OFFICER OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

A. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

This category refers to the question whether Senator McCarthy should be censured for his treatment of Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, in connection with General Zwicker's appearance before the Senator as a witness.

The pertinent proposed amendments are that of Senator Fulbright:

(4) Without justification, the junior Senator from Wisconsin impugned the loyalty, patriotism, and character of General Ralph Zwicker;

and that of Senator Morse:

(c) As chairman of a committee, resorted to abusive conduct in his interrogation of Gen. Ralph Zwicker, including a charge that General Zwicker was unfit to wear the uniform, during the appearance of General Zwicker as a witness before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations on February 18, 1954;

and that of Senator Flanders:

(10) He has attacked, defamed, and besmirched military heroes of the United States, either as witnesses before his committee or under the cloak of immunity of the Senate floor (General Zwicker, General Marshall).

The select committee restricted its hearings to the case of General Zwicker. Its reasons for not inquiring into the case of remarks made against General Marshall appear in part VI of this report.

In his capacity as chairman on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Senator McCarthy held hearings to determine whether there were espionage activities in the radar laboratory at Fort Monmouth. General Zwicker was summoned as a witness and appeared on February 18, 1954, at a hearing held in New York, N. Y.

The evidence on this phase consisted of the records of both a public and executive hearing, the testimony of William J. Harding, Jr., who was a spectator at the public hearing, the testimony of Senator McCarthy and of General Zwicker, the testimony of Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, and of Capt. William J. Woodward, a medical officer who accompanied General Zwicker to the hearings, and of James M. Juliana and C. George Anastos, of the staff of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

There is no dispute concerning the reported testimony of General Zwicker and the questions, statements, and comments of Senator McCarthy during the hearings. General Zwicker attended a public hearing, as a spectator, in the morning of February 18, 1954, and testified as a witness at an executive session late that afternoon. There is dispute as to the attitude and truthfulness of General Zwicker, the statements made to and about him by Senator McCarthy at the conclusion of the executive session, and concerning alleged utterances of General Zwicker prior to his testimony.

Gen. Kirke B. Lawton testified to a conversation which he had with General Zwicker at Camp Kilmer scmetime before General Zwicker was called as a witness. It was charged that General Lawton was "gagged" by his military superiors, but after General Lawton testified,

it became clear that his inability to give details of his conversation with General Zwicker was not the result of any military secrecy order but was the result of his inability to remember any of the details of the conversation. General Lawton testified that General Zwicker gave him the impression of being generally opposed to Senator McCarthy or the Senator's method in investigation. He could not remember any words used by General Zwicker but was permitted to testify to his general impression and conclusion as to the effect of General Zwicker's remarks.

William J. Harding, Jr., who was a spectator at the morning public session of the hearing held by Senator McCarthy in New York on February 18, 1954, testified that he was seated near General Zwicker. In the morning session, General Zwicker also was a spectator. Mr. Harding stated that Senator McCarthy addressed a question to General Zwicker, who was then seated in the audience, and that General Zwicker replied to the question. As General Zwicker seated himself, after replying to the Senator's question, Mr. Harding testified that the general muttered under his breath the letters "S. O. B." with reference to Senator McCarthy.

James M. Juliana and C. George Anastos, members of the staff of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, were called as witnesses by the select committee. Mr. Juliana testified that he saw General Zwicker at Camp Kilmer on February 13, 1954, 5 days before the appearance of General Zwicker as a witness before Senator McCarthy in New York. On February 13, 1954, Mr. Juliana received from General Zwicker a copy of the Army order directing the honorable discharge of Maj. Irving Peress. In the New York hearing, Senator McCarthy tried to establish who was responsible for the advancement of Peress from captain to major, and who was responsible for his separation and discharge from the military service, the latter having occurred after he had claimed the protection of the fifth amendment as to his Communist connections and activities, at a hearing before Senator McCarthy. (The separation order was read into the record at these hearings before the select committee.) Mr. Juliana also testified that his copy of the Peress separation order was produced at the hearing of February 18, 1954, and handed by him either to Senator McCarthy, or to Roy M. Cohn, counsel for the subcommittee.

Under examination by counsel for Senator McCarthy, Mr. Juliana stated that when he talked to General Zwicker, General Zwicker said that he had been in contact with Washington, prior to discharging Major Peress on February 2, 1954, relative to the Peress matter, and that he, Mr. Juliana, had so informed Senator McCarthy prior to February 18, 1954.

C. Georges Anastos testified that he talked with General Zwicker about the Peress case, by telephone on January 22, 1954. General Zwicker gave him the name of Peress, and stated that the file showed there was information that Peress and his wife was or had been a Communist, and that in August 1953 Peress had refused to answer a loyalty questionnaire. There was reference made also, according to Mr. Anastos, to an Army effort to get Peress out of the service. This testimony is in contrast with that of General Zwicker that he did not give to Mr. Anastos any information contained in the Peress classified personnel file. The next day, according to Mr. Anastos, General

Zwicker called him voluntarily and told him of the Peress separation order.

Major Peress was examined by Chairman McCarthy on January 30, 1954. He had been promoted on November 2, 1953. He received an honorable discharge on February 2, 1954.

It was the contention of Senator McCarthy that General Zwicker was most arrogant, very irritating, and evasive, that he was untruthful in his testimony, and that he was "covering up" for his superiors. General Zwicker stood upon his testimony and contended that he had been truthful in all respects and as frank as he could be in view of the military restrictions upon his testimony. General Zwicker also contended that Senator McCarthy had full knowledge of General Zwicker's attitude and conduct with reference to the Peress case, and that this made Senator McCarthy's treatment of him unjustified and unwarranted. General Zwicker appeared as a witness at the invitation of the select committee.

B. FINDINGS OF FACT

From the evidence and testimony taken with reference to this fifth category, the select committee finds the following facts:

1. In connection with this incident, Senator McCarthy was acting as chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and chairman of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (pp. 69 and 182 of the hearings).

2. Ralph W. Zwicker is a brigadier general of the Army of the United States, a graduate of West Point Military Academy, and an Army officer since 1927 (p. 80 of the hearings).

3. From July 1953 to August 1954, General Zwicker was the commanding officer at Camp Kilmer, an Army separation center (pp. 70 and 81 of the hearings).

4. Senator McCarthy began looking into the Peress matter in November 1953 (p. 182 of the hearings).

5. In late November or December 1953, General Zwicker had a conversation with Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, and gave General Lawton the impression that he was antagonistic toward Senator McCarthy (p. 438 of the hearings).

6. On January 22, 1954, C. George Anastos, a member of the staff of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, talked to General Zwicker by telephone; the general gave him the name of Peress and made some reference to the latter's Communist connections (p. 519 of the hearings).

7. This information was reported to Roy Cohn and Frank Carr of the subcommittee staff (p. 519 of the hearings).

8. On February 13, 1954, General Zwicker talked to James C. Juliana, another member of the subcommittee's staff, and gave to Mr. Juliana a copy of the Peress separation order (p. 515 of the hearings).

9. This copy was available to Senator McCarthy at the New York hearing of February 18, 1954 (pp. 79, 515, and 516 of the hearings).

10. On the same date, General Zwicker also told Mr. Juliana that he was opposed to giving Peress an honorable discharge and had been in touch with Washington about the matter (p. 517 of the hearings).

11. This was reported by Mr. Juliana to Senator McCarthy some days before February 18, 1954 (pp. 188, 189, 333, and 517 of the hearings).

12. Major Peress was summoned to appear before the permanent subcommittee by request made on January 26, 1954, and appeared on January 30, 1954 (p. 183 of the hearings).

13. Senator McCarthy and General Zwicker met for the first time on February 18, 1954 (p. 330 of the hearings).

14. They had a pleasant social conversation during the lunch intermission (p. 456 of the hearings).

15. There was a public hearing during the morning of February 18, 1954, attended by General Zwicker as a spectator (p. 455 of the hearings).

16. During this morning session, William J. Harding, Jr., testified, after General Zwicker had answered a question of Senator McCarthy, that he heard General Zwicker mutter under his breath, "You S. O. B.," and (turning to his companions) said, "You see. I told you what we'd get" (p. 179 of the hearings).

17. General Zwicker testified he had no recollection of and knew of no reason for making such an utterance (p. 456 of the hearings).

18. Senator McCarthy did not know of the Harding incident when he examined General Zwicker (p. 204 of the hearings).

19. General Zwicker was called as a witness at an executive session before Senator McCarthy, sitting as a subcommittee of one, about 4:30 p. m. on February 18, 1954 (pp. 69 and 190 of the hearings).

20. At the beginning of the hearing, under examination by Mr. Cohn, General Zwicker testified that if he were in a position to do so, that he would be glad to tell what steps he took "and others took at Kilmer to take action against Peress a long time before action was finally forced by the committee," and that the information would not reflect unfavorably on General Zwicker or "on a number of other people at Kilmer and the First Army (p. 70 of the hearings).

21. Senator McCarthy then took over the examination of General Zwicker in an effort to bring out that the general's information, if given in evidence, "would reflect unfavorably on some of them, of course" (p. 70 of the hearings).

22. Senator McCarthy then ordered the witness to reply to the question whether somebody kept Peress on, knowing he was a Communist, and General Zwicker responded that he respectfully declined to answer since he was not permitted to do so under the Presidential directive (p. 70 of the hearings).

23. General Zwicker tried unsuccessfully to have this Presidential directive read at the hearing before Senator McCarthy (p. 354 of the hearings).

24. Senator McCarthy stated that he was familiar with the provisions of the Presidential directive (p. 354 of the hearings).

25. The Presidential directive of March 13, 1948, provided:

> * * * in order to insure the fair and just disposition of loyalty cases * * * reports rendered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other investigative agencies of the executive branch are to be regarded as confidential * * * and files relative to the loyalty of employees * * * shall be maintained in confidence * * *.—HARRY S. TRUMAN.

(P. 457 of the hearings.)

26. Senator McCarthy then asked General Zwicker whether he knew on the day an honorable discharge was signed for Peress that Peress had refused to answer certain questions before the subcommittee, and General Zwicker replied: "No, sir; not specifically on answer-

ing any questions, I knew he had appeared before your committee" (p. 70 of the hearings).

27. When asked whether he "knew generally that he (Peress) had refused to tell whether he was a Communist," General Zwicker replied: "I don't recall whether he refused to tell whether he was a Communist" (p. 71 of the hearings).

28. General Zwicker testified that he had read the press releases about Peress, and knew that Peress had taken refuge in the fifth amendment, but that he did not know specifically that Peress had refused to answer questions about his Communist activities (p. 71 of the hearings).

29. Senator McCarthy then told the witness: "General, let's try and be truthful. I am going to keep you here as long as you keep hedging and hemming" (p. 71 of the hearings).

30. The following then occurred:

General ZWICKER. I am not hedging.

The CHAIRMAN. Or hawing.

General ZWICKER. I am not hawing, and I don't like to have anyone impugn my honesty, which you just about did.

The CHAIRMAN. Either your honesty or your intelligence; I can't help impugning one or the other, when you tell us that a major in your command who was known to you to have been before a Senate committee, and of whom you read the press releases very carefully—to now have you sit here and tell us that you did not know whether he refused to answer questions about Communist activities. I had seen all the press releases, and they all dealt with that. So when you do that, General, if you will pardon me, I cannot help but question either your honesty or your intelligence, one or the other. I want to be frank with you on that.

Now, is it your testimony now that at the time you read the stories about Major Peress, that you did not know that he had refused to answer questions before this committee about his Communist activities?

General ZWICKER. I am sure I had that impression.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you aware that the major was being given an honorable discharge * * *.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you also read the stories about my letter to Secretary of the Army Stevens in which I requested or, rather, suggested that this man be court-martialed, and that anyone that protected him or covered up for him be court-martialed?

General ZWICKER. Yes, sir. (Pp. 71 and 72 of the hearings.)

31. As to the Peress discharge, General Zwicker testified:

The CHAIRMAN. Who ordered his discharge?

General ZWICKER. The Department of the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the Department?

General ZWICKER. That I can't answer.

Mr. COHN. That isn't a security matter?

General ZWICKER. No. I don't know. Excuse me.

Mr. COHN. Who did you talk to? You talked to somebody?

General ZWICKER. No; I did not.

Mr. COHN. How did you know he should be discharged?

General ZWICKER. You also have a copy of this. I don't know why you asked me for it. This is the order under which he was discharged, a copy of that order.

And also:

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any steps to have him retained until the Secretary of the Army could decide whether he should be court-martialed?

General ZWICKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it occur to you that you should?

General ZWICKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you have taken such steps?

General ZWICKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there is nothing you could have done; is that your statement?

General ZWICKER. That is my opinion (p. 72 of the hearings).

32. The Peress discharge order was dated January 18, 1954, was received by General Zwicker on January 23, 1954, and provided:

a. That Peress be relieved from active duty and honorably discharged.

b. That this be at the desire of Peress "but in any event not later than 90 days from date of receipt of this letter" (p. 454 of the hearings).

33. Major Peress asked for his discharge on February 1, 1954, and he was discharged the next day (p. 483 of the hearings).

34. Senator McCarthy had read the Peress discharge order, and knew about it on February 2, 1954 (pp. 199 and 333 of the hearings).

35. Senator McCarthy then examined General Zwicker as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask this question. If this man, after the order came up, after the order of the 18th came up, prior to his getting an honorable discharge, were guilty of some crime—let us say that he held up a bank or stole an automobile—and you heard of that the day before—let's say you heard of it the same day that you heard of my letter—could you then have taken steps to prevent his discharge, or would he have automatically been discharged?

General ZWICKER. I would have definitely taken steps to prevent discharge.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, if you found that he was guilty of improper conduct, conduct unbecoming an officer, we will say, then you would not have allowed the honorable discharge to go through, would you?

General ZWICKER. If it were outside the directive of this order?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, yes; let's say it were outside the directive.

General ZWICKER. Then I certainly would never have discharged him until that part of the case——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us say he went out and stole $50 the night before.

General ZWICKER. He wouldn't have been discharged.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think stealing $50 is more serious than being a traitor to the country as part of the Communist conspiracy?

General ZWICKER. That, sir, was not my decision.

The CHAIRMAN. You said if you learned that he stole $50, you would have prevented his discharge. You did learn something much more serious than that. You learned that he had refused to tell whether he was a Communist. You learned that the chairman of a Senate committee suggested that he be court-martialed. And you say if he had stolen $50 he would not have gotten the honorable discharge. But merely being a part of the Communist conspiracy, and the chairman of the committee asking that he be court-martialed, would not give you grounds for holding up his discharge. Is that correct?

General ZWICKER. Under the terms of this letter, that is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That letter says nothing about stealing $50, and it does not say anything about being a Communist. It does not say anything about his appearance before our committee. He appeared before our committee after that order was made out.

Do you think you sound a bit ridiculous, General, when you say that for $50, you would prevent his being discharged, but for being a part of the conspiracy to destroy this country you could not prevent his discharge?

General ZWICKER. I did not say that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's go over that. You did say if you found out he stole $50 the night before, he would not have gotten an honorable discharge the next morning?

General ZWICKER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You did learn, did you not, from the newspaper reports, that this man was part of the Communist conspiracy, or at least that there was strong evidence that he was. Didn't you think that was more serious than the theft of $50?

General ZWICKER. He has never been tried for that, sir, and there was evidence, Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you give me that doubletalk. The $50 case, that he had stolen the night before, he has not been tried for that.

General ZWICKER. That is correct. He didn't steal it yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you wait until he was tried for stealing the $50 before you prevented his honorable discharge?

General ZWICKER. Either tried or exonerated.

The CHAIRMAN. You would hold up the discharge until he was tried or exonerated?

General ZWICKER. For stealing the $50; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But if you heard that this man was a traitor—in other words, instead of hearing that he had stolen $50 from the corner store, let's say you heard that he was a traitor, he belonged to the Communist conspiracy; that a Senate committee had the sworn testimony to that effect. Then would you hold up his discharge until he was either exonerated or tried?

General ZWICKER. I am not going to answer that question, I don't believe, the way you want it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want you to tell me the truth.

General ZWICKER. On all of the evidence or anything that had been presented to me as Commanding General of Camp Kilmer, I had no authority to retain him in the service.

And also:

The CHAIRMAN. You say that if you had heard that he had stolen $50, then you could order him retained. But when you heard that he was part of the Communist conspiracy, that subsequent to the time the orders were issued a Senate committee took the evidence under oath that he was part of the conspiracy, you say that would not allow you to hold up his discharge?

General ZWICKER. I was never officially informed by anyone that he was part of the Commmunist conspiracy, Mr. Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let's see now. You say that you were never officially informed?

General ZWICKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. If you heard that he had stolen $50 from someone down the street, if you did not hear it officially, then could you hold up his discharge? Or is there some peculiar way you must hear it?

General ZWICKER. I believe so, yes, sir, until I was satisfied that he had or hadn't, one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not need any official notification so far as the 50 bucks is concerned?

General ZWICKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say insofar as the Communist conspiracy is concerned, you need an official notification?

General ZWICKER. Yes, sir; because I was acting on an official order, having precedence over that.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the $50? If one of your men came in a half hour before he got his honorable discharge and said, "General, I just heard downtown from a police officer that this man broke into a store last night and stole $50," you would not give him an honorable discharge until you had checked the case and found out whether that was true or not; would you?

General ZWICKER. I would expect the authorities from downtown to inform me of that or, let's say, someone in a position to suspect that he did it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's say one of the trusted privates in your command came in to you and said, "General, I was just downtown and I have evidence that Major Peress broke into a store and stole $50." You wouldn't discharge him until you had checked the facts, seen whether or not the private was telling the truth and seen whether or not he had stolen the $50?

General ZWICKER. No; I don't believe I would. I would make a check, certainly, to check the story (pp. 73–74 of the hearings).

36. The examination then proceeded on a further hypothetical basis as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think, General, that anyone who is responsible for giving an honorable discharge to a man who has been named under oath as a member of the Communist conspiracy should himself be removed from the military?

General ZWICKER. You are speaking of generalities now, and not on specifics—is that right, sir, not mentioning about any one particular person?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

General ZWICKER. I have no brief for that kind of person, and if there exists or has existed something in the system that permits that, I say that that is wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about the system. I am asking you this question, General, a very simple question: Let's assume that John Jones, who is a major in the United States Army——

General ZWICKER. A what, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Let's assume that John Jones is a major in the United States Army. Let's assume that there is sworn testimony to the effect that he is part of the Communist conspiracy, has attended Communist leadership schools. Let's assume that Maj. John Jones is under oath before a committee and says, "I cannot tell you the truth about these charges because, if I did, I fear that might tend to incriminate me." Then let's say that General Smith was responsible for this man receiving an honorable discharge, knowing these facts. Do you think that General Smith should be removed from the military, or do you think he should be kept on in it?

General ZWICKER. He should be by all means kept if he were acting under competent orders to separate that man.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us say he is the man who signed the orders. Let us say General Smith is the man who originated the order.

General ZWICKER. Originated the order directing his separation?

The CHAIRMAN. Directing his honorable discharge.

General ZWICKER. Well, that is pretty hypothetical.

The CHAIRMAN. It is pretty real, General.

General ZWICKER. Sir, on one point; yes. I mean, on an individual; yes. But you know that there are thousands and thousands of people being separated daily from our Army.

The CHAIRMAN. General, you understand my question——

General ZWICKER. Maybe not.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are going to answer it.

General ZWICKER. Repeat it.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter will repeat it.

(The question referred to was read by the reporter.)

General ZWICKER. That is not a question for me to decide, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered to answer it, General. You are an employee of the people.

General ZWICKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a rather important job. I want to know how you feel about getting rid of Communists.

General ZWICKER. I am all for it.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You will answer that question, unless you take the fifth amendment. I do not care how long we stay here, you are going to answer it.

General ZWICKER. Do you mean how I feel toward Communists?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean exactly what I asked you, General; nothing else. And anyone with the brains of a 5-year-old child can understand that question.

The reporter will read it to you as often as you need to hear it so that you can answer it, and then you will answer it.

General ZWICKER. Start it over, please.

(The question was reread by the reporter.)

General ZWICKER. I do not think he should be removed from the military.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, General, you should be removed from any command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to general and who says "I will protect another general who protected Communists," is not fit to wear that uniform, General. I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army to have this sort of thing given to the public. I intend to give it to them. I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said. So you know that. You will be back here, General (pp. 75 and 76 of the hearings).

37. At page 77 of the hearings, the following occurred:

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at any time ever object to this man being honorably discharged?

General ZWICKER. I respectfully decline to answer that, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be ordered to answer it.

General ZWICKER. That is on the grounds of this Executive order.

The CHAIRMAN. You are ordered to answer. That is a personnel matter.

General ZWICKER. I shall still respectfully decline to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever take any steps which would have aided him in continuing in the military after you knew that he was a Communist?

General ZWICKER. That would have aided him in continuing, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

General ZWICKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever do anything instrumental in his obtaining his promotion after knowing that he was a fifth-amendment case?

General ZWICKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever object to his being promoted?

General ZWICKER. I had no opportunity to, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever enter any objection to the promotion of this man under your command?

General ZWICKER. I have no opportunity to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you did not; is that correct?

General ZWICKER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you refuse to tell us whether you objected to his obtaining an honorable discharge?

General ZWICKER. I don't believe that is quite the way the question was phrased before.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, answer it again, then.

General ZWICKER. I respectfully request that I not answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be ordered to answer.

General ZWICKER. Under the same authority as cited before, I cannot answer it.

38. At the hearings before the select committee, Senator McCarthy testified that General Zwicker was evasive (p. 193 of the hearings), that he changed his story (p. 192 of the hearings), that he was difficult to examine (p. 192 of the hearings), that it was "a long, laborious truth-pulling job," and that he was "most arrogant" (pp. 193 and 204 of the hearings).

39. As stated by the chairman and other members of the select committee, these were matters of argument (p. 195 of the hearings).

40. The transcript of the New York hearing shows that Senator McCarthy said to General Zwicker: "Then, General, you should be removed from any command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to general and who says, 'I will protect another general who protected Communists', is not fit to wear that uniform, General," and Senator McCarthy testified he was referring to the uniform of a general (pp. 202 and 332 of the hearings).

41. General Zwicker did not make any such statement.

42. Senator McCarthy testified that General Zwicker had said in effect: "It is all right to give Communists honorable discharges" (p. 202 of the hearings).

43. There is no testimony in this record which justifies such a conclusion.

44. When asked to give the facts on which he based his testimony that General Zwicker was an unwilling witness, arrogant and evasive, Senator McCarthy reiterated his conclusion that: "All I can say is, the full attitude was one of complete arrogance, complete contempt of the committee" (p. 204 of the hearings).

45. Senator McCarthy testified that he was justified in his treatment of General Zwicker solely by the latter's conduct at the hearing in New York (p. 330 of the hearings).

46. He testified further that he had not criticized General Zwicker and it was: "just a method of cross-examination, trying to get the truth" (p. 331 of the hearings).

47. Senator McCarthy refused to draw any inference but that General Zwicker was not telling the truth (specifically excluding perjury, p. 337 of the hearings), as follows:

Mr. DE FURIA. Now, assuming, Senator, that for the sake of this question, anyhow, that General Zwicker did testify in what we might call a stilted fashion, don't you think that the fair inference, rather than to say that the general was deliberately telling an untruth, or stalling, or distorting facts, that the fair,

judicious inference was that he couldn't do very much else in the face of the Presidential orders and the other orders of his superiors; isn't that the fair way to look at it, Senator?

Senator McCarthy. No, Mr. de Furia. When a general comes before me first says, "I didn't know this man refused to answer any questions," then after he is pressed under cross-examination, he says, "Yes, I knew he refused to answer questions, but I didn't know he refused to answer questions about Communist activities"—then, after further cross-examination, he says, "Yes, I know that he refused to answer questions about Communist activities"—I can't assume that is the result of any Presidential directive. We cannot blame the President for that.

48. Before examining General Zwicker, Senator McCarthy knew that General Zwicker was opposed to giving Peress an honorable discharge (p. 342 of the hearings) and Senator McCarthy had received a long letter from the Secretary of the Army giving a full explanation of the Peress case (pp. 459 and 462 of the hearings).

49. Senator McCarthy contended at the hearings before the select committee that matters in the Peress personnel file could be revealed by General Zwicker (p. 344 of the hearings) and that General Zwicker was not relying on any Presidential order (p. 344 of the hearings).

50. Later, Senator McCarthy testified that General Zwicker was relying on Presidential and Executive orders, and that he, Senator McCarthy, had copies of them (pp. 347 and 354 of the hearings).

51. Immediately after General Zwicker had testified in New York, Senator McCarthy gave to the press his version of what had occurred at the executive hearing (p. 348 of the hearings).

52. Senator McCarthy could not recall whether he told the press that the Zwicker hearing had been held principally for the benefit of Secretary of the Army Stevens, did not think so, was reasonably certain he had not said so (p. 348 of the hearings).

53. On his right to reveal to the press what had been testified to at the Zwicker executive hearing, Senator McCarthy testified:

Mr. de Furia. Senator, were you authorized by either the major committee or your Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations to reveal what transpired at the Zwicker executive hearing?

Senator McCarthy. I discussed the matter with the representatives of the two Senators who were present and we agreed, in view of the Stevens' statement, it should be released.

Mr. de Furia. You say you discussed it with the representatives of the two Senators?

Senator McCarthy. That is correct.

Mr. de Furia. In spite of the rules of your own committee that all testimony taken in executive session shall be kept secret and will not be released or used in public session without the approval of the majority of the subcommittee?

Senator McCarthy. I felt that the two men who were present were representing the Senators and they constituted a majority. There were only four Senators on the committee at that time.

Mr. de Furia. In a matter involving a general of the United States, then, you permitted an administrative assistant to exercise the prerogatives of the United States Senate?

Senator McCarthy. I think I have recited the facts to you (pp. 349 and 350 of the hearings).

And also:

Senator McCarthy. May I say further, Mr. de Furia, in answer to your question, that General Zwicker had already released a distorted version of the testimony, through Bob Stevens, in affidavit form. I felt under the circumstances that the correct version should be released.

Mr. de Furia. Why, Senator, you released this first 2 or 3 minutes after your hearing concluded, did you not?

Senator McCarthy. No; I did not. It was the transcript.

Mr. de Furia. You called in the press, did you not, right away?

Senator McCarthy. I did not.

Mr. de Furia. To tell them what had happened in the executive session?

Senator McCarthy. Mr. de Furia, if you want to know what the practice was here, and what the practice is——

Mr. de Furia. I do not want the practice.

Senator McCarthy. I did not release the transcript.

Mr. de Furia. I am not talking about the transcript. But you did tell the press what happened in the closed executive session, within a few minutes after that session ended?

Senator McCarthy. I gave them a résumé of the testimony; yes.

Mr. de Furia. Sir, I am asking you, upon what authority, or by what right, you did that?

Senator McCarthy. Because that has been our practice.

Mr. de Furia. In spite of the rule of your own committee?

Senator McCarthy. That has been the practice of the committee.

Mr. de Furia. General Zwicker's affidavit was not made until 2 days later; isn't that right, Senator? It is dated February 20.

Senator McCarthy. I don't know what date it is dated, but the transcript was not released until after the distorted version of the testimony given by Zwicker.

Mr. Williams. Do you have the rule, there, Mr. de Furia?

Mr. de Furia. Yes, I have the rule, and I would like to have it in evidence, if the chairman please.

The Chairman. It will be received (p. 350 of the hearings).

54. The rules of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, adopted January 14, 1953, provided:

> 6. All testimony taken in executive session shall be kept secret and will not be released or used in public session without the approval of a majority of the subcommittee (p. 352 of the hearings).

55. At that time the subcommittee consisted of seven members (p. 353 of the hearings).

56. During the executive session, Senator McCarthy said with reference to General Zwicker: "This is the first fifth-amendment general we've had before us" (p. 451 of the hearings).

57. After the executive session, Senator McCarthy said to General Zwicker:

> General, you will be back on Tuesday, and at that time I am going to put you on display and let the American public see what kind of officers we have (p. 451 of the hearings).

58. The facts concerning Peress' Communist connections were known to General Zwicker's superior officers when he was directed to discharge Peress (p. 492 of the hearings).

59. General Zwicker was not responsible in any way for promoting or discharging Peress and was very much opposed to both (pp. 505 and 506 of the hearings).

60. Major Peress was not in a sensitive position so far as intelligence, or classified information or material was concerned (p. 505 of the hearings).

C. LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THIS CATEGORY

The legal questions arising with reference to the incident relating to General Zwicker may be stated briefly as follows:

1. Is there any evidence that General Zwicker was not telling the truth in testifying before Chairman McCarthy?
2. Is there any evidence that General Zwicker was intentionally irritating or evasive or arrogant?

3. What is the law governing the treatment of witnesses before congressional committees?

4. Was the conduct of Senator McCarthy toward General Zwicker proper under the circumstances?

1. There is no evidence that General Zwicker was not telling the truth in testifying before Chairman McCarthy

We have analyzed carefully the testimony of General Zwicker, of Senator McCarthy, and of the other witnesses relating to this question. We have concluded that General Zwicker, when he appeared as a witness before Senator McCarthy, on February 18, 1954, was a truthful witness. We feel that it was evident that his examination was unfair, and that General Zwicker testified as fully and frankly as he could do, in view of the Presidential and Army directives which restricted his freedom of expression. These directives were known to his examiners, and however much they may have been out of sympathy with the directives, the fact remains that this was no excuse for berating General Zwicker and holding him up to public ridicule.

General Zwicker testified before the select committee. He underwent a vigorous and taxing cross-examination from Senator McCarthy's counsel. A reading of his testimony and examination makes it clear that in no material respect was it necessary for General Zwicker to modify or change his testimony from that given on February 18, 1954, and that the double exposure of his evidence under searching examination revealed no distortion of fact or untruth.

2. There is no evidence that General Zwicker was intentionally irritating, evasive, or arrogant

General Zwicker was initially examined at the New York hearing by Mr. Cohn, counsel for the subcommittee. It is evident that this examination was mutually courteous and satisfactory. Mr. Juliana and Mr. Anastos, of the staff of the subcommittee, both found General Zwicker to be cooperative and helpful. Even in his examination by Senator McCarthy, the record shows that the general was courteous and respectful throughout the hearing. We find in the record no single instance which supports the conclusion that he was intentionally irritating. Some questions General Zwicker refused to answer and in his answers to some of the questions, apparently, he meticulously sought to avoid the disclosure of material or information in the classified personnel file of Peress, or involving intra-Army discussions and policies, which he was under orders not to reveal. It should not have been difficult to meet this situation in a fair and reasonable way. Senator McCarthy said he was familiar with the Presidential order and the Army directives. A few moments could have been taken to analyze them, and so frame the questions propounded to the witness as to avoid any difficulty. The insistence that the witness answer long hypothetical questions and questions that are not clear even upon careful inspection and reflection, was much more the source of any resulting irritation on the part of the examiner than any conduct on the part of the witness.

Moreover, when he was before this committee, General Zwicker was subjected to a long and vigorous cross-examination and manifested great patience and candor and a complete lack of any tendency toward arrogance or irritability.

3. The law governing the treatment of witnesses before congressional committees

The law and precedent on this subject has been stated many times. Senate Document No. 99, 83d Congress, 2d session, 1954, on Congressional Power of Investigation gives an excellent summary of the law and procedure. Pertinent articles in current legal literature on the subject may be found in American Bar Association Journal, September 1954 at page 763, The Investigating Power of Congress: Its Scope and Limitations; Ohio Bar, August 9, 1954, at page 607, A Comparison of Congressional Investigative Procedures and Judicial Procedures With Reference to the Examination of Witnesses; and Federal Bar Journal, April–June 1954, page 113, Executive Privilege and the Release of Military Records. These articles are mentioned only as source material and do not necessarily express or contain the views of the select committee.

There are no statutes and few court decisions bearing on the subject (Dimock, Congressional Investigation Committees, p. 153 (1929)). There are few safeguards for the protection of the witness. His treatment usually depends and must depend upon the skill and attitude of the chairman and the members. Since an investigation by a committee is not a trial, the committee is under no compulsion to make the hearing public.

We call attention to three cases in the Federal courts discussing this subject. *Barksy* v. *United States* (167 F. (2d) 241 (1948)) was a prosecution for failure to produce records before a congressional committee pursuant to subpena. The court stated at page 250:

(14–17) Appellants press upon us representations as to the conduct of the Congressional committee, critical of its behavior in various respects. Eminent persons have stated similar views. But such matters are not for the courts. We so held in *Townsend* v. *United States*, citing *Hearst* v. *Black*. The remedy for unseemly conduct, if any, by the Committees of Congress is for Congress, or for the people; it is political and not judicial. "It must be remembered that legislatures are ultimate guardians of the liberties and welfare of the people in quite as great a degree as the courts." The courts have no authority to speak or act upon the conduct by the legislative branch of its own business, so long as the bounds of power and pertinency are not exceeded, and the mere possibility that the power of inquiry may be abused "affords no ground for denying the power." The question presented by these contentions must be viewed in the light of the established rule of absolute immunity of governmental officials, Congressional and administrative, from liability for damage done by their acts or speech, even though knowingly false or wrong. The basis of so drastic and rigid a rule is the overbalancing of the individual hurt by the public necessity for untrammeled freedom of legislative and administrative activity, within the respective powers of the legislature and the executive.

In *Townsend* v. *U. S.* (95 F. (2d) 352 (1938)), the defendant was convicted of failure to appear before a congressional committee.

In affirming the conviction, the court said at page 361:

(14–17) A legislative inquiry may be as broad, as searching, and as exhaustive as is necessary to make effective the constitutional powers of Congress. *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* (273 U. S. 135, 47 S. Ct. 319, 71 L. Ed. 580, 50 A. L. R. 1). A judicial inquiry relates to a case, and the evidence to be admissible must be measured by the narrow limits of the pleadings. A legislative inquiry anticipates all possible cases which may arise thereunder and the evidence admissible must be responsive to the scope of the inquiry, which generally is very broad. Many a witness in a judicial inquiry has, no doubt, been embarrassed and irritated by questions which to him seemed incompetent, irrelevant, immaterial, and impertinent. But that is not a matter for a witness finally to decide. Because a witness could not understand the purpose of cross-examination, he would not

be justified in leaving a courtroom. The orderly processes of judicial determination do not permit the exercise of such discretion by a witness. The orderly processes of legislative inquiry require that the Committee shall determine such questions for itself. Within the realm of legislative discretion, the exercise of good taste and good judgment in the examination of witnesses must be entrusted to those who have been vested with authority to conduct such investigations. *Hearst* v. *Black*, 66 App. D. C. 313, 87 F. 2d 68.

Under these authorities, the Senate alone can review this record and determine, in justice to itself and to General Zwicker, whether the bounds of propriety, consonant with the lawful purpose of the subcommittee's investigation and fair and reasonable standards of senatorial conduct, were transgressed by Senator McCarthy in his examination of the general at New York on February 18, 1954, and later in his testimony before this committee.

The select committee is of the opinion that the very fact that "the exercise of good taste and good judgment" must be entrusted to those who conduct such investigations places upon them the responsibility of upholding the honor of the Senate. If they do not maintain high standards of fair and respectful treatment the dishonor is shared by the entire Senate.

4. The conduct of Senator McCarthy toward General Zwicker was not proper under the circumstances

In the opinion of this select committee, the conduct of Senator McCarthy toward General Zwicker was not proper. We do not think that this conduct would have been proper in the case of any witness, whether a general or a private citizen, testifying in a similar situation.

Senator McCarthy knew before he called General Zwicker to the stand that the Judge Advocate General of the Army, who was the responsible person under the statutes, had given the opinion that a court-martial of Major Peress would not stand under the applicable regulations and that General Zwicker had been directed by higher authority to issue an honorable discharge to Peress upon his application.

Senator McCarthy knew that General Zwicker was a loyal and outstanding officer who had devoted his life to the service of his country, that General Zwicker was strongly opposed to Communists and their activities, that General Zwicker was cooperative and helpful to the staff of the subcommittee in giving information with reference to Major Peress, that General Zwicker opposed the Peress promotion and opposed the giving to him of an honorable discharge, and that he was testifying under the restrictions of lawful Executive orders.

Under these circumstances, the conduct of Senator McCarthy toward General Zwicker in reprimanding and ridiculing him, in holding him up to public scorn and contumely, and in disclosing the proceedings of the executive session in violation of the rules of his own committee, was inexcusable. Senator McCarthy acted as a critic and judge, upon preconceived and prejudicial notions. He did much to destroy the effectiveness and reputation of a witness who was not in any way responsible for the Peress situation, a situation which we do not in any way condone. The blame should have been placed on the shoulders of those culpable and not attributed publicly to one who had no share in the responsibility.

D. CONCLUSIONS

The select committee concludes that the conduct of Senator McCarthy toward General Zwicker was reprehensible, and that for this conduct he should be censured by the Senate.

VI

Charges Not Included in the Public Hearings

Senate Resolution 301 provides that the committee—

> shall be authorized to hold hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Senate, to require by subpena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such correspondence, books, papers, and documents, and to *take such testimony as it deems advisable*, and that the committee be instructed to act and *make a report* * * *"

At the outset of our deliberations, the committee decided, preliminarily, that it was advisable to proceed with hearings upon 13 of the charges in the various proposed amendments, classified into the 5 major categories outlined in the notice of hearing. The other charges, however, remained pending before the committee and its staff. We have studied them in the light of the law and testimony developed in the hearings and have also investigated the evidence suggested in the charges. The committee thereafter confirmed its tentative decision not to conduct hearings on these other items. The committee believes it desirable under the resolution from which its powers and duties stem, to express its reasons for determining that formal hearings need not be conducted on these remaining charges.

The committee eliminated some of the charges for reasons of legal insufficiency, having concluded that the particular conduct charged was not in its judgment a proper basis for Senate censure. The determination of what constituted "legal insufficiency" in the context of a charge intended to support a proposed motion to censure a Member of the United States Senate was the most difficult task imposed upon this committee. No precedents found by the committee were particularly helpful in connection with this task. The path is narrow and the guideposts few.

Only three Senators have previously been censured by the Senate. Two, Senators McLaurin and Tillman, in 1902, for abusive and provocative language and engaging in a physical altercation on the floor of the Senate. The third, Senator Hiram Bingham, was censured in 1929 for having brought into an executive session of the Finance Committee's meeting on the tariff bill, as his aide, the assistant to the president of the Connecticut Manufacturers Association. The Senate found this action by Senator Bingham, "while not the result of corrupt motives" to be "contrary to good morals and senatorial ethics * * * (tending) * * * to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute * * *". The very paucity of precedents tends to establish the importance placed by the Senate on its machinery of censure.

Obviously, with such limited precedents the task of this committee in undertaking to determine what is and what is not censurable conduct by a United States Senator was indeed formidable. Individuals differ in their view and sensitivities respecting the propriety or impropriety

of many types of conduct. Especially is this true when the conduct and its background present so many complexities and shadings of interpretations. Moreover, it is fairly obvious that conduct may be distasteful and less than proper, and yet not constitute censurable behavior.

We begin with the premise that the Senate of the United States is a responsible political body, important in the maintenance of our free institutions. Its Members are expected to conduct themselves with a proper respect for the principles of ethics and morality, for senatorial customs based on tradition, and with due regard for the importance of maintaining the good reputation of the Senate as the highest legislative body in the Nation, sharing constitutional responsibilities with the President in the appointment of officials and judges through advice and confirmation and participating in the conduct of foreign affairs through the ratification of treaties.

At the same time we are cognizant that the Senate as a political body imposes a multitude of responsibilities and duties on its Members which create great strains and stresses. We are further aware that individual Senators may, within the bounds of political propriety, adopt different methods of discharging their responsibilities to the people.

We did not, and clearly could not, undertake here to establish any fixed, comprehensive code of noncensurable conduct for Members of the United States Senate. We did apply our collective judgment to the specific conduct charged, and in some instances to the way a charge was made and the nature of the evidence preferred in support of it. And on the basis of the precedents and our understanding of what might be deemed censurable conduct in these circumstances, we determined whether, if a particular charge were established, we would consider it conduct warranting the censure of the Senate.

In concluding that certain of the charges dropped were legally insufficient for Senate censure, we do not want to be understood as saying that this committee approves of the conduct alleged. Yet disapproval of conduct does not necessarily call for official Senate censure.

The decision to eliminate any of the charges was arrived at only following extremely careful and thorough consideration. Unquestionably, one consideration underlying the elimination of these charges was the overall time factor. Under Senate Resolution 301 the select committee was directed by the Senate to hold its hearings and file its report prior to the sine die adjournment of the Senate in the 2d session of the then 83d Congress. And it was expressly contemplated that the Senate should be able to meet and consider such report at an appropriate time prior to such adjournment.

In order to abide by this direction and conform to such purpose it was necessary to narrow and confine the scope of its deliberations, and particularly of its formal hearings. The committee's study developed 12 major reasons which, singly or cumulatively, led to the elimination of these other charges from the committee's formal hearings. Only a few of these reasons, in addition to the ground of legal insufficiency, involved the passing of judgment upon the merits of any particular charge. The other reasons deal with the feasibility of the committee's attempting to investigate, document, and receive suitable testimonial evidence upon such specifications.

We set forth here the 12 general grounds upon which the other charges were dropped. Following that will be set forth, and appropriately identified, each charge eliminated, with the reasons for the omission of that particular charge indicated by a number or numbers in the right margin of the page. The numbers in the right margin correspond to the numbers of the 12 reasons for eliminating charges.

The 12 reasons applied as appropriate for eliminating particular charges are—

1. Charges which, even if fully supported and established, would not in the judgment of the committee constitute censurable conduct.
2. Charges which, even if fully supported and established after investigation, would in the judgment of the committee be of doubtful validity as a basis for censure.
3. Charges which are too vague and uncertain, or which were too broad in apparent scope to justify formal hearings by the committee.
4. Charges reflecting largely personal opinion rather than delineating specific, concrete conduct upon which a judgment of censure could properly be based.
5. Charges which, in order to determine properly, would have required more time to investigate, document, and take testimony upon, than was practically available to this committee.
6. Charges which were substantially covered or duplicated by other charges upon which the committee actually held hearings and received evidence.
7. Charges concerning statements made on the floor of the Senate about public officials, with which statements we may disagree, but which, if held censurable, would tend to place unwarranted limitations on the freedom of speech in the Senate of the United States.
8. Charges involving such matters as the receipt by a member of a committee of payments not corresponding to the value of services rendered, from persons subject to the jurisdiction of such committee (which might be reprehensible if true, because of some implication of improper influence), but which the committee believed were not susceptible of satisfactory proof in this forum.
9. Charges of improper treatment of a particular committee witness who is presently undergoing confidential security investigation by the executive department.
10. Charges involving misconduct of the staff of a standing committee of the Senate, over which that committee as a whole has jurisdiction and primary responsibility.
11. Charges concerning matters over which other committees have already acquired jurisdiction.
12. Charges on which no substantial evidence was submitted and none could be found by the committee.

Reason why eliminated

The charges eliminated, and the reasons therefor, are:

Amendments proposed by the Senator from Arkansas, Mr. Fulbright:

(1) The junior Senator from Wisconsin, while a member of the committee having jurisdiction over the affairs of the Lustron Co., a corporation financed by Government money, received $10,000 without rendering services of comparable value. 8

(2) In public hearings, before the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, of which he was chairman, the junior Senator from Wis- 9

Reason why eliminated

consin strongly implied that Annie Lee Moss was known to be a member of the Communist Party and that if she testified she would perjure herself, before he had given her an opportunity to testify in her own behalf.

(6) The junior Senator from Wisconsin in a speech on June 14, 1951, without proof or other justification made an unwarranted attack upon Gen. George C. Marshall. 7

Amendments proposed by the Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse:

(*f*) Attempted to invade the constitutional power of the President of the United States to conduct the foreign relations of the United States by carrying on negotiations with certain Greek shipowners in respect to foreign trade policies, even though the executive branch of our Government had a few weeks previously entered into an understanding with the Greek Government in respect to banning the flow of strategic materials to Communist countries; and 2, 5

(*g*) Permitted and ratified over a period of several months in 1953 and 1954 the abuse of senatorial privilege by Mr. Roy Cohn, chief counsel to the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations of which committee and subcommittee the junior Senator from Wisconsin is chairman. Mr. Cohn's abuse having been directed toward attempting to secure preferential treatment for Pvt. David Schine by the Department of the Army, at a time when the Army was under investigation by the committee. 10

Amendments proposed by the Senator from Vermont, Mr. Flanders:

(1) He has retained and/or accredited staff personnel whose reputations are in question and whose backgrounds would tend to indicate untrustworthiness (Surine, Lavinia, J. B. Matthews). 4, 5

(2) He has permitted his staff to conduct itself in a presumptuous manner. His counsel and his consultant (Messrs. Cohn and Schine) have been insolent to other Senators, discourteous to the public, and discreditable to the Senate. His counsel and consultant traveled abroad making a spectacle of themselves and brought discredit upon the Senate of the United States, whose employees they were. 4, 5, 10

(3) He has conducted his committee in such a slovenly and unprofessional way that cases of mistaken identities have resulted in grievous hardship or have made his committee, and thereby the Senate, appear ridiculous. (Annie Lee Moss, Lawrence W. Parrish, subpenaed and brought to Washington instead of Lawrence T. Parish.) 3, 4, 10

(4) He has proclaimed publicly his intention to subpena citizens of good reputation, and then never called them. (Gen. Telford Taylor, William P. Bundy, former President Truman, reporters Marder, Joseph Alsop, Friendly, Bigrant, Phillip Potter.) 1

(5) He has repeatedly used verbal subpenas of questionable legality. (Tried to prevent State Department granting visa to William P. Bundy on ground that he was under "oral subpena.") 2, 5

(6) He has attempted to intimidate the press and single out individual journalists who have been critical of him or whose reports he has regarded with disfavor, and either threatened them with subpena or forced them to testify in such a manner as to raise the possibility of a breach of the first amendment of the Constitution. (Murray Marder of Washington Post, the Alsops, James Wechsler.) 4, 5

(7) He has attempted "economic coercion" against the press and radio, particularly the case of Time magazine, the Milwaukee Journal, and the Madison Capital Times. (On June 16, 1952, McCarthy sent letters to advertisers in Time magazine, urging them to withdraw their advertisements.) 2, 3, 5

(8) He has permitted the staff to investigate at least one of his fellow Senators (Jackson) and possibly numerous Senators. Such material has been reserved with the obvious intention of coercing the other Senator or Senators to submit to his will, or for the purpose of inhibiting them from expressing themselves critically. (Cohn said he would "get" Senator Jackson.)—Washington News, June 14, 1954. 4, 10

Reason why eliminated

(9) He has posed as savior of his country from communism, yet the Department of Justice reported that McCarthy never turned over for prosecution a single case against any of his alleged "Communists." (The Justice Department report of December 18, 1951.) Since that date not a single person has been tried for Communist activities as a result of information supplied by McCarthy. 1

(11) He has used distortion and innuendo to attack the reputations of the following citizens: Former President Truman, Gen. George Marshall, Attorney General Brownell, John J. McCloy, Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, Senator Raymond Baldwin, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg, Philip Jessup, Marquis Childs, Richard L. Strout of the Christian Science Monitor, Gen. Telford Taylor, and the three national press associations. 3, 4, 5

(12) He has disclosed restricted security information in possible violation of the espionage laws. (McCarthy has made public portions of an Army Intelligence study, Soviet Siberia, which compelled the Army to declassify and release the entire document.) 4, 6, 12

(15) He has used his official position to fix the Communist label upon all individuals and newspapers as might legitimately disagree with him or refuse to acknowledge him as the unique leader in the fight against subversion. (Deliberate slips such as calling Aldai Stevenson "Alger"; saying that the American Civil Liberties Union had been "listed" as doing the work of the Communist Party; calling the Milwaukee Journal and Washington Post local "editions of the Daily Worker.") 3, 4, 5

(16) He has attempted to usurp the functions of the executive department by having his staff negotiate agreements with a group of ship owners in London; and has infringed upon functions of the State Department, claiming that he was acting in the "national interest." 2, 3, 5

(18) He has made false claims about alleged wounds which in fact he did not suffer. (Claims he was a tailgunner when, in fact, he was a Marine Air Force Ground Intelligence officer * * * claims he entered as buck private, when he entered as commissioned officer.) 1

(19) His rude and ruthless disregard of the rights of other Senators has gone to the point where the entire minority membership of the Permanent Investigating Subcommittee resigned from the committee in protest against his highhandedness (July 10, 1953). 2

(20) He has intruded upon the prerogative of the executive branch, violating the constitutional principles of separation of powers. (Within a single week (February 14–20, 1953) McCarthy's activities against the Voice of America forced the State Department three times to reverse administrative decisions on matters normally considered internal operating procedures: 5

((1) The Department had authorized the use of certain writings by pro-Communist authors as part of their program to expose Communist lies and false promises. McCarthy compelled the State Department to discontinue this practice; (2) the Department authorized its employees to refuse to talk with McCarthy's staff in the absence of McCarthy himself. It was compelled to cancel this directive; and (3) John Matson, a departmental security agent who had "cooperated" with McCarthy, was transferred so as to be put out of reach of the Department's confidential files. McCarthy compelled the Department to return Matson to his original position.)

(21) He has infringed upon the jurisdiction of other Senate committees, invading the area of the Internal Security Subcommittee and other committees of the Congress. 1, 3

(22) He has failed to perform the solid and useful duties of the Government Operations Committee, abandoning the legitimate and vital functions of this committee. 3

(23) He has held executive sessions in an apparent attempt to prevent the press from getting an accurate account of the testimony of witnesses, and then released his own versions of that testimony, often at variance with the subsequently revealed transcripts, and under circumstances in which the witness had little opportunity to correct or object to his version. 3, 4, 5

Reason why eliminated

(24) He has questioned adverse witnesses in public session in such a manner as to defame loyal and valuable public servants, whose own testimony he failed to get beforehand, and whom he never provided a comparable opportunity for answering the charges. 3, 5

(25) He has barred the press and general public from executive sessions and then permitted unauthorized persons whom his whim favored to attend, in one case, a class of schoolgirls, thus holding the very principle of executive sessions up to ridicule. 3

(26) His conduct has caused and permitted his subcommittee to be incomplete or incapacitated in its normal work for approximately 40 percent of the time that he has been its chairman. (During his 19 months as chairman of the subcommittee, his refusal to recognize their rights—later acknowledged by him—caused the minority members to leave the subcommittee on July 10, 1953, and they did not return until January 25, 1954. His personally motivated quarrel with the United States Army necessitated the interruption of the subcommittee's work and its exclusive preoccupation with the Army-McCarthy hearings from April 22, 1954, to June 17, 1954.) 2, 4, 10

(27) He has publicly threatened publications with the withdrawal of their second-class mailing privilege because he disagreed with their editorial policy. (Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Time magazine.) Letter to Postmaster General Summerfield made public August 22, 1953. See Washington Post, August 23, 1953. 12

(28) He has exploited his committee chairmanship to disseminate fantastic and unverified claims for the obvious purpose of publicity. (McCarthy's hint that he was in secret communication with Lavrenti P. Beria and would produce him as a witness when Beria was on the verge of execution in Moscow.) Washington News, September 21, 1953 (announcement of plan to subpena Beria). 2

(29) He has denied Members of Congress access to the files of the committee, to which every Member of Congress is entitled under the Reorganization Act (title II, sec. 202, par. d). 3, 11

(31) He has announced investigations prematurely, subsequently dropping these investigations so that the question whether there was ever any serious intent to pursue them may be justifiably raised, along with the inevitable conclusion that publicity was the only purpose. (Central Intelligence Agency, Beria, and so forth.) 3

(32) Checking through hearings, one will note that favorable material submitted by witnesses will usually have the notation "May be found in the files of the subcommittee," whereas unfavorable material is printed in the record. 3, 4, 5

(33) He has permitted changing of committee reports and records in such a way as to substantially change or delete vital meanings. (Senator Margaret Chase Smith felt compelled to object to the filing of his 1953 subcommittee reports without their first being sent through the full committee.) 3

VII

Bush Amendment

Senate Resolution 301 submitted to the select committee for consideration contains not only the charges for censure, but also contains the amendment proposed by the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Bush, in regard to proposed changes in rules and procedure for Senate committees.

The select committee is aware of the fact that the Subcommittee on Rules of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration has held extensive hearings on this subject.

Many witnesses appeared before that subcommittee, including Senator Bush, and we are advised that this committee expects to have a report ready for the opening of the next session of Congress.

It is the firm conviction of the select committee that this is a subject which requires much study before affirmative action is taken on a general change in the rules and procedure of committees and subcommittees of the Senate. However, after hearing the evidence and the testimony presented at the hearing before our committee, we are of the opinion that had certain rules of committee procedure been in effect, much of the criticism against investigative committee hearings would have been avoided. For this reason, we report a separate resolution on the subject of the Bush amendment, to read as follows:

Resolved, That subsection 3 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(c) No witness shall be required to testify before a committee or subcommittee with less than two members present, unless the committee or subcommittee by majority vote agrees that one member may hold the hearing, or the witness waives any objection to testifying before one member.

"(d) Committee interrogation of witnesses shall be conducted only by members and authorized staff personnel of the committee and no person shall be employed or assigned to investigate activities until approved by the committee.

"(e) No testimony taken or material presented in an executive session shall be made public, either in whole or in part or by way of summary, unless authorized by majority vote of the committee.

"(f) Vouchers covering expenditures of any investigating committee shall be accompanied by a statement signed by the chairman that the investigation was duly authorized and conducted under the provisions of this rule."

And we recommend that this amendment to the rules be approved by the Senate to be effective January 3, 1955.

VIII

Recommendations of Select Committee Under Senate Order Pursuant to Senate Resolution 301

For the reasons and on the facts found in this report, the select committee recommends:

1. That on the charges in the category of "Incidents of Contempt of the Senate or a Senatorial Committee," the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, should be censured.
2. That the charges in the category of "Incidents of Encouragement of United States Employees To Violate the Law and Their Oaths of Office or Executive Orders," do not, under all the evidence, justify a resolution of censure.
3. That the charges in the category of "Incidents Involving Receipt or Use of Confidential or Classified or Other Confidential Information From Executive Files," do not, under all the evidence, justify a resolution of censure.
4. That the charges in the category of "Incidents Involving Abuse of Colleagues in the Senate," except as to those dealt with in the first category, do not, under all the evidence, justify a resolution of censure.
5. That on the charges in the category of "Incident Relating to Ralph W. Zwicker, a general officer of the Army of the United States," the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, should be censured.
6. That with reference to the amendment to Senate Resolution 301 offered by the Senator from New Jersey, Mr. Smith, this

report and the recommendations herein be regarded as having met the purposes of said amendment.

7. That with reference to the amendment to Senate Resolution 301 offered by the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Bush, that an amendment to the Senate Rules be adopted in accord with the language proposed in part VII of this report.

The chairman of the select committee is authorized in behalf of the committee to present to the Senate appropriate resolutions to give effect to the foregoing recommendations.

O

SUMMING UP THE HEARINGS: H. H. WILSON

THE *Nation*

July 3, 1954
20¢

Every American Should Go To Jail!

A MODEST PROPOSAL

For Pacifying the Public Temper

by ARTHUR MILLER

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Trial by Violence — *Fredric Wertham*

Russia's Rhine Maidens — *Carolus*

special consideration for their psychological warfare — anti-McCarthy side. No one with an ounce of sensitivity

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

"LUSCIOUS red strawberry guavas, yellow guavas, and loquats grow wild and are free for the picking. Fresh garden vegetables are one cent a pound, also nice bananas. Oranges, the best we have ever seen, are seasonal and cost six cents a dozen. Watermelons, cantelopes, papayas, and avocados are cheap in their seasons. We have a year-round climate unsurpassed anywhere in the world—the temperatures ranging from 48 to 82 degrees."

Sound like Paradise? It's the nearest place to it, according to a letter just received from *Nation* subscriber R. E. Moore, who pulled up stakes two years ago and hied himself to Norfolk Island in the South Pacific. Norfolk, incidently, is the island where the mutineers of Bounty fame wound up and Mr. Moore says that some 50 per cent of the island's 1000 population are their descendants.

"There is much personal liberty here," Mr. Moore concludes, "and very little abuse of it. The freedom from McCarthyism and loyalty boards is wonderful."

Paradise indubitably!

THIS HAS BEEN an interesting week for philatelists on *The Nation's* staff. M. O. M. Maduagwu writes from Merchants College in Oba, Onitsha, Nigeria: "Yesterday in a friend's house I saw and read copies of *The Nation* sent to him by an American friend. It interested me because I am concerned with the fight for freedom and human rights. I could see that *The Nation* would always be at my service. That's why I want to become a regular reader."

And from Delhi, India, Satish Kumar Arora of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, writes: "It is now four years since I started reading *The Nation* (while attending Oberlin College) and I do not think I have missed any week of it. I sincerely believe there is a dire need of *The Nation* being circulated in India. Friends who are interested in the United States and world affairs and who saw copies were extremely impressed with it. They hardly believed there were periodicals like yours in the United States."

Closer home, Mrs. Hilda Lipkin of New York, who recently received a subscription to the magazine, said: "It helps keep my blood pressure down and my hopes up. You all write such sense that it's a comfort."

IT ALL BEGAN with a brief plug in this column for Eric Sander's "McCarthy for Führer" buttons. Seems the idea has really caught on. June 21 the San Francisco *Chronicle* ran a feature story on the nationwide growth of the campaign—particularly among college students, many of whom had seen the original announcement in *The Nation*. Now John Thomas of Los Angeles tells me that he gave a button to a woman college instructor he knew. "She passed it on to a gentleman who is administrative assistant to a top government official. He flew into Washington the same afternoon for a conference with the President. The President saw it and now he owns it.

"Since the President does not 'deal in personalities' he is probably not wearing the button openly," says Mr. Thomas. "But at least he must have it tucked away in a desk drawer ready for occasional furtive peeks."

THE DEMAND for copies of the Federation of American Scientists' Loyalty Committee report on the army-McCarthy situation at Fort Monmouth is steady. A limited number of these are available through *The Nation* and if you want one I urge you to act quickly. Just send 75 cents for your postpaid copy. It's a shocker.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

On Waldo Frank

[In publishing Waldo Frank's "Anti-Communist Peril" in our June 19 issue, we prophesied that it would provoke extensive controversy among our readers. The mails have proved us right, as the sampling below shows. We invite further comment on the important issues raised by Mr. Frank.]

Dear Sirs: Bravo to Waldo Frank for his clear and succinct analysis! This article should be read and debated by all. Not communism, not decadent reaction, but *man* is the issue today.

NATHAN L. SHAINBERG
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Sirs: I have read with attention Waldo Frank's earnest and scholarly article, "Anti-Communist Peril," and found myself half-persuaded—until I took the time to think it over and realize its implications. He tells us, in substance, that there are two perils threatening the country, one of them communism and the other anti-communism, and it appears that he equates these two evils. To clear up his point of view I respectfully ask him to answer a few questions.

Communism is represented by the Soviet Union, which has seized nine countries of Central Europe and parts of two others and reduced them to satellite police-states by methods of terror and scientifically devised torture. Anti-communism is represented by the United States of America, which during the past half century has given freedom and democratic institutions to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Japan. Does Waldo Frank equate these two opponents?

Communism armed the North Koreans and sent them forth to seize South Korea. Anti-communism resisted this invasion. Does Waldo Frank equate these two procedures? The same pattern is reproducing itself in Indo-China; the French have promised independence to these three states, and the Chinese Reds are ready with their "brain-washing." Are these two to be equated?

Communism is embodied for us by Malenkov, who has some fifteen millions of his political opponents in slave-labor camps and has murdered God alone knows how many more. The worst of anti-communism is typified to us by Senator McCarthy, who has lied recklessly about his political opponents, but has not been able to jail anybody, and has not murdered anybody so far as the record shows. Are these two to be equated?

UPTON SINCLAIR
Monrovia, California

Dear Sirs: The article by Waldo Frank in your June 19 issue is an attractive and courageous piece of rhetoric. Nevertheless, without disputing his criticisms, I wonder if he is not making the same kind of essential omission as those whom, as types, he has so effectively attacked.

Mr. Frank refers several times to "the Judaeo-Christian tradition." I do not know what his relation to this tradition is. It is worth pointing out, however—for others' benefit if not for his—that the only fact that gives final significance to this "tradition" is its insistence on the supremacy of God, whose creature and subject man is. Neither Judaism nor Christianity, as such, is an ethical system, to be made use of in isolation from its central assertion; any pretense that this is possible is glib sentimentality.

The defect which capitalism and communism share, at this time—and with them most types of socialism, and world

(Continued on page 19)

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Summing Up the Hearings . . *by H. H. Wilson*

McCarthy maxim: "One should start kicking at the other person as fast as possible below the belt until the other person is rendered helpless."

Prosecutor Jenkins: "If I became a candidate for the Senate in Tennessee and Senator McCarthy magnanimously tendered his services . . . I would say frankly as of this moment I would accept his offer."

NO one could have expected the McCarthy subcommittee to conduct hearings that could, or would, seriously attempt to resolve the questions of fact involved in the dispute between the Senator and the army. Apart from the inherent weaknesses of a Congressional committee attempting to perform a judicial function, the personnel of the subcommittee hardly compounded confidence in the probable outcome. The acting chairman, Senator Karl Mundt, and the other Republicans, Dirksen, Potter, and Dworshak, had rather clearly identified themselves as McCarthy disciples. McClellan, Symington, and Jackson, the Democrats on the subcommittee, constituted a moderately effective challenge to a complete whitewash, but they had no position of principled opposition to the witch hunt. This meant that they were constantly on the defensive and could only protest their equal devotion to "anti-communism."

As counsel the subcommittee selected an unbelievable Tennessee trial lawyer, a self-declared "Taft Republican" who lived up to what one would expect of a politically ambitious individual who had no public record of support or opposition to the Wisconsin Senator and whose personal qualities made him Senatorial material in the eyes of the discerning Everett Dirksen. Once rebuked by McCarthy for being too strenuous with G. David Schine, Jenkins subsequently toadied to Joe in the most obvious fashion. Throughout the hearings from the very first day, he served as straight man and sounding board for the peculiar McCarthy-Cohn interpretation of history.

Despite such inauspicious circumstances the hearings probably served to convince several million Americans that Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and John G. Adams, army counsellor, reflecting Eisenhower policy, had gone to inordinate lengths to appease McCarthy and Cohn. Similarly there can be no doubt that McCarthy-Cohn used every conceivable pressure to win special consideration for their psychological-warfare expert, G. David Schine. Many will feel that Senator Charles E. Potter's suggestion for perjury prosecutions and the dismissal of employees on both sides of the dispute is too limited, but that it is at least a necessary beginning. Beyond this the hearings revealed, as Senator McClellan underscored in his summary, a weak, fumbling, ineffectual Executive which had tolerated or encouraged the most abject behavior on the part of the Secretary of the Army. Apparently advised that McCarthy could be useful in gaining votes for Republicans, President Eisenhower refused to display any leadership when it might have prevented this whole fiasco.

IT appears that Senator McCarthy has suffered a temporary setback in his drive for personal power. His arrogance, patent contempt for Administration leaders, fellow Senators, the law, and the Constitution seem at last to have registered even with members of the Eisenhower inner circle. He has succeeded in warning the most wilfully obtuse of his long-range intentions. He has antagonized those who for years tolerated his attacks on powerless individuals. It is indicative of the state of American democracy that official indignation was not sparked until he attacked a brigadier general. Now even those who thought to use him to disrupt the Democratic Party and to destroy popular attachment to the New Deal are fearful that they may not be able to check the Senator to their own purposes.

It is certainly a positive gain that in recent days a number of Republicans have finally, however temporary their virtue, found courage to attack McCarthy directly. In addition to Potter's proposal, Senator Flanders is sponsoring a resolution to deprive him of chairmanships. Allen Dulles condemned McCarthy charges against the C. I. A. as completely "false"; Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., attacked the McCarthy network of personal spies in government agencies; and President Eisenhower warned the United States against nameless "demagogues greedy for power."

While retaining a certain amount of skepticism regarding the meaning of the public-opinion polls, it is probably valid to conclude that a large number of those who once held "no opinion" have shifted over to the anti-McCarthy side. No one with an ounce of sensitivity

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could have failed to be revolted by the bully-boy tactics of the Senator.

Without minimizing the positive gains which have been made in crystallizing opposition to the ineffable Wisconsin Senator, these hearings can in no sense be interpreted as weakening the hold of McCarthyism, or anti-democracy, in the United States. In fact this phenomenon, characterized by irrationality, anti-intellectualism, contempt for law, and denial of the integrity of the human personality, has been revealed as the prevailing doctrine even among those nominally opposed to the Senator. Throughout the hearings it was apparent that all participants, including the counsel for both sides, had accepted McCarthy's premises and permitted him to define the meaning of communism, treason, subversion, and corruption. In this regard nothing more clearly reveals the pervasiveness of McCarthyism than the statement to Senator McCarthy by army counsel Joseph N. Welch: "You do good work. I admire the work you do when it succeeds." Not a voice was raised to protest the repeated attacks on individuals or organizations until counsel Welch countered McCarthy's gratuitous attack on his young law associate. It is a measure of our degradation that a man could become a national hero by condemning such "cruelty" while remaining silent about the maligning of loyal citizens who continue as members of the same legitimate professional group. Never has it been more apparent that one should diagnose the sickness of a sick society, not by taking the pulse of the political delinquents who attract the headlines, but by examining the condition of its "healthy" members.

Walter Lippmann has pertinently observed that McCarthy's "power will cease to grow and will diminish as and when, but only as and when, he is resisted, and it has been shown to our people that those to whom we look for leadership and to preserve our institutions are not afraid of him." The fact is, of course, that leaders of this society, in government and out, have long accepted the essence of McCarthyism. College presidents and heads of professional organizations have permitted the primitives to define the qualifications for membership in professional bodies. The army, presumably the immediate victim of McCarthy wrecking tactics, has itself taken over his standards and practices. If more evidence were needed to establish the acceptance of irrationality as a standard of conduct it has been provided by the Oppenheimer case.

It is unreasonable to criticize the American people for revealing confusion and doubt when so-called "good" leaders, anti-McCarthy spokesmen, concede the validity of his premises. Thus Senator Stuart Symington, aggressively hostile to Wisconsin's junior Senator, boasted that when he was Secretary of Air and when he was a private employer, the mere receipt of an F. B. I. report containing "unevaluated" derogatory information was suffi-

cient to justify the immediate dismissal of an employee without benefit of hearing. No one protested the constant reiteration of the false McCarthy-Cohn-Carr charges of "espionage at Fort Monmouth." One waited in vain for a protest by "learned lawyers" at the use of the insidious phrase "Fifth Amendment Communists," or the implication of guilt to Owen Lattimore, though great care was taken not to impugn the integrity and patriotic devotion of McCarthy's bunkomen.

Whatever their spokesmen may conclude as a result of the investigation of the army-McCarthy dispute, the American people have not only been warned, they have for weeks looked at the faces and observed the behavior of those who seek to destroy the institutions and undermine the philosophy of a free society. From this day on no one of the millions of witnesses can plead ignorance if they persist in supporting fascism in this country.

Leading from Strength

WHILE no formal statement had come from the White House it was evident as the week began that every effort was being made to knit up the raveled fabric of British-American understanding. The journey to Washington of Britain's present and future Prime Ministers itself testified to both the widening rift and the desire to heal it.

However, understanding is one thing and agreement is another. The differences between London and Washington are not the sort to be talked out of existence over a week-end. The important point to note is that the British leaders came not to accept a ready-made plan for an East Asia defense pact, as the State Department had so prematurely claimed, but to explain why from their point of view Asian defense must be linked to a broad policy of conciliation and non-aggression pacts with the Communist powers. Before they left London Mr. Eden had taken the precaution of stating this position in Parliament and demonstrating the overwhelming support it had among the British people, and in the opposition as well as in the government party. In a word, what Sir Winston and Mr. Eden came to say was that Britain could not be committed to a course that might lead to war and almost certainly would wreck the Commonwealth in Asia.

Meanwhile in New Delhi Messrs. Chou En-lai and Jawaharlal Nehru were providing the counterpoint to this theme. At the very least the meeting between the Indian and Chinese leaders was an announcement that Nehru could be counted out of any American-made NATO in East Asia. At the same time France's bold new Premier, Pierre Mendès-France, was contributing to the almost global offensive against Washington's Far Eastern policy by hastening the negotiations for a compromise settlement in Indo-China.

In sum, the Administration is suffering a series of jolting diplomatic defeats. The day is passed when Uncle Sam could regard the rest of mankind from the vantage point of the world's greatest heap of industrial power, an A-bomb in one hand and an H-bomb in the other, and assume an allegiance based primarily on economic need. Differences between America and its allies have come up in the past and been dispelled at least superficially by thunder out of Washington. The reason this is not happening today is to be found in the growing economic strength—and thus the growing political independence—of the European nations. No longer is Britain or France in the role of pensioner of the United States. They can disagree and expect their views to carry weight in Washington. This, we think, is one of the most hopeful facts in this extremely difficult hour.

WAR AGAINST THE U.N.

The Guatemala Chapter . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

United Nations, June 28

AT this writing it is not certain whether the unexpected resignation of Guatemala's President, Jacob Arbenz, will prove a victory for the United States and for the rebel forces under Castillo Armas, or merely for the army junta which forced the President out of office. It is not even clear whether the development marks the end of the tragi-comic *sitzkrieg* situation or the beginning of real fighting. Until Arbenz was obliged to step down the rebels' talkative leader, despite the formidable strength attributed to him, had been able to report only one military development indisputably in his favor—the appointing of himself as a general. Therefore whatever pressures prompted the army junta to turn upon Arbenz, the fear of military defeat at the hands of the rebels was not among them.

The true nature of the pressures at work are perhaps better explainable by the diplomatic and political developments which occurred in the forty-eight hours preceding Arbenz's resignation. Under the leadership of the United States delegation, the Security Council divested itself of any immediate official interest in Guatemala's fate. Instead the Inter-American Peace Committee, which naturally has no Soviet member, dispatched a commission to investigate Guatemala's charges of aggression against Honduras and Nicaragua. Simul-

May 7, 1954

Gentlemen:

Mr. Murrow has received your mimeographed letter of April 25, 1954 and the enclosed pamphlet.

He has instructed me to inform you that he is not interested to receive correspondence or literature from your organization, nor has he ever requested that it be sent to him. Would you, therefore, please remove his name from your mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

Communist Party, U.S.A.
P.O.Box 87
Cooper Station
New York 3, New York

The American Way

TO

- ***Jobs***
- ***Peace***
- ***Democracy***

5¢

A NOTE TO THE READER

This Draft Program is offered by the Communist Party as a statement of its proposals for meeting the critical problems now facing the American people.

In line with its own long-standing democratic practice and policy, the Communist Party offers this Program *as a draft,* to be weighed in the light of the nation's most burning needs, to be subjected to frank and constructive criticism—not only by Communist Party members but, as the Draft Program urges, by "all groups concerned with saving our nation from fascism and war." The Party warmly welcomes the participation in this discussion, which will continue through June, of "all Americans, no matter what our past relations or present differences," and pledges publicly to acknowledge all serious and constructive criticism. It urges both members and sympathizers, and all progressive and democratic forces, to study the Program carefully and to re-examine their activities and habits of work and thought in the light of the Program's objectives.

Letters, articles, proposals, criticisms, and all forms of opinion bearing on the Draft Program, should be mailed to the National Office, C.P.U.S.A., 268 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, N. Y. They will receive serious attention and consideration. In its final form, as it will be hammered out by the best collective thought, and having the full approval of the Party, the Communist Program will be re-published to serve the people's continuing fight for jobs, peace and democracy.

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THE AMERICAN WAY
To Jobs • Peace • Democracy

DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

I. Introduction

Our country and its people rapidly are approaching a crisis.

—The storm clouds of a major economic depression are nearly upon us.

—Our nation's foreign policy has led us into a blind alley.

—Our traditional liberties are vanishing, being replaced with the ugly menace of McCarthyism.

The American people face the danger that everything they believe in, everything they want this great land to be, is being turned into its opposite.

At a time of great national fear and anxiety the Communist Party submits this Program as an appeal to reason, an appeal to the common sense of our fellow Americans. The crisis of our nation cannot be resolved by any one group alone. Therefore, we offer this Program for the consideration of the workingclass and all Americans who are concerned with the welfare of our country.

We are convinced that only the widest unity of the American people can avert the disaster of economic ruin, fascism and war. Only the most open-minded and deep-going democratic debate can produce such unity.

Toward that end we submit this Program.

II. The Looming Depression—The Danger of Hard Times

Ours is a great land. The American people are proud of its inventive genius, its technical know-how, its tremendous industrial

machine and vast natural resources. One would, therefore, expect to find among the people a sense of confidence in the future. But such is not the case. Whether in the huge shops of Detroit or the vast farmlands of Nebraska, there is a gnawing fear of impending economic ruin.

There is indeed cause for alarm. Signs of an approaching economic crisis are increasing. Production is falling. Unemployment is growing. Weekly earnings are declining as over-time pay disappears. The farmers are once again being caught in the desperate squeeze between high production costs and falling farm income. Small business bankruptcies are multiplying. Warehouses are loaded with $80 billions of unsold goods, while the American people still owe the unprecedented amount of $27 billions on installment purchases.

Human needs could easily absorb all that America can produce. But human needs and fabulous profits are opposite things. The corporations reap huge profits from the people's skill and labor. Corporation profits rose from $6½ billions in 1939 to $45 billions in 1953. In contrast, the Government's Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that more than one-half of all American families cannot afford to buy the minimum requirements for decent, healthful living.

Since World War II, big business and the Government considered renewed arms production as the panacea to prevent depression and to keep profits high. Military expenditures have increased more than twenty times since 1939.

But this is no answer. The increased expenditures for armaments and war are paid for by increased taxes and higher prices taken from the pockets of the people. Taxes today are more than twelve times higher than in 1939. The cost of living has more than doubled. Thus the real wages and buying power of the workers and farmers have been cut. "Cold war" politics also led to an embargo on trade with one-third of the world—the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. This reduced the ability to sell American goods abroad. Finally, the over-expansion of the armament industries makes ever larger appropriations necessary to keep them going.

The arms economy is proving to be not the road to prosperity, but to economic ruin.

Big Business has no remedy for the chronic threat of economic crisis. It knows only one way to keep its industrial plants running and its lush profits flowing—by bigger war preparations, leading to ever more barbaric wars. The "cure" it offers is worse than the disease.

The arms economy is strengthening the big monopolies at the expense of the nation—particularly of labor, the working farmers and small and middle-sized business. A few giant corporations have a stranglehold on the nation's industries. This hold is even further strengthened by the Administration's "give-away" program to the monopolists.

There is an ever greater subordination of government to big business. The Eisenhower Administration is an administration of, by and for big business. Corporate wealth—General Motors, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil and du Pont—America's biggest, richest and greediest trusts, run the U.S. Government just as surely as they run their own corporations, and for the same end of ever more exorbitant profits.

The monopolists are planning to turn the approaching economic crisis to their own advantage. They are preparing to put the American people through the wringer. They will throw millions of workers on the streets and attempt to cut the wages of those employed. They strive to reduce their own taxes while keeping them high for lower income brackets. They want to crush and wipe out little business, to force millions of small farmers off the land, to push the small owner to the wall and to foreclose on his home and property. They want to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the Negro people and to put more of our youth into uniforms. In short, they want to place the burden of hard times on the backs of the "little people." This is what they mean when they speak of "limited recession" or "economic readjustment."

Above all, the monopolists will seek to use the approaching economic crisis to accelerate their drive for more and more armaments and for ultimate war.

But the American people are no longer going to accept hard times as just "hard luck," or as the process by which individuals are made "rugged" under capitalism. They refuse to blame themselves or fate for mass unemployment. They expect the economic system and the Government to guarantee them jobs at a living wage as workers, and a living income as farmers.

This very dread of economic depression is cleverly utilized by Wall Street to sell its "defense" program to the country as one to prevent depression and to safeguard peace. However, big business now fears the indignation and wrath of the people when they learn that they have been hoodwinked.

III. The Crisis in U.S. Foreign Policy—The Danger of War

This nation's foreign policy since World War II can only lead to disaster. It is a policy without a future.

This policy has failed because it represents neither the national interests of the American people nor the cherished aspirations of all mankind for peace, national freedom and higher living standards.

The Wall Street trusts and cartels have set their course on completely dominating the nations, the markets and the resources of the entire globe. This they aim to do by a combination of bribery, cajolery, intimidation and ultimate war. This is the real cause for our Government's reactionary foreign policy.

This explains the building of air bases and military installations around the world. It explains the aggressive NATO war alliance and our headlong rush to rearm Germany and Japan. It explains our intervention in Korea, and our military and financial aid to the oppressors and butchers of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Our country, which won its national freedom in a great revolutionary war against despotic colonialism, now strives to prevent other peoples from having their 1776. Our economic royalists shout "Communism," but what they are after is the tungsten of

Korea, the rubber of Indo-China, the oil of Iran and Venezuela, the diamonds and gold of South Africa, the sugar of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the bauxite of Guiana, the fruit of Guatemala, the nitrate and copper of Chile, the tin of Bolivia, and the immense super-profits derived from cheap colonial labor everywhere.

No longer are the democratic forces of the world our allies and friends. Our new found "friends" are the Nazis of Germany, the militarists of Japan, the Franco fascist regime of Spain, the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Formosa, the white-supremacists of South Africa, and the military dictators of Latin America.

To call U.S. foreign policy one of "strengthening democracy and the free world," is to make a hollow and cynical mockery of words.

Powerful social forces are at work in the world that will not accept Wall Street dictation or domination. One third of mankind is emancipated from imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation and has taken the path of socialism. The rise of the Soviet Union, its tremendous industrial and cultural advance, the victory of the Chinese people and the peoples of Eastern Europe, prove that socialism is here to stay and is indestructible.

At the same time, the colonial and dependent countries refuse to continue to live in conditions of national oppression. They refuse to continue to let their resources be exploited for the benefit of imperialism.

The more economically advanced capitalist countries are likewise impelled to assert their national independence, to break away from the grip of Wall Street. They desperately need foreign markets to keep their industries running. U.S. capitalism cannot provide these. Instead, Wall Street seeks to monopolize all capitalist world markets for itself. Thus, these other capitalist nations are compelled to enter into ever fiercer competition with U.S. capital and to seek profitable trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The present crisis in U.S. foreign policy arises from the refusal of the ruling class to accept this new relationship of forces in the world. The "cold war" is the attempt to turn back the clock of history, to prepare a war for world domination behind the myth

of Soviet aggression. Wall Street has done all in its power to build a world-wide coalition against the Soviet Union. But this coalition is now falling apart. Wall Street has no real allies. Even its present so-called allies cannot deliver on their commitments. The people of the world, including the American people, do not intend to goose-step to the martial music of Wall Street. They are tired of constant war tension, unbearable armament burdens, the threat of atomic devastation, and of both "hot" and "cold" wars. They want peace.

These defeats suffered by Wall Street's foreign policy, especially the ending of the Korean war, have led to a certain easing of world tension. This opens the possibility of putting an end to the "cold war" altogether. But to realize this possibility the American people must be on guard against those ruling circles who pay lip-service to the need for a negotiation of differences but in reality place obstacles in the path of such peaceful settlement. The American people must demand an end to all world tension and the "cold war"!

IV. The Menace of McCarthyism—The Growing Danger of Fascism

Hand in hand with the drive toward war has been the attack on our democratic heritage. This grave danger to our democratic liberties is becoming understood by more and more Americans.

McCarthyism is on a rampage. It is trying to brow-beat into submission every independent point of view, every thinking person. It burns books and destroys art and culture. It aims to smash the labor movement, to further enslave the Negro people, to stir up racism and anti-Semitism, to gag the young generation, and to wipe out all vestiges of liberty. McCarthyism seeks to turn America into a land of yes-men, a land where patriotism is replaced with jingoism, independent thought with conformity, courage with servility.

The victims of the witch-hunt are many. They are in the first place Communists, but they also include men and women of varied

political views. They are leaders of labor and the Negro people. They are the foreign born. They are men and women of science, gifted writers and artists, prominent churchmen and educators.

The gradual whittling away of our basic democratic liberties is not some post-war madness which will pass of itself. It represents an ominous and monstrous trend toward a full-fledged police-state and fascism. The McCarthys and McCarrans are not merely publicity-seeking demagogues. They are the conscious creatures of powerful ultra-reactionary monopoly interests. McCarthyism is the ugly face of American Hitlerism, American fascism.

The attack upon democratic liberties these past years has been an integral part of the preparations of Wall Street for its war for world domination. It was designed to divide the country, to break up the popular majority that stood for President Roosevelt's policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union.

The attack on the Communists, the witch-hunt, the attack on the whole New Deal and Fair Deal has nothing to do with the nation's security. It is an expression of ruling class fear of the re-emergence of the progressive majority in which the American Communists were a part and a stimulating force.

To take this country through a depression and into a war, the ruling class needs fascist conformity, apathy, terrorized and submissive Americans. This is the meaning of McCarthyism.

Why has McCarthyism made such alarming inroads in American life? The last convention of the United Auto Workers, C.I.O., correctly noted that "under the guise of protecting us from the Communists," the worst villainy has become possible. McCarthy's shady financial deals, Nixon's slush funds, the big business looting of the public treasury in lush defense contracts and in tax, property, land and oil steals, have all been gotten away with under the guise of fighting Communism. Anti-Communism has become the biggest and best paying racket in the country. The American people are paying for this. They may pay for it even more dearly—with their very lives and liberties.

It is the Big Lie that the Soviet Union menaces this nation that has made possible the inroads of McCarthyism. McCarthyism

has been able to utilize this lie to frighten and intimidate the country. The responsibility for this rests largely on those who helped cultivate and perpetuate this Big Lie. This includes the Truman Administration and the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. top leadership. By their propagation of the hoax of the Communist menace, they have helped transform McCarthyism from an insignificant contemptible worm into a dangerous and venomous rattlesnake.

Accepting the Big Lie, many of McCarthy's opponents say that they challenge only his fascist "methods" while agreeing with his anti-Communist "objectives." This stands everything on its head. McCarthy's objective is fascism; his method anti-Communism.

The danger which confronts this country is that of McCarthyism, of fascism. It can be defeated only when progressive Americans, whether they like or dislike Communism, begin to realize that Communism is not the issue in this country today or in the near future. The false issue of Communism has been cunningly injected and kept alive in order to distract the people from the real issue which confronts them, the imminent black-out of all constitutional liberties and the brutal imposition of an American type of fascism. This was the method of Hitlerism. It is the method of McCarthyism.

McCarthyism is trying to win complete political power through the present Republican Administration which is increasingly embracing the methods of McCarthyism.

Thus it aims to impose fascism on the country, to take it over through a program of unbridled intimidation and demagogy. It aims to transform the present increasingly reactionary Republican Administration into an outright fascist government. This is the objective of McCarthyism.

Thus the danger of McCarthyism, of American fascism, is real, grave and growing. To defeat this menace, to safeguard the democratic rights and precious liberties of the American people is the first task of the hour.

V. The Communist Program Against Depression—For Jobs, Peace, Democracy

The American Communists propose for our nation a five-point program of Human Welfare, Democratic Freedoms, and Peaceful Coexistence.

1. Raise the Purchasing Power of the People and Curb the Power and Profits of the Trusts!

• To combat depression we urge the defeat of all wage-cut attempts and a militant struggle by labor to raise wages on all levels, to shorten the work-week without a reduction in weekly earnings, and to curb speed-up. We advocate the lowering of consumer prices, an end to rent gouging, and a shift of the tax burdens to the rich.

• An anti-depression program requires government protection of home owners, small farmers and small business from mortgage foreclosures and bankruptcy. It requires a government guarantee of 100 per cent price parity and crop insurance for small and middle-sized farmers, and Government loans and credit at low interest rates to small business and needy farmers.

• To end the economic backwardness of the South and to raise the purchasing power of the people of that region, the Government should institute agricultural reform measures aimed at helping the sharecroppers and tenant farmers, Negro and white, to become independent producers who own the soil they till. The wage differentials between North and South and between men and women workers should be ended and equal pay for equal work guaranteed to all, regardless of race, nationality, religion, sex, age or political belief.

2. Spend for Human Welfare, not Warfare; for Homes and Schools, not Bombs and Battleships!

• The Government has the responsibility to guarantee jobs and living standards. The giant plants which have been erected

for the production of planes, tanks, atom and hydrogen bombs for war, need not be shut down. They can be converted to peacetime uses. For example, the giant war-time aircraft plants can be converted into huge factories for producing pre-fab homes on an assembly line basis. A Government-supported program of this kind can produce a minimum of 1,500,000 additional modern private dwellings a year. This would help wipe out the rat-infested fire-traps in which so many of our people live and die. The Government which built these giant war producing plants with the people's money must guarantee their continued operation, but for peaceful purposes. If private industry cannot or will not do so, the Government can and must!

- We propose a substantial increase in unemployment and old-age benefits; special measures to keep our youth from becoming a jobless generation and to guarantee all our youth free and equal educational opportunities; a federal health program; and a large-scale federal program of flood control, conservation, power dam development and rural building.

3. End the "Cold War" and Promote Friendship and Trade!

There can be no hope for a lasting peace and world disarmament without accepting the principle of peaceful coexistence between the capitalist U.S.A. and the socialist Soviet Union. This is necessary whether one agrees or disagrees with socialism, whether one likes or dislikes the Soviet Union.

Peaceful coexistence does not preclude, but includes, a peaceful competition between the different social systems. It does exclude, however, a settlement by force of arms of the dispute as to which social system is superior.

To ease world tension and to restore the United Nations as an instrument for lasting peace we propose:

- A return to President Roosevelt's policy of big power negotiation and agreement. This must include People's China, the established and effective government of the great Chinese nation.
- An end to the arms race and to the policy of encircling the globe with U.S. military bases. What is needed is a world ban on the use of all atomic weapons and an agreement for a drastic

reduction in all types of armaments. We oppose the militarization of our youth and Universal Military Training.

• The widest promotion of peaceful world trade. Our country, in its own interests, must take advantage of the immense markets for American goods available in the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe. These markets can provide millions of jobs for American workmen for years to come. We favor the extension of credit to bolster world trade and to help overcome the hunger and under-development of the colonial lands. The colonial and semi-colonial countries need machine tools, agricultural implements and farm products. But they rightfully reject fraudulent "Point 4" programs which aim at robbing them of their natural resources and keeping them as backward hinterlands.

• An end to the policy of remilitarizing Germany and Japan. The lessons of World War II prove that a re-militarized Germany is a threat to world peace and to the security of the U.S. We stand for a united, democratic and peaceful Germany.

• No intervention in the internal affairs of other nations and the recognition of the right of all nations to govern themselves. This means an end to the Dulles policy of instigating civil wars in other countries and of aiding the oppressors of the colonial peoples of Indo-China and of all Africa and Asia. This means hands off Guatemala. We favor the right of full and unconditional independence for Puerto Rico; full equality and democratic rights for Hawaii; and complete political and economic freedom for the Philippines. The right of all nations to restrict and control all foreign investments on their territories should be recognized and respected. We favor a policy of the good neighbor to the Latin American lands and to all nations.

4. Defend and Strengthen Democracy!

We call for the defense of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, for an end to the "dictatorship of fear," and for a turning back of the evil tide of McCarthyism. This requires the defense of the constitutional rights of all, including the Communists. To deny the Communists their constitutional rights is the first step to denying these rights for all Americans. This is the lesson of Nazi

Germany. It is the lesson for the witch-hunt in this country. Labor leaders and former New Dealers are learning that they cannot obtain immunity from the witch-hunters by crawling on their knees and Red-baiting. In the words of Benjamin Franklin, "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

- We urge an end to the witch-hunting, the abolition of all Congressional witch-hunt committees, and a halt to the Gestapo-like political activities of the FBI. Political arrests and deportations must cease. Amnesty must be granted to Eugene Dennis, Benjamin J. Davis, Gus Hall, and the other Communist leaders and victims of McCarthyism. The attempts to outlaw the Communist Party and to deprive Communists of their citizenship rights must be defeated. The Smith and McCarran Acts should be repealed.
- Labor's right to organize and strike must be protected and all anti-labor legislation such as the infamous Taft-Hartley Act must be repealed and defeated. Strike-breaking by court injunctions or government decrees should be stopped.
- Academic freedom and freedom of inquiry should be restored for America's youth. Young people should be given the right to vote at 18. The time has come to end bookburning and know-nothingism, to put a stop to the cult of violence in our movies, TV and literature, and to promote culture for peace and democracy.

5. Win Equal Rights for the Negro People!

Democracy is only as strong as its weakest link. All progressive forces should give full support to the valiant fight of the Negro people for their rights. This is necessary because the fight for the liberation of the Negro nation, for the rights of all the Negro people is an integral part of the fight for democracy, for peace, for the rights and living standards of labor and all the people.

If there were no oppression of the Negro people in our land, there would be no wage differentials between the North and the South. Thus, Southern white workers, together with their Negro

brothers, would receive higher wages, while Northern labor could put an end to run-away shops and Southern cheap labor competition. In this way wage levels could be raised for the whole country.

If there were no oppression of the Negro people there would be no poll-tax congressmen. Without poll-tax congressmen it would have been far more difficult for the reactionaries to pass the Taft-Hartley, the Smith and the McCarran Acts.

If there were no poll-tax Dixiecrat congressmen in Washington there also would be a better chance to get improved social security legislation, price and rent controls, more federal aid to education, a federal housing program, greater aid for the unemployed and the aged, and far more equitable tax laws.

Thus, the American people are paying for the shame of Jim Crow. This price is added to the humiliation and oppression heaped upon the Negro people. The Negro people should have their freedom because that is right. They should have it also because all America has a stake in it, stands to gain by it. Democracy, like peace, is indivisible.

• We urge prompt federal action to wipe out every form of discrimination in employment and job opportunities for Negro workers, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian and Jewish workers, and for women and young people. This can help end the practice of hiring Negro workers last and firing them first, of denying them opportunities for advancement as skilled workers, or of employment as white-collar workers or professionals. A federal FEPC, strictly enforced, can help prevent the corporations from pitting one group of workers against another and from reducing wage standards for all workers.

• We further urge federal civil rights legislation to outlaw the poll-tax, lynching, segregation and Jim Crow. Equal educational opportunities and the right to full representation should be guaranteed the Negro people, North and South.

• • •

We call upon wage workers, working farmers, the Negro people, small business and professional people, upon the women and the youth, to join hands in a common fight against the ravages

of economic depression, against the menace of McCarthyism—for jobs, peace, and freedom. We urge support for the anti-depression demands of the A. L. of L. and C.I.O., for the farm demands of the National Farmers' Union, for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for every proposal, every action, which can help save our people from threatening economic ruin, fascism, and war.

VI. What Has To Be Done—The Road Ahead

This Program for Jobs, Peace and Democracy is a program for America. It can be realized. It corresponds to the needs of the people under circumstances in which their liberties and living standards are in imminent danger of complete destruction and in which they are not prepared to accept socialism as the way out.

The program outlined here cannot do away with the planlessness and recurring economic crises of capitalism. Only socialism can do that. This Program can help, however, to delay the outbreak of an economic depression and to cushion its blow upon the people. It can save America from the clear and present danger of McCarthyism—can block war and fascism, save U.S. living standards, and maintain democracy.

No one group in America can achieve these things. The unity of all democratic and peace-loving forces is needed—unity on one issue, or a score of issues—unity irrespective of ideological and political differences on other questions and on longer range goals.

If democratic unity is to be welded, and in time, a major responsibility rests upon the organized labor movement. It must become the propelling force of a popular coalition movement which unites labor, the working farmers, the Negro people, small and middle-sized business and those groups of capital opposed to the McCarthy program of fascism and war. Such an alliance must also include the nation's professionals and intellectuals; its

women, youth and nationality groups. This alliance, if it is to become fully effective, must include the Left and the Communists who have a vital and indispensable contribution to make.

Labor does not play its full role today. It does not give a clear and firm lead because it is unclear and divided itself, because its own ranks are infected with Red-baiting and the "cold war," because its top leaders still play the part of errand boys to big business politicians.

The responsibility for this rests on the official leadership of the major trade union centers, the A. F. of L., C.I.O., Railroad Brotherhoods and Mine Workers. By their support of Wall Street's foreign policy and the anti-Communist drive they have misled the workers.

The labor movement must change its course if it is to save itself and help save the nation. It should practice the slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all." This should govern the relationship of one section of labor to another, and of the labor movement to the farmers, the Negro people, the professionals, intellectuals, and small business people. This can be achieved only by an alert and active rank and file.

There are signs of a new awakening in our land. Larger sections of the people are beginning to speak up for peace and for a program of peace-time jobs. They are becoming alarmed over the menace of McCarthyism. Their opposition to the Eisenhower Administration is growing. The bitter fruits of the war drive are bound further to dispel many illusions. The people are compelled to enter more energetically and consciously into the struggle to defend their living standards, their democratic liberties, and their peace. The collision between the people and the foreign and domestic policies of McCarthyism must grow in volume and intensity.

Important sections of the labor movement are becoming increasingly conscious of the life-and-death need for labor unity. Some of these are also beginning to point in the direction of increased independent political action, are beginning to think in terms of forming a great political alliance under labor's leadership.

The immediate objective in 1954 must be to prevent the Eisenhower Administration and Congress from taking the country

further down the road of McCarthyism. Defeating McCarthyism requires the turning of the present Administration out of political power, first by changing the composition of Congress in 1954 and then by electing a new Administration in 1956. This requires a new political majority so strong that it not only changes Administrations but imposes on a new Congress and a new Administration a new course in domestic and foreign affairs.

The answer to our present national plight is not a switch-back to another Truman-type Administration. The Truman Administration, by departing from Roosevelt's foreign and domestic policies, only paved the way for the Republicans to grab political power and for McCarthyism to ride roughshod over the nation. What is needed is a new Administration which starts to build again where the New Deal left off.

Only the prospect of such a new Administration can inspire and rally the many millions of independent voters in the ranks of labor, the Negro people, the farmers, and the city middle classes, who, when acting together, constitute a new political majority.

To unite a new political majority for 1954 and 1956 requires recognition that the two-party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of the American people now express themselves in politics. Except in special local and state situations, there is no immediate prospect that decisively large masses will break away from the existing two-party structure. This is particularly true since the struggle between the McCarthy and anti-McCarthy forces is likely to be very close. Under these circumstances the decisive sections of organized labor, without which a mass third party is impossible, will first attempt to fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party.

The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the present two-party system. Labor must come forward with its own clear-cut progressive program for the nation, its own ties and alliances with other independent electoral forces, and its own highly organized and

efficient election machinery. Its objective must be to help bring about a regrouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas.

The liberal and independent voters cannot create a new majority and defeat McCarthyism by giving the political bosses a blank check, for McCarthyism exists in both major parties and must be fought in each. They must, therefore, exert every effort to make their *independent* weight felt in the determination of program and the selection of candidates, including, where necessary, the running of independent candidates. Organizations such as the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party, by pursuing correct unity policies and running candidates where necessary, can help clarify the issues and greatly strengthen the common struggle against McCarthyism.

The 1954 elections are crucial in determining the path America will take. McCarthy already has thrown down the gauntlet to the American people. What is needed is unity of every decent, honest force of our people, of all independent-minded voters, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Progressives. Such unity must set itself the objective of electing an anti-McCarthy Congress by defeating every McCarthy-McCarran-Dixiecrat type of candidate, every pro-fascist and rabid war monger. It is also necessary to bring into the halls of Congress a bloc of articulate and uncompromising opponents of McCarthyism, of courageous spokesmen for a further relaxation of world tension and for the defense of the people from the ravages of economic depression. Labor and Negro representation in Congress must be strengthened by electing a larger number of trade union and Negro candidates. This will facilitate the election of a new Administration in 1956.

Only in the course of sustained struggle along these lines will the perspective of a mass third party of the people, led by labor and its allies, materialize. Labor will find that the many important battles it must wage within the Democratic Party, decisive as they may be in checking the immediate danger of McCarthyism, will not transform that Party into a farmer-labor party. Labor must set its sights in the direction of a great party of its own,

a party without Wall Street financiers, corrupt underworld racketeers, or Southern Dixiecrats—in short, a true united front party of labor and the common man.

As the American people succeed in electing a new Administration and blocking the immediate menace of fascism and war, a new stage of the struggle will begin to unfold. It is then that the perspective of subsequently electing a new type of government, a farmer-labor government, will begin to arise in our country. Such a people's government, based on a farmer-labor party, will represent the militant advance of the great majority. It will be a government in which the working class plays a leading role, serving the interests of the common people, and directed at curbing the power of the trusts.

VII. Communist Aims and Perspectives

The Communist Party, basing itself on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, believes in socialism as the ultimate solution for the problems of our nation. Modern industrial production under capitalism is a vast social process, but it is operated for private enrichment and not for the public good. It is this contradiction that socialism would resolve. Socialism alone would utilize to the fullest the immense scientific and technical know-how of the American people, including atomic energy. It would forever end the scourge of economic crisis, unemployment, racial discrimination, fascism and war. It would build a land of peace and plenty, of knowledge and culture, of freedom and opportunity for all.

At the same time, the Communist Party emphasizes that the issue at the present time is not communism. The choice before our people today is peace, security, democracy versus the grip which the monopolists have on the country and their plans of fascism and war.

But while the issue today is not communism, the true nature of the Communist Party and the role which it plays in American life is very much an issue. The American people must know the truth about this issue lest the monstrous deception now prac-

ticed on them lead to the loss of the democracy and freedom they prize so dearly.

What is the truth about the Communist Party?

The Communist Party advocates a peaceful path to socialism in the U.S. It brands as a lie the charge that it advocates the use of force and violence in the pursuit of any of its immediate or long range goals. It declares that socialism will come into existence in the United States only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it. The Communist Party affirms its deep and abiding faith in the American people and their ultimate decision to establish socialism. The needs of our nation cannot be served by any sect or conspiracy. For no progress, whether of a minimum or of a more far-reaching nature, can come other than through the will and action of a majority of the American people.

The Communist Party has no blueprint for the path to socialism in the U.S. The American people will move along the path to socialism as inevitably as other peoples and nations have done because ultimately there is no other solution to their problems. But they will do so in a form and manner which will be determined by the history, the traditions and the specific needs of the American people. No social system can be imported from abroad. Nor do we propose to do so.

Basing itself on these fundamental propositions, the path to socialism in the United States which is advocated by the Communist Party envisions: the unity of the majority of the people to block the present imminent threat of McCarthyism, thereby upholding and defending the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and then, the forward march of that majority toward a strengthening of democracy and the election of a new type of government, a farmer-labor, anti-monopoly government. The election of such an Administration and Congress would then open up the possibility for a peaceful advance of the American people to socialism.

The Communist Party of the United States has its roots deep in the history and struggles of the American people and its labor movement. It is the inheritor and continuer of the best in Ameri-

can democratic, radical and labor thought and traditions. Its devotion to the true national interests of the American people is the source of its deep and abiding patriotism. That patriotism has been sealed in the blood of hundreds of members of the Communist Party who have died in defense of our country and our people.

American Communists believe in the defense of their country, and the people and territory of their country. We deny that the Soviet Union or any country led and ruled by working people threatens our country, or could threaten our country. We resolutely oppose "police actions," wars of aggression, or wars of intervention in the affairs of peoples fighting to shape their own way of life as they see fit.

The false and despicable charge that Communists are "agents of a foreign power," or "spies," emanates from the monopolists who want, thereby, to cover up their own betrayal of the true national interests of the American people. It is the monopolists who are the agents of a foreign power—the power of the international cartels and trusts which they dominate and to whose greedy manipulations they subordinate and betray the interests of our country. Not what is good for our country, but what is good for General Motors determines the loyalty of the monopolists.

The Communist Party declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious beliefs. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all regardless of religious belief. We stand on the fundamental principle of the Constitution which guarantees religious freedom by separating church and state, and, in the same spirit, we oppose the intervention of any church in political affairs.

The Communist Party considers the emergence of a powerful trade union movement during these past two decades as the most important and positive development in our national life. We are proud to have helped built it and to be a part of it. As a working class political party we strive to influence the policies of the labor movement and deem it our right and duty to speak

out against policies which we believe are harmful to labor and the nation. But we deny any intent to dominate or control the trade union movement and recognize and respect its organizational autonomy and political independence.

We proclaim our fraternity with all peoples who have pioneered the new frontiers of human history toward socialism, with all peoples struggling to achieve their independence and national development. We affirm the good will and solidarity of our people with all those who stand for peace and progress. We seek to realize Abraham Lincoln's saying: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds."

We are ready to work with all Americans, no matter what our past relations or present differences may be, to block war and fascism, to save U.S. living standards, to restore free exchange of ideas and debate on the great issues facing the nation. We propose a coming together of all progressive and democratic forces to consult with each other and to make such consultation and working together a habit. The grave problems of our nation cannot be solved otherwise.

We call upon all progressive and democratic forces to re-appraise their policies and activities in light of the nation's crisis. The American Communists pledge to do the same.

We urge mutual and friendly criticism among all groups concerned with saving our nation from fascism and war. We invite criticism of ourselves and of this Draft Program, and are prepared to publicly acknowledge all criticism that is just.

We urge upon all our members and sympathizers a most careful study of this Program and a re-examination of their daily activities, habits of work and thought, to bring them in line with it.

In full confidence that the objectives of this Draft Program can be realized, we call upon all members and friends, upon all anti-fascists, to spare no effort to realize this program of jobs, peace and democracy for America.

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April 25, 1954

Dear Friend:

Our country stands at the crossroads. One path leads to economic catastrophe, fascism and world war; the other leads to jobs, democracy and peace.

Everywhere the American people—of all classes, creeds, colors, religions and national origins—are pondering the way ahead. There is widespread concern at growing depression and unemployment, mounting alarm at the assault of McCarthyism on democratic rights. The horror of the hydrogen bomb has filled with fear the American people and the peoples of all countries.

All of us are seeking a way out of the dilemma with which we are faced. This is the time for the most searching debate, in which all Americans have the responsibility and duty to participate. Only in this manner can we arrive at the steps required to solve our problems.

Of one thing all of us may be certain: a united people can solve all their problems, a disunited people stand helpless before exploiters, demagogues and misleaders. The times call for the resolving of differences, not their sharpening. The American people must and can find their way to unity around a common program which, when realized, will guarantee a land free of fear and poverty, of Jim Crow and indignity, of witch-hunting and foreboding of war.

These are the considerations which lead us to direct this letter to you and to enclose the Draft Program of the Communist Party, a Draft Program which suggests, we believe, as its title indicates, "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Democracy." We ask, in the best traditions of American democratic conduct, that this Draft Program be studied candidly and carefully—despite the anti-Communist propaganda barrage of the present period.

Only working together will bring this land the unity it needs, and only the broadest and widest discussion will produce that program which will save it. The Communist Party offers this Draft as its contribution toward the stimulating of that discussion. We hope that you will express, in whatever way you may feel is best, your own opinions and criticisms of this Draft Program. We hope, too, that you may wish to share with us directly your suggestions, comments and recommendations so that, counseling together, we may create that program best suited to bringing the blessings of freedom, equality, prosperity and peace to our country and to all of our people.

Sincerely yours,

For the National Committee, CPUSA

Wm Z. Foster

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Pettis Perry

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McCARTHY:

His War on American Reds, and the Story of those Who Oppose Him

by

JOHN T. FLYNN

Author of The Roosevelt Myth, While You Slept, The Lattimore Story

•

"I urge all Communist Party members, and all anti-fascists to yield second place to none in the fight to rid the country of the fascist poison of McCarthyism."

—GUS HALL, *Nat'l Sec'y of the Communist Party, in the Communist* Daily Worker, *May 4, 1950.*

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Foreword

On May 2, 1954, I attempted in my regular weekly broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting System, to identify the forces and interests behind the attacks on Senator McCarthy and to describe what the Senator has accomplished. In the pamphlet which follows I have reproduced the substance of that broadcast, but expanded and fortified by a more extensive collection of facts than was possible in a single 15-minute radio commentary.

A controversy of this kind is necessarily entangled with the political struggles of the time and the ambitions of politicians and parties. For myself, let me say I am not interested in the politics or the politicians. I do not speak for any party. As a matter of fact, this controversy cuts across party lines. Enemies and defenders of Senator McCarthy can be found in both our major parties. My own theory about the great struggle we are in is that it is in no sense a battle between two sets of politicians or two parties, but is essentially a revolutionary struggle, pressed forward on one side by socialist and Communist revolutionaries and resisted on the other by Americans of all parties devoted to our American heritage.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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McCARTHY:

HIS WAR ON AMERICAN REDS, AND THE STORY OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE HIM

By JOHN T. FLYNN

As is so often the case, the debate raging around the person of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy is hopelessly obscured in a cloud of angry blasts and counter-blasts which has enveloped the whole battle in a fog. It is, therefore, impossible to have an intelligent opinion about this row unless one sees and understands clearly the battleground, the scenery, the cast of characters and the basic quarrels and hatreds involved in it. My object here is to dispel the fog and describe the characters so that any intelligent American will be able to see clearly what the fight is all about.

This story involves the menace of communism in the United States. But one of the greatest difficulties in explaining this menace is the inability of the normal, decent American to fully understand the peculiar nature of Communist methods. Before we attempt to tell this story, it is essential that we understand clearly the landscape and scenery within which this grave menace to our civilization operates and prospers. First, therefore, we must have a quick look at the normal American.

He is accustomed to our American way of doing things. He sees two political parties arguing over offices and jobs and policies. The rest of us are busy with our jobs, our families, our homes, our social activities. We differ about all sorts of things. We discuss and argue these differences; we count heads and make decisions. But we all agree on the principles of our free way of life, of business, of politics. We do not want to upset this. We want to make it work better.

But among us is a sizeable number of people — estimated by the FBI at about 500,000 — who take a wholly different view of all this. They hate our American way. They want to end our free system and introduce a system more nearly resembling that of Russia. The State (the government) will be supreme. It will own all the large industries — railroads, power plants, banks, and all the great basic industries such as steel, coal, aluminum, copper, lumber and so forth and, eventually, *everything*. This is socialism. Another name for it is communism. Remember, they are essentially the same, save that communism is socialism in a hurry. In addition to their plan to make us a socialist government, ruled by the all-powerful Central State, many of them also serve the interests of Soviet Russia in the world and in the United States.

But what can 500,000 people do in a free country with a population of nearly 160,000,000? Why should so many be afraid of so few? That is the heart of this whole issue. Republicans and Democrats argue with each other. They act in the open. And while they differ about policies, they are all agreed that our American way — our American Republic — should be preserved. The Communist and his socialist ally, however, cannot get anywhere just arguing. They seldom get elected to office. They cannot get power to act, at least not so long as they admit they are Communists. So their policy is to deny they are Communists or socialists and to insert themselves into influential positions in the Democratic or Republican parties

and to get into bureaus where decisions on policy are made—such as the State Department, the Agricultural Department, the Treasury, the Army, the Atomic Energy bureaus and laboratories and so on. And there, always denying they are Reds, they use their weight to influence those policies of the government which will serve their ends and the ends of Soviet Russia.

Now how do they go about this? There is a Communist Party. But the Party is not the thing to be most feared. Decisions are not made in the Party. The whole war of communism on America is planned and directed by something called the Politburo – the political bureau—which acts in secret behind closed doors and never appears in public. This Politburo gets its instructions directly from Moscow. This is the thing we have to understand and to fear. And the first thing we have to realize is that these men are experts in this kind of revolution and that we are hopelessly ignorant of it.

The object of this Politburo is to influence every agency of opinion and action and decision in our country. The Red Politburo cannot take over our State Department. But it can get one of its agents into the department in a position of great influence where he can shape policy. A well-known case is that of Alger Hiss, who became head of the Department of Political Affairs in the State Department. Roosevelt and Stalin held a secret meeting at Yalta at which Roosevelt—then in an almost dying condition—made a series of surrenders to Stalin, one of them being the abandonment of Korea. Roosevelt's adviser at that session was Alger Hiss, now in jail. The dark fact is that thousands of these Reds had made their way into almost all of the most important spots in our government. A single example is that of Karl Fuchs and Julius Rosenberg in the atomic laboratories, where they stole the atomic secret and gave it to Russia. So you see, in this grave emergency we are not talking about old-time American political sins such as graft and incompetence and political skullduggery. We are talking about treason—treason which has cost this nation a terrible price, perhaps its very life.

To make all this clearer the reader should know how this got its start. It was in 1933 that these secret cells began to operate in the important agencies of our government on any serious scale. Harold Ware, the son of old Mother Bloor, had gone to Russia for a course in revolutionary indoctrination. He came back and got a post in our Agricultural Department under Henry Wallace. He used his position there to bring in others—Lee Pressman, a Communist lawyer, Nathaniel Weyl, Nathan Witt, John Abt, Alger Hiss and many others. So far as I know, this was the beginning. I saw most of these men at the time, but never dreamed they were Communist agents. After this, great numbers of these Reds—many of them able young lawyers and economists—secured positions in the other departments – State, Commerce, the Treasury. Ultimately they got into practically every department, including the Army, Navy, Air Force and their intelligence units.

They were organized into secret cells, forming what came to be known as the Communist underground. These people had no connection with the American Communist Party. This explains why so many, when asked, could swear they were not members of the Party. In time this underground, made up of men and women who were in most cases American citizens, became an immense network of highly educated and trained spies. There were a number of separate cells and each cell was known by the names of the men who headed and led them. The Ware cell was headed by Harold Ware. Another was the Silvermaster cell, headed by Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. Another was the Perlo cell, headed by Victor Perlo. The names of these men, the work of their cells and the names of many members are now all a matter of record because of various investigations and prosecutions. The members

were employed in various important departments in Washington and other places, including our agencies abroad. Alger Hiss, in the Ware cell, was planted in the State Department. Donald Hiss, his brother, now a member of the Acheson law firm, was also in the Ware cell. Lauchlin Currie, an assistant to the President of the United States, worked with the Silvermaster cell. Thus they reached into the White House itself. They were in almost every important department, and they took their orders directly from agents of the Russian espionage system stationed in New York and Washington.

All this was brought out in a series of investigations in which the members of the House and the Senate who made the investigations were pilloried and denounced by the same newspapers and political leaders who are now denouncing Senator McCarthy. It was the influence of these cells which enabled the Soviet government, when World War II ended, to take over all of Eastern Europe and most of the continent of Asia, to penetrate our colleges, our public school system, many of our leading magazines and newspapers and news services. To complete this picture, we must not omit the part played by Communist agents in New York and their dupes in many leading newspapers in keeping up a constant barrage of attacks, denunciations and slanders against every American writer or political leader who dared to use his pen or his voice to unmask these treasons. *The same writers and journals which attacked those who exposed Hiss and Lattimore and Duggan and Remington are now performing that same operation on Senator McCarthy.*

Now, how did Senator McCarthy get into this row? As a Marine Intelligence Officer with a Marine Bombing Squad, he spent 13 months in the Pacific with his command during World War II. He had been elected as circuit judge in Wisconsin before he enlisted, and when he returned he ran for and was elected to the United States Senate from Wisconsin. He had given little attention to the long series of betrayals in Europe and Asia until he was alerted to the evil by the late Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal. As a result, he began to look into this subject, and in a Lincoln Day speech in 1950 in Wheeling, West Virginia, he charged that Communists in the State Department were helping to shape our policy in Asia and he put the number of Communists in a position to do this at 57. But he did not name them publicly. For this and a subsequent speech he was greeted by a storm of abuse from men like the extreme leftist Senator William Benton of Connecticut and the more conservative Millard Tydings of Maryland. Tydings was named head of a special committee appointed to investigate McCarthy's charges. But actually his committee investigated Senator McCarthy. Tydings boasted: "Give me three days of public hearings and McCarthy will never show his face in the Senate again." The hearings lasted 31 days, ending in a shameful and mendacious denunciation of McCarthy. However, Tydings' prophecy about McCarthy's face had a curious ending. Tydings was defeated for the Senate in Maryland and Benton was overwhelmingly defeated in Connecticut. These two faces, instead of McCarthy's disappeared from Washington. Incidentally, when McCarthy ran later for reelection he was elected by a large majority--over 150,000.

Now what of McCarthy's charges? He finally gave the Tydings Committee a total of 81 names of suspected Reds in various bureaus. And it was not McCarthy, but the Tydings Committee which made many of these names public. But the Tydings Committee cleared everybody. However, later the Loyalty Board summoned 57 of these cases and 54 of the accused confirmed McCarthy's charges by resigning under fire.

One of those named was Owen Lattimore, mainstay of the infamous Institute of Pacific Relations. This was a nest of Reds—over two dozen of them, many holding posts in sensitive gov-

ernment departments—which was the headquarters for the Communist conspiracy in America to betray China, Korea and all Asia to Russia. The Senate Committee on Internal Security, after nearly a year of hearings, branded this organization as a Red conspiracy. Owen Lattimore, McCarthy's most notorious case at that time, was spotted as a leader of this Red conspiracy and later indicted for perjury. He still awaits trial.

This was Senator McCarthy's most sensational contribution — up to this time—to the defense of America from these internal enemies. It must be said in all fairness that it takes a brave man to stand up against the savage abuse and the underground assaults which these Red conspirators pour out upon any loyal American who attempts to oppose them. These Red enemies of the American Republic have certainly given Senator McCarthy the works—aided by groups who, though not themselves Communists, have prospered by the aid Communists have been able to give them. It is impossible to withhold admiration for the undaunted stand he has taken against the malignant defenders of Russia and their confederates and dupes in the United States.

Now, in this first phase of Senator McCarthy's fight, did he accomplish anything? Let the Communist *Daily Worker* answer. April 5, 1950, this official organ of the Reds said:

> "Communists are keenly aware of the damage the McCarthy crowd is doing. They recognize that McCarthy's objective is destruction of the Bill of Rights, with its precious safeguards of freedom to think, to meet, and to express one's thoughts freely."

And they called on "all Communist Party members and all anti-fascists to yield second place to none in the fight to rid our country of the fascist poison of McCarthyism." What greater praise could any loyal American ask? Here is the Communist Party's official public declaration that McCarthy is the most dangerous foe of communism in America. In contrast with this is the published opinion of the *Daily Worker* of the broadcasts of Mr. Edward Murrow, who recently added his two-cents' worth to the war on McCarthy. Murrow, a commentator over the CBS network, is sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America, a great industrial corporation which would be one of the first victims of a socialist America. The *Daily Worker* says some of "Murrow's programs are honeys." It lauded Murrow's attack on what it called the Red-hunting Veterans of Foreign Wars in Norwalk. It said Murrow's programs were so popular "because they let in a corner of the truth that mass communication media has been blacking out. There is an underlying sentiment that runs through them which corresponds with what millions of Americans are obviously thinking and feeling." Thus in this tournament the Communist *Daily Worker* takes Murrow. Most good Americans, I think, will take McCarthy.

The next phase of Senator McCarthy's drive against Communists in government came when his party obtained control of the Senate. This made him chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. The American government is a vast affair. The executive branch consists of over 2000 separate departments and bureaus employing 2,564,000 persons outside the armed services, and spending 53 billion dollars a year. Senator McCarthy's committee is charged with watching this vast bureaucracy — to spot graft, incompetence, extravagance and disloyalty. As chairman of this committee, it will be seen, he is merely carrying out his mandate in searching for cases of disloyalty inside the government. It is important to remember that he has not been carrying on this war on communism any place but inside the government of the United States.

This is a task of unimaginable difficulty. I am convinced that the Communist is given an extensive course in the art of testifying, lying and evasion before government agencies. As a wit-

ness he plays dumb, hems and haws, splits hairs, pretends to misunderstand and finally takes refuge in the Bill of Rights. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution provides that no man can be compelled to give evidence against himself. He can be questioned, but if his answer will incriminate him he can refuse to answer. This is tantamount to a confession, but it saves him from prosecution for perjury. To question such witnesses day after day for months is a maddening experience which only a man of infinite patience can endure. Senator McCarthy would be a saint if he managed always to suppress his impatience or chagrin as these disloyal scoundrels pass before him clad in the protective armor of the Fifth Amendment.

Over 546 witnesses have been examined and 1200 have been interviewed by the staff of Senator McCarthy's committee. About 215 witnesses have been examined publicly and 79—over a third—have refused to answer. Of these, 76 have taken refuge in the Fifth Amendment. And remember, almost all of these were government workers at various levels of importance—and in bureaus or agencies peculiarly subject to secrecy. The evil McCarthy is shooting at is treason. The people he is stalking are traitors—most of them dedicated to the interest of our deadliest enemy at home and in the world, Communist Russia.

Now let us see just what Senator McCarthy has accomplished. It is a most impressive record. Neither Senator McCarthy nor any of those who support and admire him, claim that he alone has fought the Communists effectively. The first great attack in the last 20 years was made by Martin Dies when he launched his investigation of the Reds in 1937. In the first few days of hearings he revealed that shocking invasion of the labor unions—particularly the newly formed CIO which became in its early phases a mere weapon of the Reds. The work of that committee—the House Committee on Un-American Activities—was monumental, and amazing in its revelations. It first revealed to us the Communist method of working not through the Party or organizations labeled as Communist, but through what are called Communist-front committees and organizations that do not reveal on their face their Communist bias. As an example of the magnitude and malignance of this conspiracy, the Dies Committee revealed the names of over 1100 organizations formed to bring the Communist war into the schools, colleges, churches, book-publishing houses, religious and racial groups of all kinds, labor, the press, radio, the government. But Martin Dies, like all who followed him, was a marked man and his own administration joined with the Reds and their dupes to drive him out of Congress. He is back again, however, and once more sharpening his sword to engage his old enemies. I recall this first enterprise because it is difficult to credit the villainy of some of the schemes launched to liquidate Dies. This dark and cruel method of war on loyal Americans has been carried on against every man who followed in Dies' footsteps—Congressmen Thomas, Wood and Velde, and Senators McCarran, Jenner and of course now with even greater malignance, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Now for Senator McCarthy's targets.

The Institute of Pacific Relations: I have already described Senator McCarthy's attack on Owen Lattimore and the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is now merely necessary to give the names of some of those caught in that web in order to show the extent of the invasion of government agencies. Below are the names of some of those who worked with the IPR, and the agency or federal activity in which they worked:

Treasury Department

Solomon Adler (Treasury Dept. in China)
Frank Coe (also in Foreign Economic Administration)
Irving Friedman (Assistant to Harry Dexter White)
Harry Dexter White (Asst. Secretary of the Treasury)

State Department

Robert W. Barnett

O. Edmund Clubb (head of the China Desk)

Lawrence Duggan

Alger Hiss (head of the Dept. of Political Affairs)

Phillip Jessup (State Dept. Adviser)

Owen Lattimore (Adviser on Far Eastern Affairs; also in OWI)

Lawrence K. Rosinger (Conferee on Far East)

Lawrence Salisbury (Foreign officer)

John Stewart Service (Foreign officer in China)

William T. Stone (Director of Information & Cultural Affairs)

John Carter Vincent (head of the Far Eastern Division)

Office of War Information

Joseph Barnes (later Foreign Editor of the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*)

Philip Jaffe (arrested in *Amerasia* scandal and convicted)

To these must be added the names of Lauchlin Currie, who was assistant to the President of the United States, and Michael Greenberg, who was Currie's assistant. There are, of course, many others, but these samples will suffice.

None of these cases would have been known but for Senator McCarthy's attack on Owen Lattimore, which resulted in the investigations by the McCarran Sub-Committee on Internal Security and its astounding revelations.

We may now look at some of the more recent exposures made by the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its sub-committee on Investigations. Senator McCarthy became its chairman when the new administration came into power. It must be remembered that on this committee Senator McCarthy and his colleagues are charged with locating and exposing disloyal groups and activities within the government.

Government Printing Office: A great number of highly secret documents are printed in the Government Printing Office. The Senator found there persons with impressive records of Communist activity. The FBI had reported these persons repeatedly but nothing was done about it. One of those reported by the FBI was discharged and then rehired and then dismissed again when he was found stealing highly secret documents. Up to that time employees stealing secret documents were merely fined. As a result of Senator McCarthy's study the entire security panel in the department was removed and all the security regulations overhauled. The penalty was changed from a few days suspension to dismissal.

Fifth Amendment Communists: The Committee has sponsored legislation making mandatory the dismissal in any department of any employee invoking the Fifth Amendment and who refuses to answer the question of whether he or she is loyal or not.

The Voice of America: This is the apparatus set up to project to other nations by means of radio and other devices the attitude, the philosophy, the way of life, the beliefs and ideals of America. Senator McCarthy's Committee was looking for certain suspected extravagances which it found and stopped.

The International Information Service: In the course of its Voice of America investigation, the Committee came upon a far more shocking state of affairs. The International Information Service, a bureau in the State Department (as was the Voice of America at the time) had established libraries in many places in Europe and Asia. The purpose was to make available to intelligent persons abroad a true picture of the character, the manners, the ideals of the American people. It must be assumed the aim was to present a favorable picture of our people and their culture, since one of the purposes was to dispel Communist propaganda about America.

But Senator McCarthy's investigators were shocked at what they found. The Information Center libraries were loaded with Communist and pro-Communist books — a large part of them

written by notorious American Reds. Many books were novels whose characters, conduct and conversation depicted America in its worst light as a land of selfishness, greed and exploitation of the masses. This was a sizeable operation. These libraries employed 8000 people. On their shelves were 30,000 books written by Communists and their sympathizers. Over 300 of the authors had notorious pro-Communist records. Twelve of them were identified as Soviet spies.

The top man in this whole operation was Mr. W. Bradley Connors, who admitted to the Committee that he knew little about communism, had no knowledge of the history and methods of the Communist movement and had never read a book about the Communist conspiracy. The field offices around the world were under the direction of Dr. William Johnstone, Jr., who had been identified by the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security as a Communist dupe. He was one of those dupes of Red philosophy who insisted on calling Communists "agrarian reformers." McCarthy's exposure of this scandal resulted in cleaning up these libraries.

Fort Monmouth and Defense Plants: The Committee conducted investigations at Fort Monmouth, N. J., where highly secret radar equipment is developed. This resulted in the suspension of 33 security risks from this very sensitive U. S. Army spot. Also a number of investigations of plants handling government contracts for secret material resulted in exposing Fifth-Amendment Communists in key posts in these plants. Some of the companies themselves ruled, following hearings, that witnesses who invoked the Fifth Amendment would be automatically dismissed.

Trade with Red China: The United States had placed a ban on all trade with Red China. But as usual our noble allies, France and Britain, wanted the business. Since June, 1952, *two billion dollars'* worth of goods passed between Russia and her satellites and France and England. Senator McCarthy's committee brought these facts to light and then induced one group in this trade, operating 327 vessels, to cease it—thus depriving our Red enemies of three and a half million tons of supplies.

The Case of Harry Dexter White: This case is now well known. The currency-plate phase of this case was exposed by Senator Mundt of Senator McCarthy's committee. Harry Dexter White, associated with an underground Communist cell, was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, ranking next to Secretary Morgenthau. It was White who, under instructions from Moscow, formulated the infamous plan to turn Germany "into a goat pasture" and provided for the division of Germany into East and West zones. When the United States armies were about to enter Germany, they faced the problem of having acceptable currency with which to buy supplies. Hence the Treasury printed a special invasion currency to be used by our army. At this point instructions came from Moscow to the Washington Red underground to get possession of these plates from the Treasury. This operation passed through several hands—Silvermaster, Frank Coe, Ullman, Glasser and White—all Red agents holding important posts inside the Treasury. White managed it and the metal plates were delivered to Moscow. From these, $220,000,000 of American currency was printed in Germany and used by the Red armies to buy supplies. These bills were all redeemable at the United States Treasury. Notwithstanding repeated warnings, White was retained in the Treasury and later transferred to an even more lucrative and dangerous post—after the FBI had warned President Truman that White was a Red spy. Recently Attorney General Brownell confirmed all this at a hearing before the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security.

There is much more to all this, but this will serve to give a clear picture of the great service Senator McCarthy

has done for his country—knowing all the time that every man who has undertaken this difficult and dangerous task must face the attacks and abuse of those strange allies—the Communist Slander and Libel Squad, the politicians of both parties who in different ways and with different weapons bid for the aid of these Red revolutionists (who though not so numerous are masters of the art of defamation) and that curious collection of press and radio Pinks of varying shades. It is a task which calls for a truly patriotic soul and a brave heart.

The latest phase of this squalid drama came with what is known as the Peress case. Reports of Communist infiltration of government usually find their way to Senator McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations. In due time the case of Captain Irving Peress at Camp Kilmer came to its attention. The facts in this case cannot be contradicted. Here they are:

On October 15, 1952, Irving Peress was inducted by the draft route into the army and given the rank of captain. Later the army required all officers to sign a loyalty oath, declaring they were connected with no subversive organization. Peress received his blank, but instead of signing it, he wrote across the face that he claimed an exemption from taking a loyalty pledge "because of Constitutional privilege." This certainly was enough to have stopped him at that point. How this was ignored remains a mystery and it was not until April, 1953, that the case came to the attention of higher authority. Peress was in the medical department's dental corps at Camp Kilmer. In April, the Surgeon General of the Army recommended that Peress be dismissed. For some reason this curious specimen possessed a charmed life. Instead of being dismissed, he was recommended for a promotion and advanced to the grade of major the following month.

In December, 1953, this scandal was reported to the McCarthy Committee. After a full investigation it urged Peress' dismissal. But, oddly enough, the Army took no action despite the recommendation by the Surgeon General that he be cashiered. When questioned by Senator McCarthy, Peress refused to answer 33 questions on the ground that he might incriminate himself. Again the Senator notified the Army. At this point Peress applied for an honorable discharge, which was granted promptly by General Zwicker, commander at Camp Kilmer.

The next phase of this case is equally shameful. Senator McCarthy summoned General Zwicker and asked why he had acted as he did. Zwicker replied with a series of evasive answers. I have read his testimony. It was a pathetic performance. It is possible Zwicker was shielding someone. If so, who? Why? He mumbled that McCarthy was impugning his honesty. The Senator said:

> "I can't help impugning one or the other (your honesty or intelligence), when you tell us that a major in your command who was known to you to have been before a Senate Committee, and of whom you had read in the press releases very carfully . . . to now have you sit here and tell us that you did not know whether he refused to answer questions about his Communist activities. I have seen all the press releases, and they all dealt with that. So when you do that, General, if you will pardon me, I cannot help but question your intelligence or your honesty, one or the other. I want to be frank with you about that."

It was this statement which aroused the Army to say that McCarthy had made an attack on the Army — which is preposterous since his criticism was of the conduct of a single general. Zwicker is not the Army. The incident was used to spark the investigation of Senator McCarthy. And as a base for the attack the politicians who now rule the Army have formulated a specific indictment of the Senator. This indictment itself was almost beyond credence as a basis for attack. He was accused of trying to get his chief investigator, David Schine, commissioned as a second lieutenant. Mr. Schine can be classed as an expert in the dark and little-understood art of Communist treason. He has been

responsible for uncovering many of the cases revealed by the McCarthy Committee. The Senator suggested to Secretary of the Army Stevens that, because of his experience, young Mr. Schine would be more useful in the Army as a second lieutenant charged with surveillance of Communist infiltration than as a buck private drilling in an Army camp.

Now what was wrong about that? Perhaps Schine ought not to be given a commission. But what is so shocking about the suggestion the Army could use an officer equipped to assist in keeping Reds out of its ranks? But the *Daily Worker* and that strange collection of dailies which so often agree with it, has blown this incident up into some monstrous assault on the Army for which Senator McCarthy is being pilloried. The shocking aspect of this was that Secretary of the Army Stevens should lend himself to this disreputable operation to discredit Senator McCarthy.

What is McCarthy's crime? He has been hunting Communists out of government, which is his duty. The crime, I fear, consists chiefly in his amazing success. He provoked the investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the identification of it as a Red nest which managed the betrayal of China. He forced an investigation which identified and drove from top government posts over 50 Reds. He identified a group of Reds in the Government Printing Office and forced a reformation of its protective methods. He revealed the shocking currency conspiracy managed in the Treasury Department by Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a Russian Communist agent. He revealed the infiltration by Reds of the Voice of America and the crowding on the shelves of our Libraries abroad of thousands of books by American Reds traducing our system of government. He exposed the trade with Red China engaged in by our so-called allies. And scarcely a week goes by that his Committee has not drawn aside the curtain from some un-American enterprise in government, including his recent exposure of 33 security risks in the secret radar installation of the Army. For these services to his country he is a marked man by the Reds and their incredible flock of dupes in the government as well as in the press.

The war on McCarthy has reached a stage of historic absurdity. Imagine if you can a more grotesque absurdity than the burlesque investigation of him. Imagine the population of America glued to their television and radio sets for days listening to the Secretary of the Army telling how McCarthy tried to get a commission for a patriotic young American as second lieutenant. This was told on the witness stand by Secretary Stevens with all the gravity of a man uncovering some monstrous conspiracy. What has happened to our sense of humor? Contrast this "crime" of McCarthy with the monstrous villainy McCarthy attacks — the betrayal of America by the Reds and their dupes in our government.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES
ROOM 702

June 16, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You'll be interested in the text of Dr. Louis Bean's recent study, in which he devotes 30 pages to Senator McCarthy, and to McCarthy's political effectiveness -- or lack of it. As you doubtless know, Bean is highly regarded as a political analyst by politicians as well as scholars.

One source of McCarthy's strength has been his alleged ability to influence votes throughout the country. He has intimidated his colleagues in Congress by threatening to campaign against them in their own states and districts.

This Bean study is the first systematic evidence that McCarthy's influence is influence-in-reverse. Bean shows that in 1952 there was a net advantage of 5.5 points to Democratic Senatorial candidates attacked by McCarthy.

Bean's findings are corroborated by a Gallup study indicating that, as of this April, McCarthy's support would cost a Republican candidate for the House or Senate five votes for every two votes it gained him.

(It's worth noting, in the analysis of the 1952 Connecticut results, on p. 23, which Bean does not note, that Benton's margin over the head of his ticket would have been more substantial if the Senate contest hadn't been a four-way race. McCarthy invaded Connecticut twice to campaign against Benton.)

I think it's a reasonable assumption that the recent moves by some Republican political leaders to pull back from McCarthy - and notably by the National Committee - are related to this study. It's even possible that we are seeing a rediscovery of the maxim that good principles make good politics!

Sincerely yours,

John Howe

John Howe
Assistant to William Benton

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

WAR
JOBS
PARITY
McCARTHY

By Louis H. Bean

25 CENTS

Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections

PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
312 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., S.E. WASHINGTON, D. C.

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PREFACE

Louis H. Bean is widely recognized as an authority in the statistical study of factors influencing the decision of the voters. His three books "Ballot Behavior" (1940), "How to Predict Elections" (1948), and "The Midterm Battle" (1950), have become classic fixtures in the literature of political science.

In these troubled times, we believe the 1954 elections to have more than usual significance for the people of this nation and the world. Consequently, we conceived the plan to conduct research and publish a brief study of the major factors at work in these elections. Four major factors are distinguishable, — midterm elections and their effect on the party in power; industrial-agricultural conditions which arouse voters; international events and their influence on voters who have so recently gone through world war; and McCarthyism. We sought to limit this study of these factors so far as possible to those which can be measured statistically.

The question of Senator McCarthy's influence on the election of 1952 has been discussed widely. When the issue of his probable influence on the forthcoming elections of 1954 was raised in both Republican and Democratic circles, with little beyond emotional utterances to prove or disprove the weight of that influence, we in the Public Affairs Institute felt that an objective, factual and impartial analysis of this factor was needed. Particularly it was hoped the studies would shed light on the controversial question as to McCarthy's influence in the 1950 and 1952 elections in Wisconsin and in the 1952 elections in other states where it is known he campaigned in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates.

Mr. Bean was asked to bring his scientific knowledge and techniques to bear on this subject. The surprising results are brought together in this brief treatise. His findings based on the statistics of the 1952 election results are now being amply corroborated by national and local public opinion polls.

The Public Affairs Institute is dedicated to bringing forth scientifically determined facts and conclusions bearing on currently important issues. The Institute is a nonpartisan, nonprofit research organization. Its obligation is to select topics of broad general interest and choose research specialists of recognized ability to analyze and discuss them. The authors assume full responsibility for their assembly of facts and the conclusions drawn from them. We commend this study of "Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections" to all who regard the fate and future of Democracy and its free political institutions so highly as to prize and exercise fully and intelligently their rights of citizenship in the year 1954.

DEWEY ANDERSON, *Director*
Public Affairs Institute

Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections

Four broad considerations must be dealt with in judging the outcome of the 1954 mid-term elections: the international situation, the domestic economic situation, the usual let-down in voting interest in a mid-term election year and the communist-in-government issue. The first of these cannot be dealt with statistically and no attempt is made to do so here. The effect of business conditions and of the mid-term let-down in voting I have dealt with at some length in my earlier statistical investigations of presidential and congressional elections, particularly in the two books "How to Predict Elections" (1948) and "The Mid-Term Battle" (1950). The fourth factor popularly referred to as "McCarthyism" is new and for the moment uppermost in general political discussions. For that reason more space is devoted to the question of Senator McCarthy's past and prospective influence on election results than on the economic and mid-term factors. While the communist-in-government issue is relatively new, some statistical light as to its importance may be gleaned from the 1950 and the 1952 election results and from current indications in tests of public opinion.

It is now generally understood that a party in power is somewhat handicapped in a mid-term election year by the general falling off in voting interest. It is doubly handicapped by a rise in unemployment. In an election year, industrial unemployment in October means Congressional unemployment in November. In 1954, with more unemployment and lower farm prices and income than in 1952, the Republicans could lose more than the 25 to 30 seats they would normally lose because of reduced turnout in a mid-term year.

Until recently it has not been generally known that the Republicans may have an additional handicap, especially if they make use of McCarthy as a prominent campaigner. Statistical analysis of the 1952 Senatorial races reveals that while Democrats generally lost they did better than their national ticket in cases where McCarthy campaigned against them. On the

average it appears that McCarthy was worth about 5 percentage points to the Democratic Senatorial candidates whom he opposed. This advantage would also have accrued to the Democrats had an election been held in January, 1954, and had McCarthy campaigned against them. This was indicated by a Gallup poll in which 26% of voters questioned said they would be less likely to vote for a McCarthy-sponsored candidate and 21% more likely. Since January, 1954, the possible margin of Democratic advantage has increased greatly. In April a similar Gallup poll indicated that 43% would be less likely to take McCarthy's recommendations and only 17% more likely, a possible loss of 5 votes for every 2 a Republican candidate might gain.

I. Mid-Term Elections and the Party in Power

Mid-term elections usually mean some sort of setback for the party in power. Certain Congressional and Senatorial seats, won with the help of a Presidential campaign, are endangered in the mid-term elections when voter interest flags and when glowing Presidential campaign promises have given way to disappointments. For these usual reasons some of the 1954 Republican Congressional candidates who won in 1952 may be expected to lose in 1954.

The persistence of this mid-term factor adverse to the party in power is shown clearly by Republican experience in the 1920's and by Democratic experience in the 1930's and 1940's.

The Republican Record of the 1920's is as follows:

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN ELECTED IN PRESIDENTIAL AND MID-TERM ELECTIONS

Presidential Years		Congressional Years		
Year	Number Elected	Year	Number Elected	Difference
1920	300	1922	225	—75
1924	247	1926	183	—63
1928	237	1930	195	—42
1932	117			

The Republicans lost ground in each of the three mid-term elections during the period when they were last in power.

Many factors, of course, contributed to these setbacks, the two most important being unemployment and voting apathy. In each case fewer voters participated than in the Presidential years and in each case unemployment prevailed at election time.

The Democratic Record of the 1930's and 1940's is as follows:

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN ELECTED IN PRESIDENTIAL AND MID-TERM ELECTIONS

Presidential Years		Congressional Years		
Year	Number Elected	Year	Number Elected	Difference
1932	313	1934	322	+ 9
1936	333	1938	262	—71
1940	267	1942	222	—45
1944	243	1946	188	—55
1948	263	1950	236	—27
1952	214			

The Democrats lost ground in five of the six mid-term elections during the period in which they were in power. The exception, 1934, is to be explained by the fact that the political momentum which brought Roosevelt into power was still very strong. The economic measures which Roosevelt sponsored served to lift the heavy burden of unemployment and far outweighed such disappointments as some may have felt in 1934 as a result of his failure to meet promises made in 1932; for example the promise to balance the budget.

The Democratic set-back, amounting to 71 seats in 1938, was definitely associated with the 1937-38 recession and increased unemployment as well as with the usual let-down in voting interest. Other factors may have included Roosevelt's effort to pack the Supreme Court and sit-down strikes. On the other hand the 1950 set-back occurred under conditions of high employment.

Statistical analysis of these experiences and those antedating 1920 permit the generalization that normally the party in power tends to lose 25 to 30 seats in mid-term elections. The 1950 experience was therefore in line with what might have been expected. It was on this basis chiefly that in my study

"The Mid-Term Battle", made early in 1950, I pointed to a possible loss of 25 to 30 Democratic seats. They won 27.

Normally the party in power is also weakened in the Senate by a mid-term election. For example the Democrats elected only 15 Senators in 1942 and 11 in 1946 as compared with 21 in 1940, 21 in 1944 and 23 in 1948. This experience led me to suggest early in 1950 that the Democrats, the party in power, might lose three or four seats. They actually lost five.

Applied to 1954 prospects, these experiences must be interpreted as pointing to a Republican loss, on a normal basis, of 25 to 30 Congressional seats and possibly more than that depending on the extensiveness of unemployment.

Indicative of this trend are results of nationwide and local polls in 1953 and early 1954 showing a substantial number of voters now uncertain how they would vote as between Eisenhower and Stevenson, although those with firm opinions divide about the same as in 1952. However, questioned as to their party preferences for the Congress, their answers indicate a definite falling off in Republican strength from that of 1952. One poll conducted toward the end of 1953 indicated a drop of several percentage points in four barometric areas across the northern tier of counties.

Interpreted in the light of past experience I judged those results to mean a possible loss of about 40 Republican seats had an election been held a year after the Eisenhower victory. Normally this relatively clear indication for the Lower House would also carry a definite clue as to Senatorial election results. But with more than the usual number of Democratic Senatorial candidates up for re-election in the states outside the South no positive conclusions could be arrived at from trend indications.

It should be pointed out that, on the basis of past statistical experience, general analyses of political trends such as these do not foretell which particular seats the party in power will lose. This is especially true of Senatorial elections where the personality factor is likely to determine the outcome or where special campaign efforts, unpredictable in nature and in influence, may be resorted to by either party.

II. Industrial-Agricultural Conditions and the Party in Power

Adverse industrial employment and agricultural price and income trends have, in the past, operated against the party in power. The most recent political experience with agricultural price trends is to be found in the 1948 and 1952 election. In 1948, declining prices and the fear that a Republican Administration would lower price support levels brought a sharp increase in Democratic strength in most rural areas and served to assure the Truman victory. In 1952 the Republicans, having learned a rural lesson from the 1948 election results, outpromised the Democrats and made it easy for farmers to respond to the appeal of Eisenhower's popularity.

The farm programs recommended by the Republicans are being criticized by some agricultural leaders and by farmers, particularly in the wheat, corn, dairy and cotton areas, as not in line with the 1952 promises. This has contributed to the reduced Republican standing found in the public opinion tests of party strength in Congressional races.

The effect of industrial unemployment in October on Congressional unemployment after the first week of November can be stated with reasonable quantitative accuracy. In the chapter "When Business Cycle Meets Political Cycle" in "How to Predict Elections" I gave the results of an analysis of 23 mid-term elections in the 92-year record from 1854 to 1946. Ten elections had occurred under conditions of declining business and in each the party in power had lost ground. A percentage point drop in business activity, on the average, cost the party in power a little more than one per cent of the total number of House seats, or, say, about 5 seats. Thirteen elections had occurred under conditions of rising business activity and in all but one (1934) the party in power also lost ground.

From these two sets of facts it can be deduced that a drop in business activity, such as took place between May, 1953 and May, 1954, of about 10%, could reduce the number of Republican held seats by 20 to 25 and thus add substantially to the normal losses due to the mid-term factor alone.

The question may be asked whether the level of business activity will drop still further by next October, or whether it might not by that time have passed the low point and started up. Even if it be assumed that industrial production will be rising next fall it does not mean that unemployment will settle back to the small figure of 1952-1953.

It may be instructive to observe what happened to industrial production and unemployment during the 1949-1950 period which the 1953-54 recession most nearly approximates.

Industrial production declined during the last half of 1948 and the first half of 1949 and then rose during the last half of 1949 and first half of 1950, a year before the Korean conflict broke out. However, unemployment which had risen to over 4 million by the fall of 1949, reached a peak of 4.7 in February, 1950.

If we assume that industrial production may continue to parallel the 1949-50 experience, we would conclude that unemployment, having risen to nearly 4 million by May, 1954, is not likely to be reduced before October, 1954. In other words, an optimistic assumption as to industrial activity for the balance of 1954 does not necessarily mean that the increase in unemployment that has already taken place during the past year, from 1.2 million to nearly 4 million, will disappear before the first week of November. The more realistic view is that unemployment next October will still be an adverse factor for Republicans in a number of Congressional districts.

III. International Conditions and the Party in Power

This is a particularly complex factor. It does not lend itself readily to statistical analyses. In the first place, it is difficult to define in any simple manner. In the second place, a given international problem in peacetime or war, cuts across in many diverse ways the reactions of our numerous groups with foreign origins, foreign cultural and economic ties. In the third place the international situation today is in flux.

In 1940 the international situation was one of approaching participation in World War II, not unlike the situation that developed during the 1916 political campaign. On the basis of

that analogy it was possible to suggest as I did in my book "Ballot Behavior," that the Eastern and Western States would become more Democratic in support of Roosevelt, while the middle States, then referred to as the isolationist States, would shift to the Republican side. That actually happened.

In 1942 our being engaged in war resulted in an abnormally light voting turnout and nearly resulted in giving control in the lower House to the Republicans.

In 1944 the fact of our being engaged in war served to maintain the 1940 east-west Democratic shift against the middle States.

In 1950, United Nations reversals in Korea, immediately before the election is credited with part of the Republican gains.

In 1952, it is commonly believed the Eisenhower promise to go to Korea to try to end the Korean war brought additional support to an already popular candidate. In fact, some defeated Democrats claim they were just as much casualties at the front lines in their respective states as if they had been shot down in Korea.

As in other election years, it is difficult to foresee what particular international factor will emerge to help either party next November. Will it be Indo-China instead of Korea? And will it be such a development as will gain the support of voters who want no more military involvement, or the support of those who want a military instead of a diplomatic check to the spread of Communist rule in Southeast Asia.

IV. The McCarthy Influence on Election Results

In the popular mind, as well as in the calculations of political leaders, the communist-in-government issue is really a question of Senator McCarthy's influence on past and prospective election results. President Eisenhower has indicated that this is not to be an election issue and the Republican National Committee has changed its mind about making official use of Senator McCarthy as an active campaigner. But as of May, 1954, Senator McCarthy has given every indication that he means to carry on, contrary to Eisenhower's wishes, and will campaign wherever invited to do so.

It is therefore pertinent to examine what statistical evidence there may be to answer the question that many Senators, Congressmen, other politicians and the public in general have asked: Is Senator McCarthy's influence really as great as he and his friends claim; Is the Communist issue now really as important in the public mind as an election issue as Senator McCarthy and his friends claim and is his influence in election results really as great as he and his friends say it is and as many people fear it is?

1. Is the Communist Issue Overrated?

Without benefit of statistical analyses it is relatively easy to misinterpret election results in these or any other terms. A simple illustration of this fact is Senator McCarthy's claim that the election of Robert Morris to a judgeship in New York City in the November, 1953, city elections proves the potency of the communist issue for Republicans in the 1954 elections.

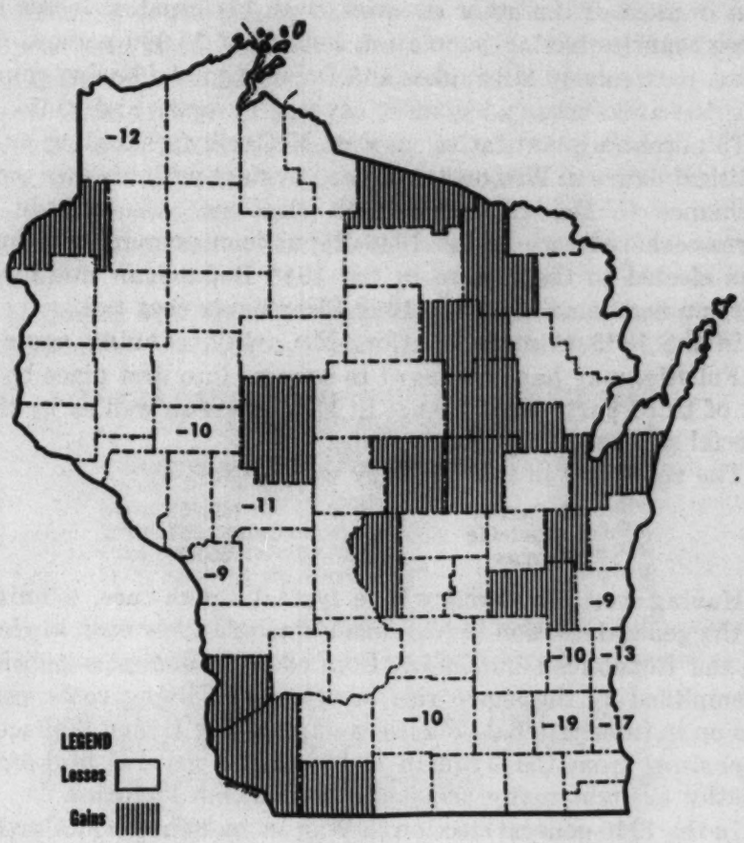
Morris, former counsel of the Jenner Sub-Committee on Internal Security, campaigned on the communist issue and won. Is this a case of cause and effect? An examination of that election, with benefit of a bit of historical perspective, shows that Morris won two Assembly Districts, one traditionally Republican, the other generally known as "the silk stocking district." He received 64.3% of the recorded vote but Republican Maxwell Shapiro, in 1950, also received 64.1% of the vote and Republican Pelham Bissell III, in 1951, received 54.5%.

The statistical examination of the McCarthy influence in the 1946 and 1952 elections in Wisconsin and the 1950 and 1952 elections in other states leads to similar questions as to the validity of the McCarthy claims and to similar conclusions that the claims do not stand up.

2. McCarthy's Political Standing in Wisconsin, 1946, 1952.

A county by county analysis of the 1952 elections in Wisconsin shows that McCarthy was the low man on the Republican ticket and therefore did not add anything to Eisenhower's victory in Wisconsin. If anything he may actually have cut down Eisenhower's margin since Eisenhower, like McCarthy,

WISCONSIN
McCARTHY'S GAINS AND LOSSES IN 1952 BY COUNTIES
(Compared with 1946)



FIGURES REPRESENT LOSSES IN METROPOLITAN COUNTIES

did less well than other Republican candidates running for state offices.

McCarthy, in 1952, ran behind his own record in 1946 as well as behind Eisenhower in most of the counties. He held his former position in a circle of counties round his home territory, Appleton and Green Bay. But those counties represent only about 15% of the population of voting age. He lost position in most of the other counties, with his greatest losses in those counties having population centers of 25,000 persons or more, particularly Milwaukee and Dane and neighboring counties, the areas more adequately covered by press and radio.

To obtain a quantitative view of McCarthy's standing as a political figure in Wisconsin we need to start with his own performance in the 1946 and 1952 elections. He won in a three-cornered race in the 1946 Republican primary election, was elected to the Senate in the 1946 Republican mid-term election and came in on the 1952 Eisenhower coat tail.

In the 1946 primary election, McCarthy, running against LaFollette, may have managed to squeeze into first place by a bit of third party interference in Milwaukee as well as by the special efforts among labor groups.

The votes cast in that primary were as follows:

McCarthy	**207,953**
LaFollette	**202,557**
Stearns	**29,605**

Having won the primary by a typical 3-man race, winning in the general election in November was relatively easy in view of the Republican landslide. Confusion in domestic policies exemplified by the sharp rise in prices and living costs, confusion in international policies exemplified by Henry Wallace's departure from the Truman Cabinet, and general mid-term apathy brought many accidental Republican victories.

In the 1946 general election in Wisconsin, Senator McCarthy was not top man among the Republican candidates. He was, in fact, close to the bottom of the list. He received 9% fewer votes than the leading Republican candidates for other offices. Among the 682,000 Republican voters who cast their ballots for Zimmerman as Secretary of State were 62,000 who refused to vote for McCarthy as Senator.

VOTES CAST FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN WISCONSIN IN 1946

Attorney General (Martin)	683,000
Secretary of State (Zimmerman)	682,000
State Treasurer (Smith)	664,000
Governor (Goodland)	662,000
U. S. Senator (McCarthy)	620,000
Lieut. Governor (Rennebohm)	604,000

The 1952 election results show clearly a substantial drop in McCarthy's popularity in Wisconsin in spite of the fact that he was re-elected. But for the 1952 Eisenhower landslide, McCarthy undoubtedly would have lost. Contrary to statements from McCarthy and his followers, there is no objective evidence that McCarthy gave any help to Eisenhower. If he exerted any influence it must have resulted in cutting down the Wisconsin Eisenhower vote. This is shown both in the state totals of the votes cast and in the county by county figures.

McCarthy ran 169,000 votes, or 16%, below the top man, 110,000 below Eisenhower, and was at the bottom of the list.

VOTES CAST FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN WISCONSIN IN 1952

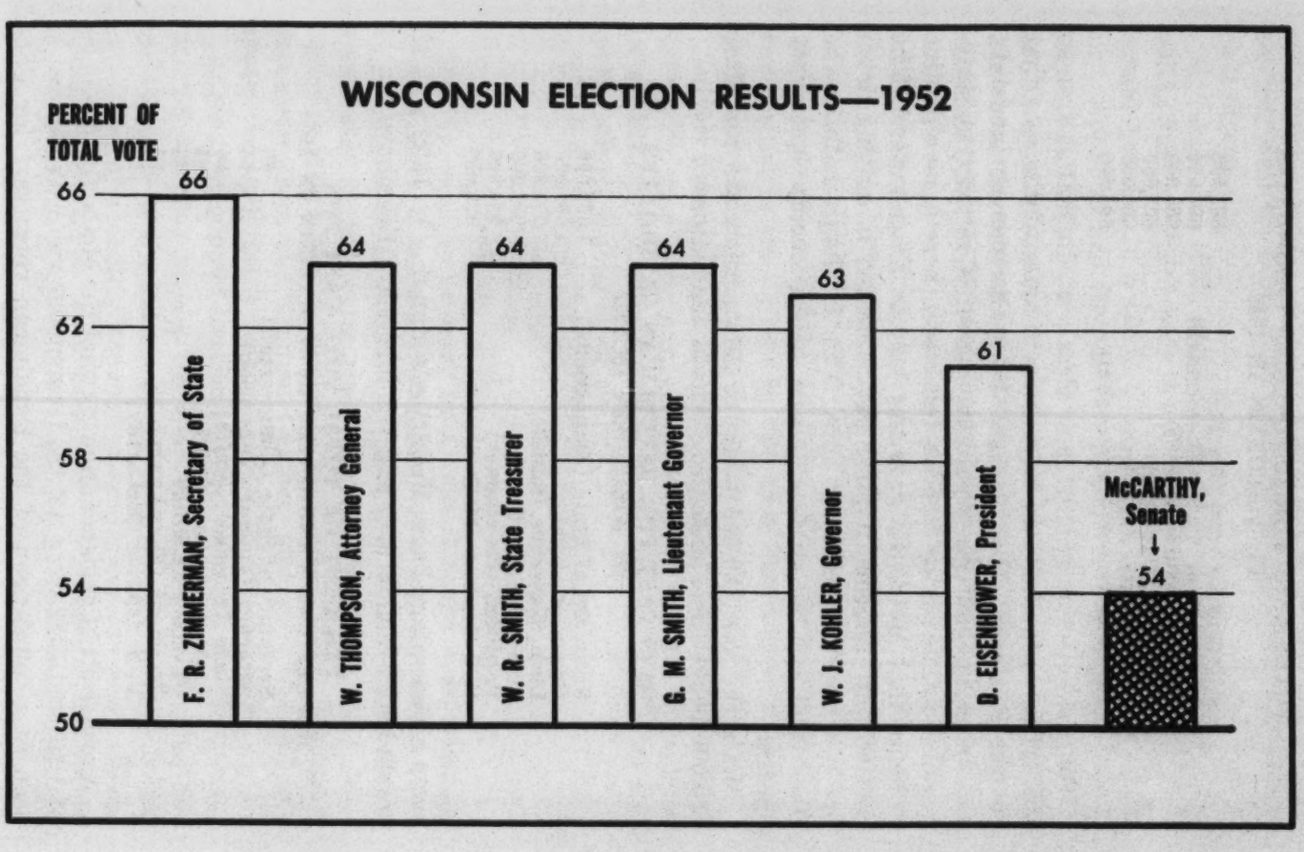
Secretary of State (Zimmerman)	1,039,000
Governor (Kohler)	1,009,000
Lieut. Governor (Smith)	995,000
Treasurer (Smith)	992,000
President (Eisenhower)	980,000
U. S. Senator (McCarthy)	870,000

On a percentage basis McCarthy's standing in 1952 was 12 points below Zimmerman and 7 points below Eisenhower:

PER CENT OF TOTAL VOTE CAST FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN WISCONSIN IN 1952

Secretary of State (Zimmerman)	66
Attorney General (Thompson)	64
State Treasurer (Smith)	64
Lieut. Governor (Smith)	64
Governor (Kohler)	63
President (Eisenhower)	61
U. S. Senator (McCarthy)	54

Another bit of evidence showing that the McCarthy elections of 1946 and 1952 were not the tremendous victories claimed is seen in a comparison of the Republican votes cast for Con-


WISCONSIN ELECTION RESULTS—1952
PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTE
66
62
58
54
50
66
64
64
64
63
61
54
F. R. ZIMMERMAN, Secretary of State
W. THOMPSON, Attorney General
W. R. SMITH, State Treasurer
G. M. SMITH, Lieutenant Governor
W. J. KOHLER, Governor
D. EISENHOWER, President
McCARTHY, Senate

gressmen and for Senator in the 1934, 1938, 1946 and 1952 elections:

REPUBLICAN PERCENTAGES OF FOUR CONGRESSIONAL AND SENATORIAL ELECTIONS IN WISCONSIN

	Congressmen	Senator	
1934	26.0	24.1	—1.9
1938	44.6	48.2	+3.6
1946	66.3	62.1	—4.2
1952	61.6	54.2	—7.3

McCarthy didn't do as well in 1946 as the general Republican Congressional ticket, falling short by 4.2 percentage points; in 1952 he fell behind by 7.3 percentage points. On the basis of this record one might conclude that were McCarthy up for re-election in 1954 the normal mid-term decline in Republican strength from that of 1952, a decline, say, of at least 5 percentage points, would add McCarthy to the list of unemployed Senators next November.

An examination of the voter response to McCarthy, county by county, in both the 1946 and the 1952 elections throws considerable light on the general notions as to his popularity. Such an examination shows clearly not only that he fell behind but that he did not even have the following generally claimed for him in Catholic communities.

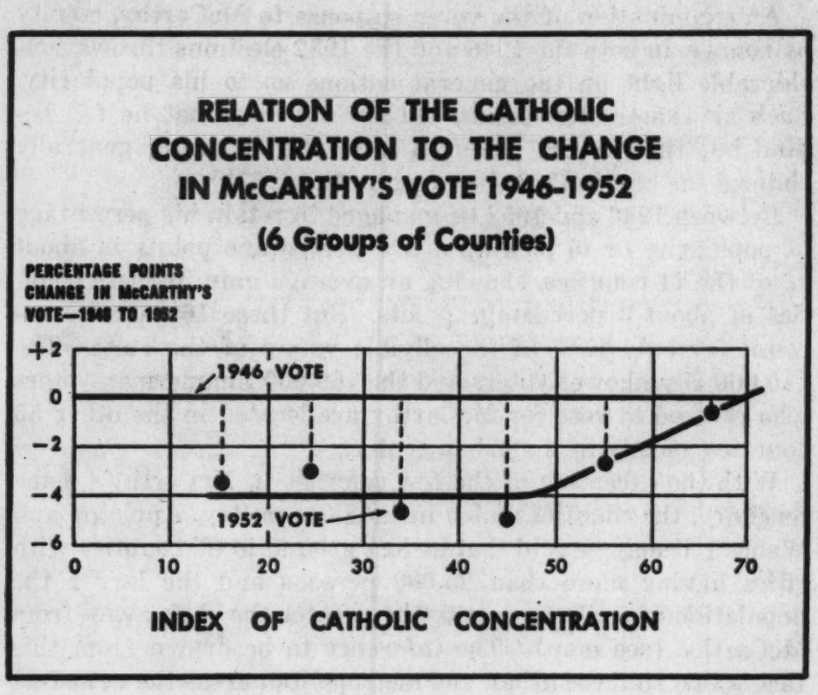
Between 1946 and 1952 he managed to retain his percentage of popularity or to pick up a few percentage points in about 16 of the 71 counties, showing an average gain in these counties of about 3 percentage points. But these 16 counties account for only 15% of the eligible voters of the state. The 110,000 Eisenhower voters and the 169,000 Zimmerman voters who refused to vote for McCarthy are located in the other 55 counties, mostly in the urban centers.

With the exception of the few counties in McCarthy's home territory, the counties which include Green Bay, Appleton and Wausau, it may be said that he lost ground in all counties with cities having more than 25,000 persons and the larger the population of a city or county the greater the shift away from McCarthy (see map). The inference to be drawn from this fact is that in these urban and metropolitan areas the net effect

of the press and radio and other means of communication was to cut down McCarthy's rating.

3. McCarthy's Wisconsin Support Largely Rural.

The county by county analysis of the 1952 and 1946 election results shows that McCarthy probably would not have been re-elected except for the Eisenhower coat tail. It also indicates another misconception about McCarthy's strength. His following among the Catholic voters is actually not as solid or as extensive as is generally assumed. There is no denying that he rates more favorably among Catholics than among Protestants and Jews but that does not mean that his influence can sway the vote of a Catholic community without setting up counter reactions in that community or in other parts of a state. In 1952, McCarthy's relative losses were greatest in the metropolitan and urban centers with large concentrations of Catholics in the population, in spite of the fact that he held or im-



proved his position in a few counties that are both rural and Catholic.

The following two tables summarize the relation of the Catholic factor and the population density factor in the McCarthy elections. In one table six groups of counties have been arranged according to an index of Catholic concentration in the population. In 1946 and in 1952 the counties with the largest Catholic concentrations gave McCarthy 7 and 5 percentage points less than did the counties with few Catholics. But the counties with the greatest Catholic percentages gave McCarthy, on the average, about the same percentage in 1952 as in 1946 whereas in the groups with few Catholics he lost, on the average, 3 to 5 percentage points.

WISCONSIN SENATORIAL ELECTIONS
1946 and 1952

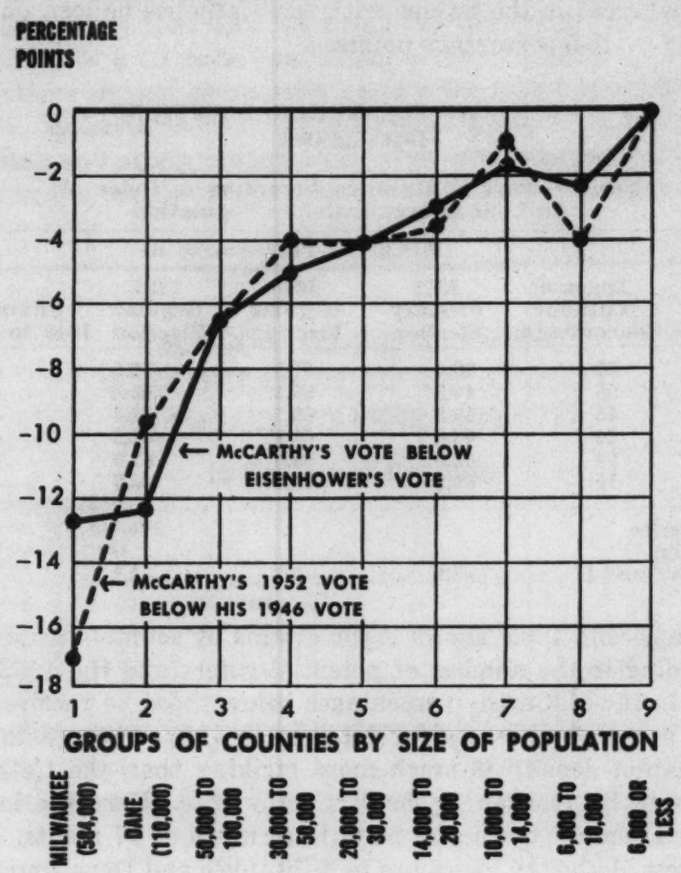
For 6 Groups of Counties According to Index of Catholic Concentration in Population

		McCarthy Percentages in			
Group	Index of Catholic Concentration	1946 Primary Election	1946 Regular Election	1952 Regular Election	Change 1946 to 1952
1	67	39.6	62.9	62.6	— .3
2	55	44.3	65.0	62.2	—2.8
3	45	42.3	65.5	60.4	—5.1
4	34	42.6	68.1	63.6	—4.5
5	24	43.8	65.0	61.9	—3.1
6	16	43.5	70.2	66.7	—3.5
Difference between groups 6 and 1		—3.9	—7.3	—5.1	+3.2

The second table shows eight groups of counties arranged according to the number of potential voters and the 1952 decline in the McCarthy percentages below those he received in 1946 and those Eisenhower received in 1952. This factor of population density is much more striking than the Catholic factor in its relation to the McCarthy vote. Here the losses range from one tenth of a point to as much as 17 points. The greatest McCarthy losses are in Milwaukee and Dane counties, the smallest in the counties with smallest populations.

McCARTHY'S PERCENTAGES IN THE 1952 ELECTION BELOW HIS PERCENTAGES IN 1946 AND EISENHOWER'S IN 1952

(In 9 Groups of Counties According to Population of Voting Age)



THE McCARTHY 1952 ELECTION RELATED TO POPULATION DENSITY

For Eight Groups of Counties

County or Group	Potential Voters 1950	Average per County [1]	McCarthy's 1952 Percentage of Two Party Vote: Below his 1946 Percentage	McCarthy's 1952 Percentage of Two Party Vote: Below Eisenhower's Percentage
County		Thousands		
1	Milwaukee	584	—12.6	—17.1
2	Dane	110	—12.2	— 9.7
County Group				
3	50,000 — 100,000	59	— 6.4	— 6.4
4	30,000 — 50,000	42	— 5.1	— 4.0
5	20,000 — 30,000	25	— 4.1	— 3.9
6	14,000 — 20,000	16	— 2.8	— 3.3
7	10,000 — 14,000	12	— 1.8	— 1.4
8	6,000 — 10,000	8	— 2.2	— 4.1
9	2,000 — 6,000	5	— .1	— .1
	State		— 6.9	— 7.8

[1] Totals for Milwaukee and Dane counties.

Judging from the counties in which he gained ground in 1952 it appears that McCarthy finds support in farming areas, in low income areas, among the less educated. The nationality factor is difficult to appraise. Persons of German stock are to be found both in the counties in which he gained and in which he lost. There appear to be relatively more Czechs and Poles among his supporters and more Scandinavians among those who have shifted away from him.

These conclusions are drawn from a table in the Appendix which contains data on the economic and social characteristics of counties in which McCarthy improved his 1946 standing in 1952 and counties in which he lost by more than 6.5 points. These two groups of counties are set up, according to the magnitude of the gains and losses. For the counties in each group there is also provided a selection of economic and social data to determine what characteristics, if any, differentiate the counties of gain from those of loss. The characteristics included are: median income, proportion of employment in agriculture and manufacturing, education, median age, males and females in the working population, housing conditions, per cent of tenant farms, population of voting age, population

change between 1940 and 1950 and nationality data based on country of origin of foreign born immigrants.

There is fairly clear indication that one of the dominant features differentiating the two groups of counties is economic status. The counties of McCarthy gains are counties with lower median incomes, with larger proportions of the population in agriculture, poor housing conditions, a somewhat lower level of education. This is essentially a rural-urban division, corroborated in part by the fact that the counties of gain are the counties of smaller population concentration.

The nationality data are not all one could wish for conclusive analyses but they are suggestive. The number of immigrants shown here as percentages of all immigrants by country of origin is only a partial index of nationality by counties. It does not cover the large number of first generation descendents of foreign born parents or those having one parent born abroad. Until more data become available it is worth noting that substantial portions of Germans appear in both groups, relatively more Poles and Czechoslovakians in the counties of McCarthy gains and relatively more Norwegians and Swedes in the counties of McCarthy losses.

4. McCarthy's Influence in 1952, Outside Wisconsin.

It may be argued that even though McCarthy's influence in the 1952 Wisconsin elections was not what he and his supporters claim since he did not do as well as in 1946, he may nevertheless have been of help to Republicans in other states. An examination of the election results in the states where McCarthy campaigned and the states where he did not shows that his outside influence, too, is overrated. According to available information McCarthy is known to have campaigned in thirteen states, twelve outside the South, and he may have campaigned in others less prominently.

It will probably surprise most people to learn that in all states where McCarthy pinpointed his charges against Democratic Senatorial candidates the Democratic candidates ran ahead of the general ticket. This was true in the twelve non-Southern states in which according to available information McCarthy campaigned, including his own. In 15 Northern

states in which he did not campaign the Democratic Senatorial candidates received about the same percentage of the votes, on the average, as did the Presidential candidates. This was true in 1952 and in the three preceding Presidential election years. But in the 12 states where McCarthy did campaign against them and in the particular counties in those 12 states in which he actually spoke at least once the Democratic candidates did better than their national ticket and better, also, than the Democrats in the three preceding election years.

In a random selection of states you would expect to find, in any election year, that some Senatorial candidates did better than their tickets, some not as well. In other words, on the average the Democratic Senatorial candidates may be expected to get about the same percentage of the vote as, say, the Presidential candidate, with exceptions, of course, in particular cases of outstanding personalities or particularly weak opponents. For the election years 1940, 1944, 1948 and 1952, this generalization is borne out in the 15 Northern states where McCarthy did not campaign. In 1940 some Democratic Senatorial candidates got larger percentages than Roosevelt, others smaller, but they averaged only 1.4 percentage points less when all 15 states are taken together. In 1944 there was practically no difference in the average results. In 1948 we again find a difference of 1.3 points (minus); and in 1952, also a difference of only 1.0 points (plus).

The same comparisons hold for 1940, 1944 and 1948 in the 12 states in which McCarthy campaigned in 1952. In these earlier election years some of the Senatorial candidates ran ahead of their tickets, some fell behind, but on the average they came within 1.4 points of Roosevelt's percentage in 1940 and 0.5 points in 1944 and 0.4 in 1948.

But for 1952 we have an entirely different showing. Instead of some Senatorial candidates doing better than their tickets and some worse as you would expect on the basis of chance or on the basis of past experience, they did better in all eleven states. The chances of getting 12 pluses in 12 cases when either pluses or minuses are possible (or getting 12 heads in 12 throws when either heads or tails are possible) are only one in several thousands. We may, therefore, look upon this show-

ing in the eleven states where McCarthy spoke against Democratic Senatorial candidates as statistically significant.

In these twelve states the average difference, the average *advantage,* of Senatorial over Presidential results was 6.6 points as compared with only +1.4, +.5 and +.4 for the 1940, 1944 and 1948 elections, respectively, or a net Democratic advantage of about 5.5 points.

In the particular counties in which McCarthy spoke we find the same advantage to the Democratic Senatorial candidates. In 1940 these 11 counties average 2.9 points over the Democratic ticket, in 1944 and 1948, 3.4; but in 1952, 7.7 points, or a net Democratic advantage of about 5 points.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE POINTS IN FOUR SENATORIAL ELECTIONS COMPARED WITH DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGES IN PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

	1940	1944	1948	1952
15 States in which McCarthy did not campaign in 1952	—1.7	+0.4	—1.3	+1.0
12 States in which McCarthy campaigned	+1.4	+0.5	+0.4	+6.6
11 Counties in 10 states in which McCarthy campaigned	+2.9	+3.4	+3.4	+7.7

NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE POINTS IN SENATORIAL ELECTIONS COMPARED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1940-1952
12 STATES [1]

	1940	1944	1948	1952
Arizona	+ 8.1	+10.4		+ 7.0
Connecticut	+ .2	— .3		+ 1.7
Michigan	+ 2.6		+ 1.4	+ 5.0
Missouri	— 1.2	— 1.6		+ 4.8
Montana	+14.0		+ .4	+10.8
Nevada	+ .4	+ 1.8		+ 9.7
New Jersey	— 7.3	+ 1.5	— .3	+ 1.5
New Mexico	— .8		+ .4	+ 6.7
Washington	— 4.7	— 2.0		+11.3
W. Virginia	— .8		— .8	+ 1.7
Wisconsin		— 5.9		+ 6.9
Wyoming	+ 5.7		+ 4.5	+11.2
Average	+ 1.4	+ .5	+ .4	+ 6.6

[1] In which McCarthy campaigned.

NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE POINTS IN SENATORIAL ELECTIONS COMPARED WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGES IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1940-1952
15 STATES

	1940	1944	1948	1952
Delaware	— 2.9		+ 1.6	— 2.6
Indiana	0.0	+ 2.2		+ 5.8
Kentucky	+ .7	+ .4	— 6.8	— 1.5
Maine	— 7.5		—14.4	+ 3.5
Maryland	+ 7.1	+ 9.8		+ 3.3
Massachusetts	+ 3.1	—17.7	—10.0	+ 5.9
Minnesota	— 5.3		+ .2	— 1.6
Nebraska	— .7		— 2.5	— 2.1
New York	+ 1.5	— .7		— 4.4
North Dakota	— 3.5	+12.0		— 2.6
Ohio	— 4.6	— .1		+ 2.2
Pennsylvania	— 1.3	— 1.2		+ 1.2
Rhode Island	— 1.4		+ .8	+ 5.7
Utah	+ .4	— .6		+ 4.6
Vermont	—11.5	— 8.7		— .6
Average	— 1.7	— 0.4	— 1.3 [1]	+ 1.0

[1] Exclusive of Maine and Massachusetts.

The question may still be raised as to whether the better showing of Democratic Senatorial candidates in 1952, when compared with the Stevenson vote, may not actually mean that the Stevenson vote was depressed by McCarthy's campaigning in the selected states. This, however, is not the case. The Stevenson vote in these states was just about what was to be expected in view of the Eisenhower sweep and McCarthy's influence, on the average, appears to have been nil.

The statistical evidence for this conclusion stems from these facts: McCarthy's campaigning in 10 states had no perceptible influence on the Eisenhower-Stevenson vote either in the counties in which McCarthy spoke or in the states in which these counties are located. He did not hurt Stevenson nor help Eisenhower. Given the Eisenhower sweep, with the country as a whole shifting its Presidential vote from 45% Republican in 1948 to 55% Republican in 1952, the counties and the states in which McCarthy spoke voted almost exactly according to historical pattern. Only if they had voted differently would there be any basis for thinking that McCarthy's speeches made any noticeable difference.

The other fact, and the more surprising one, is that the Senatorial candidates against whom McCarthy pinpointed his attacks actually did better than might have been expected in view of the usual relation between voting for Senator and voting for President in the counties and states in which McCarthy spoke.

Historically the states and counties (11) in which McCarthy campaigned in 1952 cast their votes in Presidential elections in about the same way as does the country as a whole. The following comparison shows that 1952 was no exception:

PER CENT OF 2-PARTY VOTE

		U. S.	10 states [1]	11 counties
Roosevelt	1940	55.0	56.5	55.7
"	1944	53.8	53.5	53.7
Truman	1948	54.7 [2]	54.2	54.1
Eisenhower	1952	55.4	57.6	56.2

[1] In which McCarthy campaigned, excluding Michigan and Missouri.
[2] Includes Progressive and Dixiecrat vote.

Note particularly that in 1940, when Roosevelt won with 55% of the two-party vote, the 10 states and the 11 counties averaged 56.5% and 55.7% respectively. In 1952, when Eisenhower also was elected by about the same percentage, 55.5, the 10 states also gave him 57.6% of their vote and the 11 counties, 56.2.

Since McCarthy's campaigning did not, on the average, affect the Stevenson vote nor add to the Eisenhower vote, we are warranted in concluding that the Democratic Senatorial advantage over the general ticket in the states in which McCarthy campaigned may be taken as evidence that McCarthy hurt Republican Senatorial candidates more than he helped and, conversely, that the Democratic Senatorial candidates, even though some of them lost as a result of the Eisenhower landslide, received a larger vote, by about 5 percentage points, than they would have received if McCarthy had not campaigned against them.

This surprising conclusion has recently been confirmed by the American Institute of Public Opinion. As shown in the following pages, a Gallup nation-wide poll in January, 1954, found that about 26% of the persons interviewed would vote for a candidate opposed by McCarthy as compared with 21%

who would follow his advice, a net advantage of 5 points for the candidate opposed by McCarthy.

5. McCarthy's Influence in 1952 in Two Selected States.

a. Benton Vote in Connecticut in 1952.

McCarthy's influence in campaigning against Benton in Connecticut is not discernible. Here, too, if he had any influence it must have been to Benton's advantage for Benton ran 1.7 points better than Stevenson in a state that usually gives Senatorial candidates practically the same vote it gives the Presidential candidate.

Isolating McCarthy's influence in a state so predominantly Catholic is not an easy statistical task. The state as a whole is approximately 50% Catholic and only two counties deviate noticeably from this average. Windham has the largest Catholic concentration with an index of about 76%, Middlesex, the smallest, with about 46%. In the 1950 election results there was a hint that the larger concentration of Catholics in Windham County may have reduced McMahon's percentage of the vote about 2 points below his 1944 percentage. In Middlesex County, with the smallest Catholic concentration, his percentage was improved by a point or two. There was no such indication in the case of Senator Benton, the other Democratic Senatorial candidate. In 1950 he was up for election for the first time and statistical comparison with earlier elections was, therefore, not possible.

In spite of the fact that the state is dominantly Catholic it is necessary to observe that as a whole the state did not vote in 1952 differently than it normally votes in a national election when religious issues are not involved. Thus in the 1920 Republican landslide, when the Democrats had only 36.1% of the national Presidential vote, Connecticut voted 34.5% Democratic, a difference of only 1.6 percentage points. In the 1952 Republican landslide, when the Democrats had 45% of the national vote, Connecticut voted 44% Democratic, again only a difference of 1 percentage point. However when the religious issue is a factor it does show up in a noticeable difference between voting in Connecticut and in the nation as a whole. The outstanding example was the 1928 election when many Catho-

lic communities turned to Al Smith and Protestant communities went against him. The country as a whole cast 41.2% of its vote for Al Smith, but Connecticut gave him 45.9%, a greater percentage by 4.7 points as compared with a point or two less in the other Republican year.

Thus it is clear that the religious influence if present at all in 1952 was so small as to be quite undiscernible. We can further substantiate this conclusion by noting that Benton fared just as well in Windham County with a 76% Catholic concentration as in Middlesex with a 46% Catholic concentration. In Windham County the Democratic Presidential ticket was stronger than in Middlesex, 46.4% in the most Catholic county compared with 41.5% in the least Catholic county. Benton ran ahead of the ticket in both counties; 1.4 points in Windham, 1.8 in Middlesex, compared with 1.7 points ahead for the state as a whole. If McCarthy had any influence it must have been to stir up more voters for Benton, than against him.

b. The Kilgore Vote in West Virginia in 1952.

Senator Kilgore's victory in West Virginia in spite of McCarthy's effort to unseat him is another example of McCarthy's little influence. We have already noted that Senator Kilgore ran ahead of his ticket, not only in the counties where McCarthy spoke against him but also in the state as a whole. An examination of his possible influence among Catholics indicates no positive evidence that McCarthy's campaigning against Kilgore had any effect. If anything, the evidence points to Senator Kilgore's doing better in the counties of greater Catholic concentration than in other counties.

Take the four contiguous counties, Ohio, Brook, Marshall and Wetzel, which have widely different concentrations of Catholics: 46, 41, 28 and 4% respectively. In 1952, Senator Kilgore enlarged his share of the vote over his 1946 share by 5.7 points and 9.2 points in the first two counties (average, 7.4), and by 4.3 and 6.5 points in the last two (average, 5.4). On the average, then, he did better in the two counties with the greater proportion than in the two with the smaller proportion of Catholics.

The Kilgore vote in 1952 in relation to the rest of the ticket also fails to show any McCarthy influence in these Catholic counties. In the two counties of larger Catholic concentration he ran 1.7 and 1.5 percentage points ahead of the Congressional ticket. In the least Catholic county he ran .3 of a point behind. If the Catholic factor played any part here it served to increase his per cent of the vote by about 2 percentage points in relation to the Congressional ticket. In relation to the Presidential ticket, also, there is no evidence that Senator Kilgore received a smaller vote because of McCarthy's influence. In fact he ran 2.7 points ahead in the most Catholic county just as he ran 2.6 points ahead in the least Catholic county.

It should perhaps be noted that in 1946 Kilgore and Democrats in general did not do as well in Ohio County as in Wetzel by about 15 percentage points. This was also true in 1948 and in 1952, but in these two elections the difference was narrowed to about 4 and 5 points. This suggests that if the McCarthy-Catholic factor operated against Kilgore and other Democrats in 1946, its adverse influence has since been cut down by about two-thirds.

WEST VIRGINIA ELECTION RESULTS IN 1946, 1948 AND 1952

In Four Selected Counties

	County	Per Cent Catholic	Dem. Per Cent for Senator		Change	Dem. Per Cent for President	
			1946	1952	1946-1952	1948	1952
1	Ohio	46	41.6	47.3	+5.7	52.8	44.6
2	Brook	41	52.5	61.7	+9.2	64.6	59.9
3	Marshall	28	45.9	50.2	+4.3	53.8	48.4
4	Wetzel	4	55.7	52.2	+6.5	57.5	49.6
	Difference between county 4 and 1		—14.1	— 4.9		— 4.7	— 5.0

6. McCarthy's Influence in the 1950 Elections.

The foregoing evidence of McCarthy's negative influence in the 1952 elections does not necessarily mean that his influence in 1950 may not have been more noticeable. The communist issue in the 1950 mid-term election was more pronounced than in 1952 when practically all issues played minor roles in comparison with the fact of Eisenhower's popularity.

If we assume that the communist issue and the McCarthy influence registered most definitely in areas of substantial Catholic concentration, we may then proceed to analyze the 1950 Senatorial election results with their own results in 1946, the year when they were last elected, and to relate the shifts between 1946 and 1950 to our indexes of Catholic concentration.

We find that Democratic candidates lost more heavily in counties with large concentrations of Catholic voters. This was true in the famous case of Senator Tydings in Maryland, and in other states, but it does not necessarily follow that some of the Democratic losses would not have occurred in any case, or that offsetting reactions may not have developed among non-Catholic groups. There is, for example, plausible though not conclusive statistical evidence suggesting that Tydings might have lost in any case since Congressional and Senatorial Democratic strength in Maryland had been on the decline in relation to the national trend ever since 1938. On the other hand, in the case of Pennsylvania it can be shown that in spite of greater losses sustained in Catholic communities, Senator Myers, even though he lost, did better than might have been expected on the basis of previous experience in Senatorial races in relation to the general trend.

The following illustrations are typical of what influence the Communist issue, working through the religious factor, may have exerted in some of the important Senatorial elections of 1950. They are drawn from studies of groups of counties in a number of states, each group consisting of a metropolitan or urban county and a number of contiguous counties reaching into rural areas. For each group county comparisons were made between the 1944 to 1950 shift in the Democratic percentage and the county indexes of Catholic concentration. The nature of the relationship is clearly indicated by the two counties in each group having the largest and smallest Catholic concentration.

Pennsylvania:

In Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), with a Catholic index of 52, Senator Myers' vote was 5 percentage points less than in

1944 whereas in Lawrence and Armstrong Counties, with indexes of 30 and 26, he gained 5 and 3 percentage points.

In Dauphin County (Harrisburg), with a Catholic index of 62, Myers lost 2 percentage points but gained 8 percentage points in nearby Cumberland County, with a Catholic index of 39.

In Philadelphia County (Philadelphia), with a Catholic index of 47, he lost 6 percentage points and gained a point in nearby Bucks County, having a Catholic index of 27.

Ohio:

In Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), with a Catholic index of 53, the vote for a Democratic Senatorial candidate (Ferguson) was 12 percentage points below that of 1944, but in Erie County, with a Catholic index of 38, the decline was 6 points.

In Lucas County (Toledo), with a Catholic index of 59, the Democratic percentage dropped 4 points, but in nearby Fulton County, with a Catholic index of 14, it increased 2 points.

In Montgomery County (Dayton), with a Catholic index of 32, the Democratic percentage dropped 11 points, but in nearby Green County, with a Catholic index of 11, the decline was only 3 points.

Indiana:

In Marion County (Indianapolis), with a Catholic index of 22, the 1950 Democratic percentage fell off 7 points below that of 1944 but increased 3 points in nearby Morgan County where there are practically no Catholics.

In St. Joseph County (South Bend) and Lake County (Gary), with Catholic index of about 50, the Democratic percentages fell off 3 and 7 points respectively. In nearby counties, with Catholic indexes of less than 10, the Democratic percentage remained practically unchanged or increased slightly.

Illinois:

In Cook and Lake Counties (Chicago), with a Catholic index of about 50, Lucas dropped about 9 percentage points below his 1944 position. In nearby Boon County, with a Catholic index of 15, his loss was only 2 points.

In Rock Island County (Rock Island), with a Catholic index of 37, he lost 12 percentage points but in nearby Carrol County, with a Catholic index of 10, he lost only 3 points.

In Champaign County (Champaign), with a Catholic index of 25, he lost 11 points but in neighboring Prat County, with a Catholic index of 6, he lost 6 points.

Wisconsin:

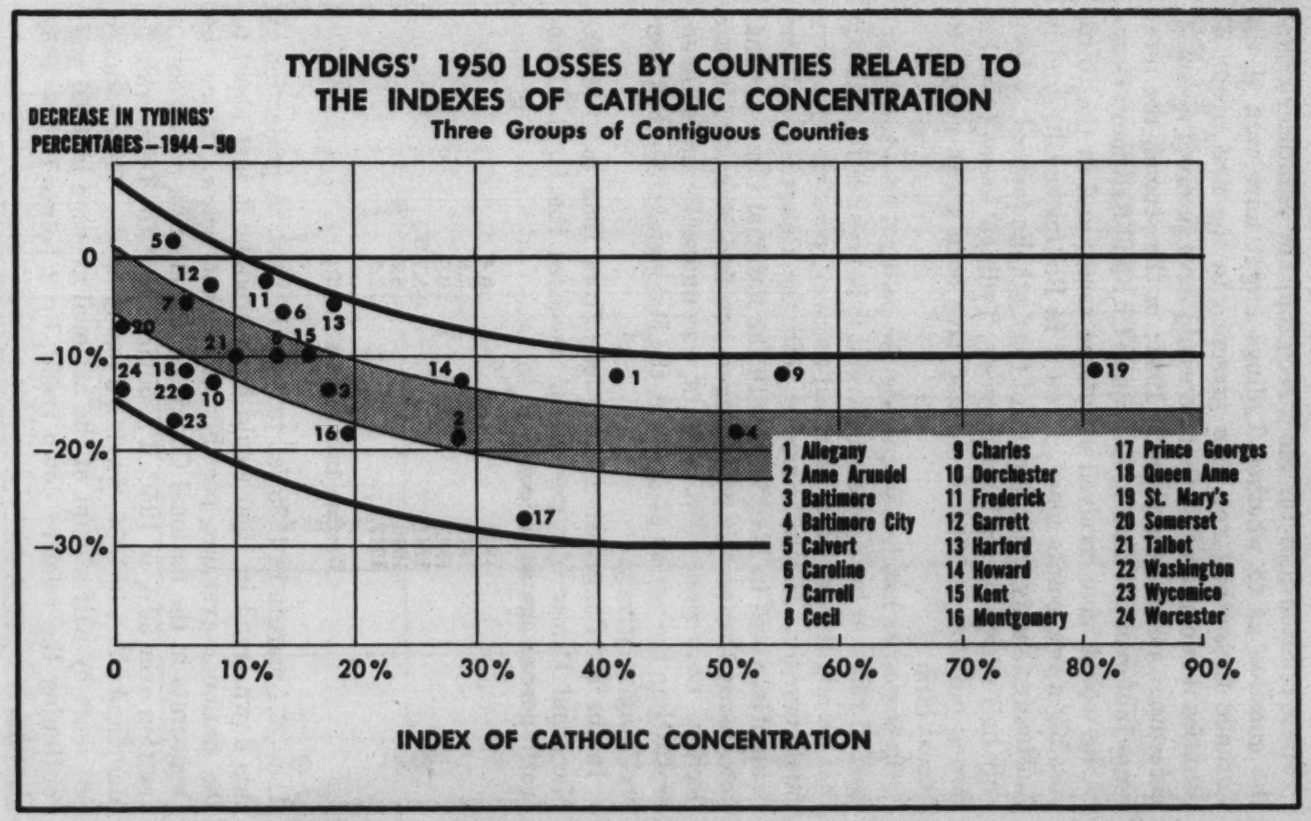
In the 4th and 5th Congressional Districts (Milwaukee), with a Catholic index of more than 60, the Democratic Senatorial candidate dropped 4 percentage points below 1944, but in the neighboring 6th District, with a Catholic index of 42, there was a Democratic gain of 3 points and in the nearby 2nd District, with a Catholic index of only 31, there was a gain of 11 points.

Maryland:

An analysis of Tydings' percentages in his election in 1944 and his defeat in 1950 shows that his percentage remained practically unchanged in one county but declined in all the rest. In one county, Prince Georges, the drop was as much as 26 percentage points. If these percentage point losses in position are related to the proportion of the Catholic population it appears that the greater losses are associated with the greater Catholic concentrations. Thus in a group of contiguous counties, including Prince Georges, Tydings' percentages averaged about 10 points below those of 1944 where there are practically no Catholics (Somerset and Worcester), and 19 and 26 percentage points where the Catholic concentration index approximates 30 (Anne Arundel and Prince Georges).

Similarly in a group of contiguous counties, including Baltimore City, Tydings' percentages dropped 4 points in Carroll County with a Catholic index of about 6, 13 points in Baltimore County having a Catholic index of 17 and 19 points in Baltimore City where the Catholic index is about 50. In a third group of counties the decline ranged from 2 points to 12 points with Catholic indexes ranging from 10 to 80.

While the Catholic factor thus has greater significance in certain areas of the state than in others, the direction of its influence appears to have been consistent, against Tydings.


TYDINGS' 1950 LOSSES BY COUNTIES RELATED TO
THE INDEXES OF CATHOLIC CONCENTRATION
Three Groups of Contiguous Counties
DECREASE IN TYDINGS' PERCENTAGES—1944—50
0
—10%
—20%
—30%
0
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
INDEX OF CATHOLIC CONCENTRATION
1 Allegany
2 Anne Arundel
3 Baltimore
4 Baltimore City
5 Calvert
6 Caroline
7 Carroll
8 Cecil
9 Charles
10 Dorchester
11 Frederick
12 Garrett
13 Harford
14 Howard
15 Kent
16 Montgomery
17 Prince Georges
18 Queen Anne
19 St. Mary's
20 Somerset
21 Talbot
22 Washington
23 Wycomico
24 Worcester

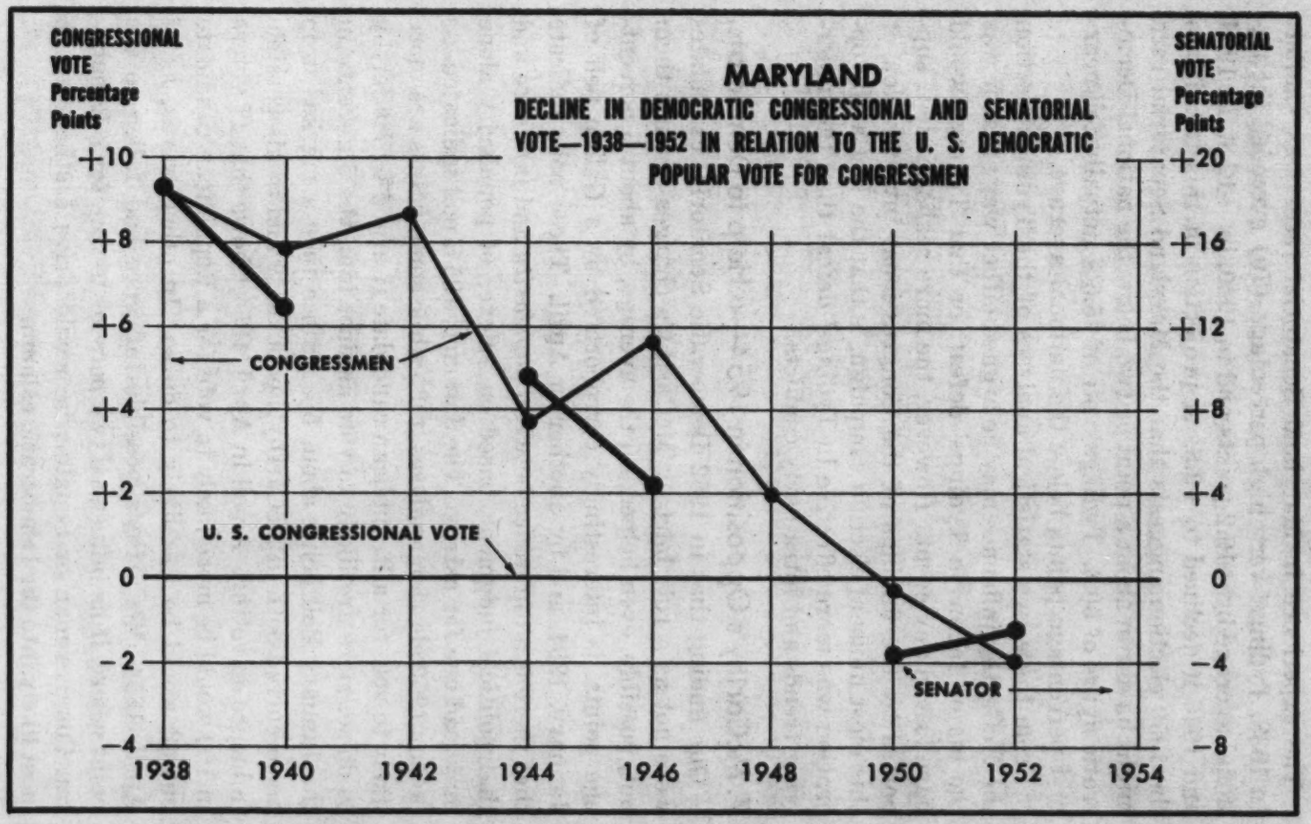
These relationships for the three groups of counties suggest the question as to whether Tydings might have won if the Catholic factor had not been present. In the first group of counties it is conceivable that he would have received about 10 percentage points less than in 1944; in the second, the most important group including Baltimore City and Baltimore County, he would have received about the same; and in the third, possibly a few points more. Even if in Baltimore City and in Baltimore County the influence of the Catholic factor had been only half what this analysis suggests, Tydings' losses from his strong position in 1944 would not have been great enough to unseat him.

On the other hand, if you study the political trend in Maryland in relation to the national trend it is possible to conclude that he might have been unseated anyway, possibly by a very small margin. If you compare both the Congressional and Senatorial votes in Maryland with the national Congressional vote, using Democratic percentages, you find Maryland on the decline. Ever since 1938, when it was unusually more Democratic than the nation as a whole, the Maryland trend has been declining relatively.

In the six Congressional elections from 1938 to 1948, the Maryland Democratic percentage exceeded the U. S. Democratic percentage as follows:

1938	**+9.4**
1940	**+7.8**
1942	**+8.7**
1944	**+3.7**
1946	**+5.6**
1948	**+2.0**
Decline 1938 to 1948	**—7.4**

The +9.4 margin in 1938 fell to +2.0 in 1948. A projection of this down trend in 1950 would have brought it just about to the national average, possibly somewhat below. Since the Democrats in the national Congressional election polled only a fraction over 50% in 1950, it is obvious that the Democrats in Maryland were, in 1950, waging a losing battle. They actually fell short by half a point of the national average in 1950 and, continuing the relative down trend, by 2 points in the 1952 election.


MARYLAND
DECLINE IN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL AND SENATORIAL VOTE—1938—1952 IN RELATION TO THE U. S. DEMOCRATIC POPULAR VOTE FOR CONGRESSMEN
CONGRESSIONAL VOTE Percentage Points
SENATORIAL VOTE Percentage Points
+10
+8
+6
+4
+2
0
−2
−4
+20
+16
+12
+8
+4
0
−4
−8
1938
1940
1942
1944
1946
1948
1950
1952
1954
CONGRESSMEN
U. S. CONGRESSIONAL VOTE
SENATOR

The experience in Maryland Senatorial races was similar. In 1938, Tydings' very high percentage (70) exceeded the national average by +19.2 points and in 1940, by +12.8. In 1944 and 1946 it declined to +9.5. A projection of this trend into the 1950 election suggests that the Maryland Senatorial race might have run about a point or two below the national Democratic figure of 50.3. Tydings' vote of 46.5% actually fell nearly 4 percentage points below the national average.

From these two statistical analyses of the Tydings election the McCarthy influence may be argued either way; that it was the major factor in Tydings' defeat, or that Tydings would have lost in any event. However, the more realistic view, supported by the findings of the Congressional investigation of this most unusual election campaign, is that the McCarthy operation was more effective in Tydings' defeat than the underlying trends and intra-party conflicts.

7. McCarthy's Opposition in 1954—a Help to Democrats.

Our finding that in 1952 Democratic Senatorial candidates were not as a rule hurt by McCarthy's charges against them but, possibly, even helped, on the average, by about 5 percentage points, is interestingly corroborated by a Gallup poll of January, 1954, and by another in April. These polls indicate that there is a difference between *popularity* and *influence* and that political judgment, based on indexes of popularity alone may lead one far astray. The January, 1954, poll indicated, as do our 1952 election analyses, that while some voters are more likely to vote for a Republican candidate if urged by McCarthy to do so, more are likely to vote against him, the difference in the January Poll being about 5%. Since then a marked drop has occurred both in McCarthy's popularity and in his possible influence on voting. A poll in April, 1954, shows that 17 voters in 100 would be more likely to vote for a Republican candidate but 43 would be less likely to do so. In other words, as of April, 1954, McCarthy's possible influence had fallen to the point where, if he influenced two persons to vote for a Republican Congressman or Senator, he would drive 5 others away, most likely into the Democratic column.

About half the persons questioned about the beginning of 1954 indicated a favorable opinion toward McCarthy and that his popularity was somewhat greater among Catholics than among Protestants. On the question:

"In general would you say you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy?" the two major religious groupings gave these results:

	Protestants	Catholics
Favorable	49	58
Unfavorable	28	23
No opinion	23	19

There has been a tendency to confuse evidence of popularity with power to influence elections. Actually there is a sharp difference. To test McCarthy's possible impact on election results the Gallup Poll also asked:

"Suppose next Fall, the Republican candidate for Congress in your district has McCarthy's support, would this make you more likely—or less likely—to vote for that Congressional candidate?" The result:

More likely	21%
Less likely	26%
	47%
Would make no difference	45%
No opinion	8%
	53%

This showing, taken at face value, says in effect that a candidate opposed by McCarthy is likely to gain rather than lose votes and that the net gain could, on the average, amount to 5 percentage points.

The same question asked in April produced these results:

More likely	17%
Less likely	43%
	60%
Would make no difference	34%
No opinion	6%
	40%

The group of voters who call themselves independents and, of course, the Democrats, show the greater proportions less likely to be swayed by McCarthy. Even among Republicans, about as many would be repelled as attracted:

	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
More likely	28%	10%	16%
Less likely	27%	56%	42%
No difference	42%	28%	36%
No opinion	3%	6%	6%

Furthermore, McCarthy's indicated influence, amounting to repelling two to three voters for every one he might attract, shows up in every major region:

	East	Midwest	South	Far West
More likely	20%	18%	13%	16%
Less likely	40%	49%	42%	37%
No difference	34%	27%	28%	44%
No opinion	6%	6%	7%	3%

About as convincing a pre-election test as any—illustrating that the McCarthy factor in the 1954 election may be insignificant—is contained in a recent poll on Senator McCarthy and Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. Senator Smith is known for her stand against McCarthyism. She is being opposed by Robert L. Jones, who is known to have Senator McCarthy's support. In a poll conducted by the Boston *Post* (results published May 12), 2076 voters in nine metropolitan communities were asked whether they favored Smith or Jones in the primary fight, with these results:

For McCarthy	40.5 per cent
Against McCarthy	41.4 per cent
Undecided	18.1 per cent
	100.0 per cent
For Smith	85.5 per cent
For Jones	10.6 per cent
Undecided	3.9 per cent
	100.0 per cent

In spite of the fact that about as many favor McCarthy as are against him, very few from either group favor McCarthy's candidate. It is clear that what people think about McCarthy's investigations has practically no bearing on their attitude toward election candidates. In Lewiston, where as many as 47 per cent said they favored McCarthy, only 4 per cent favored Jones, his candidate, and 95 per cent favored Senator Smith. In Waterville, where as few as 26 per cent favored McCarthy, Jones, his candidate, was favored by 12 per cent and Senator Smith by 85 per cent. In the strongest McCarthy territory his candidate gets an eight point poorer rating, than in the weakest McCarthy territory. This is in line with the

general findings in the 1952 election results and with the Gallup nation-wide polls. The fact that Senator McCarthy has been of no help to his candidate (in none of the nine cities did Jones score a rating of over 18 per cent, and Smith less than 80 per cent), and may in fact have been a hindrance, takes on an added significance in this case since Maine with 60 per cent of its church-going population belonging to the Roman Catholic church, is in the northern area where McCarthy is said to have his greatest influence.

8. Conclusion.

It is necessary to bear in mind that 1950 and 1952 are not comparable election years and that 1954 may differ greatly from the 1950 mid-term year. Normally the mid-term factor alone should be of some advantage to the candidates of the party out of power and 1954 is not likely to be an exception. The fact that the Republicans lost additionally in 1934 after the Democrats came to power so overwhelmingly in 1932 is no reason for thinking that the Democrats will also lose still a few more seats in 1954 following the Republican victory in 1952. The momentum of the New Deal was still very strong in 1934 and the measures then being proposed and the programs put into action met with general public and Congressional support. This was sufficient to offset the fact that 1934 was a mid-term election without benefit of Presidential coat tails.

The temper of the country in 1954 is not as it was in 1934. Politically it is more evenly divided and the gap between the high public regard for the President and public reaction to the Congress is much greater than in 1934. In 1934, Congress was busy legislating. In 1954, the public thinks of Congress as busily engaged in investigating.

The second fact that differentiates 1954 from 1934 is that unemployment in 1934 was being reduced whereas in 1954 it has increased. This increased unemployment is not likely to be reduced before the election campaign gets under way and so is likely to work to the disadvantage of Republican candidates.

The third factor, the McCarthy influence in 1954, must be considered in relation both to 1952 and to 1950. In 1952 his influence, if present at all, was practically imperceptible as a

detriment to Democrats. The fact is that the 1952 election was universally an Eisenhower popularity contest. McCarthy apparently added little if anything to the Republican-Eisenhower sweep.

The 1950 election results lend substantial support to the contention that Catholic voters responded more than usual to Republican appeals. But it should be pointed out that more Catholic leaders now appear to be aware than in 1950 that the use of church and pulpit by McCarthy followers is likely to widen the cleavage between Catholics and Protestants which McCarthyism has already created.

Whether McCarthy's influence will be more noticeable in the 1954 elections without the excitement of the Eisenhower crusade will also depend on the outcome of the current conflict between McCarthy and Eisenhower and on the reaction of voters to McCarthy as they become more familiar with his methods, his tactics, his aims and particularly with his personality. Public opinion polls are already showing a decline in his popularity from the peak reached early this year. As of April, 1954, polls indicate that a Republican candidate seeking McCarthy's help would lose five voters for every two he might gain.

Perhaps the most significant feature of this analysis, in addition to establishing the fact of his weak political position in his own state and that his influence among Catholics appears to have been over-rated, is the extent to which metropolitan and urban centers turned away from him in 1952 and the extent to which they may turn against McCarthyism in 1954. The press in Wisconsin is undoubtedly partly responsible for his loss of political strength in the Milwaukee and Madison areas and his failure to make headway except in rural areas where knowledge as to his character and his methods is not widespread.

What role the press and radio over the country will play in revealing McCarthy to the public in all states is not susceptible to statistical appraisal. But judging from the Wisconsin analysis in this report and the general reaction to his current conflict with Eisenhower and the Army, more light on McCarthy by the press, radio and T.V. would further tend to minimize his influence in local elections.

Appendix

WISCONSIN—McCARTHY'S PERCENTAGE IN 1946 AND 1952 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 35 SELECTED COUNTIES

Counties	1946 McC. as % of 2-Party Vote	1952 McC. as % of 2-Party Vote	Difference
16 Counties with Increase in McC. % of 2-Party Vote [a]			
Kewaunee	71.1	76.8	5.7
Calumet	71.7	75.8	4.1
Longlade	60.5	64.4	3.9
Grant	72.6	76.4	3.8
Portage	50.5	54.0	3.5
Adams	63.5	67.0	3.5
Shawano	74.8	78.0	3.2
Vilas	67.4	70.2	2.8
Lafayette	63.3	66.0	2.7
Crawford	66.0	67.8	1.8
Waupaca	79.3	81.0	1.7
Clark	68.1	69.5	1.4
Brown	65.3	66.7	1.4
Forest	51.9	53.2	1.3
Fond du Lac	70.2	70.3	.1
Burnett	61.3	61.4	.1
19 Counties with Decrease in McC. % of 2-Party Vote [b]			
Waukesha	73.9	54.4	19.5
Milwaukee	56.3	39.2	17.1
Ozaukee	69.6	56.7	12.9
Iron	51.9	39.1	12.8
Douglas	53.1	41.1	12.0
Jackson	64.9	53.6	11.3
Lincoln	72.3	62.1	10.2
Eau Claire	56.6	46.8	9.8
Dane	48.0	38.3	9.7
Washington	75.0	65.5	9.5
Sheyboygan	56.5	47.2	9.3
Rusk	67.1	58.0	9.1
La Crosse	66.7	57.8	8.9
Walworth	80.1	71.7	8.4
Marinette	69.0	61.0	8.0
Jefferson	67.1	59.2	7.9
Pierce	74.7	66.9	7.8
Buffalo	71.0	64.2	6.8
St. Croix	63.8	57.3	6.5

[a] All 16 counties in which McCarthy % of 2-party vote increased, included here.

[b] Only 19 of 53 counties in which McCarthy % of 2-party vote decreased, included here. Counties showing decreases of less than 6.5% not included.

WISCONSIN—ECONOMIC DATA FOR 35 SELECTED COUNTIES (1950 CENSUS)*

County	Income: Median ($)	Income: % $5000 or more	Employment: % Agric.	Employment: % Mfg.	Education (25 yrs.): % Under 5 Grades	Education (25 yrs.): Median School Yrs.	Age 1950: Median Yrs.
16 Counties with increase in McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote							
Kewaunee	2323	8.3	48.7	23.7	14.2	8.4	29.9
Calumet	2654	12.7	40.5	23.9	6.8	8.6	29.2
Langlade	2523	12.4	31.2	17.8	12.8	8.7	28.1
Grant	2430	14.3	43.1	9.0	4.5	8.9	29.7
Portage	2823	15.7	27.7	20.0	17.1	8.7	28.7
Adams	1958	7.1	46.6	9.9	9.1	8.5	33.6
Shawano	2299	10.2	43.8	19.7	14.9	8.4	29.4
Vilas	2099	7.1	8.9	14.9	7.8	8.9	33.0
Lafayette	2417	9.7	56.6	6.4	6.3	8.7	29.6
Crawford	2250	8.0	43.6	15.8	7.2	8.7	28.0
Waupaca	2514	9.8	36.1	19.2	8.7	8.7	33.5
Clark	2073	10.6	59.9	9.0	9.1	8.6	30.2
Brown	3441	21.4	11.8	25.7	10.0	8.9	28.5
Forest	2012	6.5	25.9	26.5	17.2	8.5	26.8
Fond du Lac	3238	18.7	21.2	25.1	6.9	8.8	31.5
Burnett	1815	4.2	51.6	7.3	8.8	8.6	32.4
Average	2429	11.0	37.3	17.1	10.1	8.7	30.1
19 Counties with decrease in McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote							
Waukesha	3656	24.9	13.1	33.5	4.2	10.1	30.6
Milwaukee	3926	30.0	0.6	42.8	6.6	9.6	32.5
Ozaukee	3636	24.9	22.0	36.5	4.2	8.8	30.7
Iron	2714	10.2	11.7	12.5	16.4	8.7	32.3
Douglas	3141	14.3	8.6	12.1	7.5	9.4	32.4
Jackson	1778	7.0	50.4	7.2	10.6	8.6	31.2
Lincoln	2549	9.6	28.3	30.2	9.0	8.7	30.8
Eau Claire	3366	19.0	13.5	29.2	5.9	9.3	30.1
Dane	3647	27.8	12.8	16.3	3.4	12.1	28.6
Washington	3242	19.0	27.5	34.2	5.2	8.7	30.3
Sheyboygan	3386	20.1	13.9	41.3	12.8	8.5	32.3
Rusk	2303	10.8	48.9	9.8	10.7	8.6	28.4
LaCrosse	3394	21.2	9.4	33.0	5.9	9.4	30.2
Walworth	3103	20.7	25.7	20.7	3.7	10.2	33.1
Marinette	2659	11.2	24.2	31.4	11.5	8.7	30.8
Jefferson	2970	16.8	25.9	31.0	6.7	8.9	33.9
Pierce	2294	10.0	47.1	8.9	5.8	8.7	30.1
Buffalo	2107	6.5	56.4	7.7	8.1	8.6	29.7
St. Croix	2622	14.9	43.0	13.7	6.3	8.8	30.5
Average	2973	16.8	25.4	23.8	7.6	9.2	31.0
STATE	$3256	20.3%	18.6%	30.6%	7.3%	8.9 yrs.	31.0

* Source: "County and City Data Book, 1952" Stat. Abs. Supp., Bur. Census 1953, Table 3.

WISCONSIN—ECONOMIC DATA FOR 35 SELECTED COUNTIES (1950 CENSUS)

County	Labor Force (14 yrs.) % Males	Labor Force (14 yrs.) % Females	Housing % H W, PB+T	Agriculture % Tenant Farms	Potential Voters 1950
16 Counties with increase in McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote					
Kewaunee	84.3	36.2	44.0	5.5	10,653
Calumet	86.1	26.8	46.3	13.4	11,397
Langlade	77.0	23.3	41.4	3.3	12,700
Grant	77.7	24.5	38.4	33.1	25,338
Portage	78.6	27.7	44.0	6.3	20,709
Adams	79.5	17.7	24.3	9.9	4,953
Shawano	79.0	22.1	32.6	6.1	20,932
Vilas	76.5	19.5	38.3	2.8	5,926
Lafayette	81.6	23.3	35.4	46.4	11,039
Crawford	82.6	22.6	26.3	28.8	10,304
Waupaca	78.6	25.3	41.6	8.3	22,547
Clark	81.2	27.2	34.8	9.2	19,355
Brown	79.2	28.5	63.2	9.2	59,892
Forest	69.4	16.1	16.4	3.1	5,204
Fond du Lac	79.9	27.8	56.7	26.0	43,545
Burnett	78.7	17.7	13.5	6.9	6,302
Average	79.4	24.1	37.3	13.6	18,175
19 Counties with decrease in McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote					
Waukesha	81.0	26.3	63.3	17.2	53,885
Milwaukee	82.1	33.5	81.5	14.8	583,764
Ozaukee	84.0	27.8	67.1	11.1	14,846
Iron	76.7	22.5	41.2	3.0	5,305
Douglas	75.9	25.6	54.0	3.5	29,479
Jackson	77.7	18.8	30.0	11.8	9,827
Lincoln	80.9	29.7	41.0	3.4	13,656
Eau Claire	80.2	28.2	55.4	12.4	34,015
Dane	74.8	36.0	64.9	33.3	110,080
Washington	83.9	29.8	51.9	15.0	21,463
Sheyboygan	83.2	27.4	63.6	11.9	52,459
Rusk	78.2	19.1	24.0	4.6	9,501
La Crosse	80.7	33.1	58.0	21.9	42,570
Walworth	78.7	25.6	58.5	27.7	27,107
Marinette	77.8	24.1	46.0	4.3	21,730
Jefferson	80.3	27.3	53.6	23.8	28,576
Pierce	76.5	21.4	36.9	15.0	13,259
Buffalo	82.6	20.7	38.9	19.1	8,926
St. Croix	80.7	23.7	44.4	16.0	16,042
Average	79.8	26.3	51.3	14.2	30,078
STATE	80.5%	28.9%	58.5%	15.6%	2,184,093

WISCONSIN—NATIONALITY DA

Ratio of Immigration from the Two M
White Population to Total I

Counties	Total All Coun-tries	Germany % Total	Poland % T	Czech-oslo-vakia % T	Au %
		19 Counties with Decrease			
Waukesha	4,596	36.3		5.5	
Milwaukee	83,322	28.6	16.1		
Ozaukee	869	48.9			1
Iron	1,402				
Douglas	5,587				
Jackson	648	14.7			
Lincoln	1,659	42.0			
Eau Claire	1,876	25.8			
Dane	7,860	16.9			
Washington	956	52.0		8.8	
Sheyboygan	6,134	37.3			
Rusk	1,369		31.4	13.1	
La Crosse	2,072	37.2			
Walworth	2,693	30.2			
Marinette	2,687	18.6			
Jefferson	1,880	62.2			
Pierce	673				
Buffalo	370	34.1			
St. Croix	1,288	16.5			

*Source: 1950 Census of Population: "Wisconsin, General C

WISCONSIN—NATIONALITY DAT

Ratio of Immigration from the Two M
White Population to Total I

Counties	Total All Coun-tries	Germany % Total	Poland % T	Czech-oslo-vakia % T	Aus %
		16 Counties with Increase			
Kewaunee	323	29.4		29.7	
Calumet	378	50.3			6.
Langlade	1,093	25.5		22.8	
Grant	661	37.5		13.2	
Portage	1,524	17.2	49.1		
Adams	403	23.3		18.6	
Shawano	1,370	51.8	11.5		
Vilas	792	20.5			
Lafayette	580	17.1			
Crawford	348	19.5			
Waupaca	1,340	37.3			
Clark	2,199	23.6	25.1		
Brown	2,598	20.4	13.9		
Forest	616	16.1	37.2		
Fond du Lac	2,760	41.0			
Burnett	692				

DATA FOR 35 SELECTED COUNTIES*

o Major Countries of Birth of Foreign Born
l Immigration from all Countries

Austria % T	Norway % T	Sweden % T	Finland % T	USSR % T	Italy % T	Eng. Wales % T
se McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote						
10.7						
			32.2		29.4	
	16.9	22.8				
	39.8					
		7.9				
	35.4					
	28.3					
				20.4		
	19.9					
		11.0				
		12.3				
						4.1
	24.4	21.8				
	23.5					
	28.6					

l Characteristics", Table 42a.

ATA FOR 35 SELECTED COUNTIES

o Major Countries of Birth of Foreign Born
l Immigration from all Countries

Austria % T	Norway % T	Sweden % T	Finland % T	USSR % T	Italy % T	Eng. Wales % T
se McCarthy % of 2-Party Vote						
6.9						
			16.5			
	19.0					
	25.0					
	17.5					
	15.9	48.6		10.1		

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE
1940 ELECTIONS, BASED ON STATE WIDE TWO-PARTY VOTE*

State**	1940[b] President %	U.S. Senator %	Representative %	Governor %
Arizona	63.8	71.9	71.1	66.0
California	58.1	—	44.6	—
Colorado	48.7	—	54.7	45.3
Connecticut	53.6	53.8	53.0	50.9
Delaware	54.8	51.7	51.4	46.4
Idaho	54.5	47.0 (U)	53.5	50.5
Illinois	51.2	49.7 (U)	48.8	46.9
Indiana	49.3	49.3	49.1	50.1
Iowa	47.8	—	45.2	47.2
Kansas	42.7	—	42.3	49.9
Kentucky	57.6	58.3 (U)	62.6	—
Maine	48.8	41.3	35.4	29.7
Maryland	58.8	65.9	60.9	—
Massachusetts	53.4	56.5	47.5	49.8
Michigan	49.8	47.2	48.9	53.2
Minnesota	51.9	46.6	46.7	47.8
Missouri	52.4	51.2	52.4	49.9
Montana	59.4	73.4	55.1	49.0
Nebraska	42.8	42.1	42.0	39.1
Nevada	60.1	60.5	64.5	—
New Hampshire	53.2	—	48.0	49.3
New Jersey	51.8	44.5	47.1	51.7
New Mexico	56.7	55.9	58.8	55.6
New York	51.8	53.3	51.0	—
North Dakota	44.5	41.0	32.8	63.1
Ohio	52.2	47.6	50.7	44.5
Oklahoma	57.6	—	66.6	—
Oregon	54.1	—	41.9	—
Pennsylvania	53.5	52.2	52.0	—
Rhode Island	56.6	55.2	55.6	55.9
South Dakota	42.6	—	38.9	44.9
Tennessee	67.5	70.8	73.6	72.1
Utah	62.4	62.8	60.6	52.2
Vermont	45.1	33.6	36.2	36.0
Washington	58.9	54.2	57.9	49.6
West Virginia	57.1	56.3	57.5	56.4
Wisconsin	50.9	13.2[f]	17.4[g]	19.3[h]
Wyoming	53.0	58.7	53.4	—

* F—Full Term; U—Unexpired Term.
** (10 Southern States omitted: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missi sippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia.)
[b] Source: Gallup, "The Political Almanac 1952".
[f] 41.4 Republican Vote, 45.4 Progressive.
[g] 45.7 Republican Vote, 36.9 Progressive.
[h] 39.9 Progressive Vote, 40.8 Republican Vote.

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE
1944 ELECTIONS, BASED ON STATE WIDE TWO-PARTY VOTE*

State**	1944[b] President %	U.S. Senator %	Representative %	Governor %
Arizona	59.0	69.4	69.9	78.6
California	56.8	52.3	50.7	—
Colorado	46.6	43.6	42.8	47.6
Connecticut	52.7	52.4	51.1	48.4
Delaware	54.6	—	50.5	49.3
Idaho	51.7	51.1	51.5	52.6
Illinois	51.7	52.8	49.9	49.1
Indiana	47.1	49.3 (F) 47.5 (U)	46.8	48.6
Iowa	47.7	48.5	43.2	43.8
Kansas	39.4	41.3	37.0	33.0
Kentucky	54.6	55.0	54.7	—
Maine	47.5	—	29.3	38.7
Maryland	51.9	61.7	55.9	—
Massachusetts	52.9	35.2 (U)	47.0	53.9
Michigan	50.5	—	47.7	45.0
Minnesota	52.8	—	40.9	38.0
Missouri	51.5	49.9	52.5	51.0
Montana	54.7	—	60.4	43.4
Nebraska	41.4	—	33.0	23.9
Nevada	54.6	58.4	63.1	—
New Hampshire	52.1	49.1	47.4	46.9
New Jersey	50.7	49.2 (U)	46.5	—
New Mexico	53.5	—	55.5	51.8
New York	52.5	53.2	51.1	—
North Dakota	45.8	57.8	34.6	35.7
Ohio	49.8	49.7	47.2	51.8
Oklahoma	55.7	55.8	58.7	—
Oregon	52.5	39.3 (F) 42.5 (U)	38.5	—
Pennsylvania	51.4	50.2	50.7	—
Rhode Island	58.7	—	59.8	60.6
South Dakota	41.7	36.1	34.9	34.5
Tennessee	60.6	—	66.5	63.5
Utah	60.5	59.9	60.4	50.2
Vermont	42.9	34.2	37.6	34.1
Washington	57.4	55.4	53.1	51.7
West Virginia	54.9	—	54.2	54.4
Wisconsin	49.1	43.2[e]	31.6[d]	40.9[e]
Wyoming	48.8	—	44.3	—

* F—Full Term; U—Unexpired Term.
** (10 Southern States omitted: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia.)
[b] Source: Gallup, "The Political Almanac 1952".
[c] 50.9 Republican Vote, 5.9 Progressive Vote.
[d] 58.2 Republican Vote, 10.2 Progressive Vote.
[e] 5.8 Progressive Vote, 53.3 Republican Vote.

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE
1948 ELECTIONS, BASED ON STATE WIDE TWO-PARTY VOTE*

State**	1948[b] President %	U.S. Senator %	Representative %	Governor %
Arizona	56.0	—	61.7	59.6
California	52.6	—	40.6	—
Colorado	53.3	67.4	54.8	66.3
Connecticut	50.0	—	50.0	50.1
Delaware	49.7	51.3	49.2	53.7
Idaho	52.5	50.7 (F) 48.1 (U)	50.7	—
Illinois	50.4	55.2	52.3	57.3
Indiana	49.9	—	51.7	54.3
Iowa	52.0	58.2	44.8	44.0
Kansas	45.7	43.7	42.5	41.5
Kentucky	58.3	51.5	56.5	—
Maine	43.1	28.7	33.7	34.4
Maryland	50.1	—	55.7	—
Massachusetts	56.7	46.7	50.1	59.3
Michigan	50.3	48.9	50.0	53.9
Minnesota	59.8	60.0	49.8	45.9
Missouri	58.4	—	58.9	57.1
Montana	56.6	57.0	57.5	56.0
Nebraska	45.8	43.3	41.7	39.9
Nevada	52.8	—	50.6	—
New Hampshire	47.6	41.5	43.2	47.5
New Jersey	48.9	48.6	48.4	—
New Mexico	57.0	57.4	58.7	54.7
New York	53.7	—	53.7	—
North Dakota	47.5	—	17.9	37.9
Ohio	50.8	—	52.4	53.7
Oklahoma	62.7	62.5	67.4	—
Oregon	49.7	40.0	37.3	45.6 (U)
Pennsylvania	48.7	—	48.9	—
Rhode Island	58.5	59.3	60.8	61.4
South Dakota	48.2	40.7	43.6	38.9
Tennessee	62.9	66.1	65.5	66.9
Utah	55.0	—	58.1	45.0
Vermont	38.1	—	39.2	28.0
Washington	56.8	—	50.1	48.3
West Virginia	57.8	57.0	58.3	57.1
Wisconsin	53.2	—	43.2	44.9
Wyoming	52.6	57.1	48.5	—

* F—Full Term; U—Unexpired Term.
** (10 Southern States omitted: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia.)
[b] Source: Gallup, "The Political Almanac 1952".

DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE
1952 ELECTIONS, BASED ON STATE WIDE TWO-PARTY VOTE*

1952[a]

State**	President %	U.S. Senator %	Representative %	Governor %
Arizona	41.7	48.7	51.5	39.8
California	43.1	—	46.0	—
Colorado	39.3	—	44.7	42.6
Connecticut	44.1	45.8 (F) 48.7 (U)	46.2	—
Delaware	48.1	45.5	48.1	47.9
Idaho	34.5	—	40.6	—
Illinois	45.0	—	46.0	47.4
Indiana	41.4	47.2	43.2	43.9
Iowa	35.8	—	33.2	47.9
Kansas	30.7	—	40.6	42.5
Kentucky	50.01	48.5	52.2	—
Maine	33.8	37.3	32.9	39.1
Maryland	44.2	47.5	48.2	—
Massachusetts	45.6	51.5	46.8	49.7
Michigan	44.2	49.2	47.4	50.2
Minnesota	44.4	42.8	46.0	44.3
Missouri	49.2	54.0	52.2	52.7
Montana	40.3	51.1	43.5	49.0
Nebraska	30.8	28.7 (F) 36.4 (U)	31.8	38.6
Nevada	38.6	48.3	49.5	—
New Hampshire	39.1	—	36.9	36.9
New Jersey	42.5	44.0	42.6	—
New Mexico	44.4	51.1	51.9	46.2
New York	44.0	39.6	46.1	—
North Dakota	28.6	26.0	21.6	21.3
Ohio	43.2	45.4	44.5	55.9
Oklahoma	45.4	—	58.7	—
Oregon	39.1	—	38.7	—
Pennsylvania	47.0	48.2	47.8	—
Rhode Island	49.1	54.8	54.1	52.6
South Dakota	30.7	—	31.4	29.8
Tennessee	49.9	74.4	70.2	79.4
Utah	41.1	45.7	44.6	44.9
Vermont	28.3	27.7	38.2	43.3
Washington	45.1	56.4	43.5	47.4
West Virginia	51.9	53.6	53.9	51.5
Wisconsin	38.8	45.7	38.4	37.4
Wyoming	37.2	48.4	39.9	—

* F—Full Term; U—Unexpired Term.

** (10 Southern States omitted: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia.)

[a] Source: Republican National Committee "The 1952 Elections—A Statistical Analysis." October, 1953, Table V.

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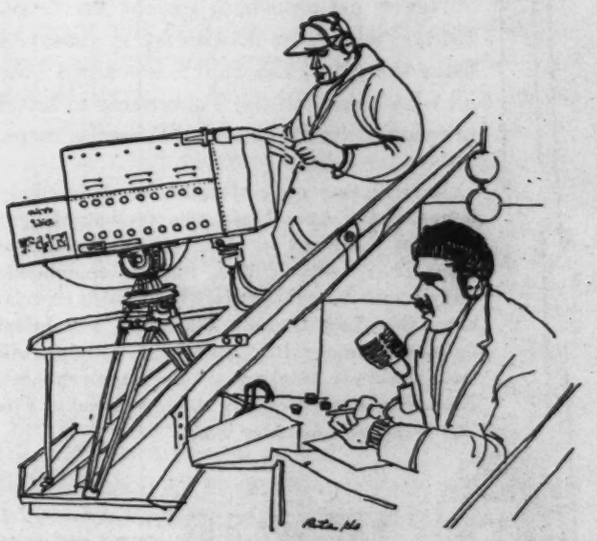

Volume LX, No. 1 April 9, 1954 Twenty Cents

THE SCREEN

FATHER KNOWS BEST

WITHOUT messing around with any of Wordsworth's sentimentalities about youth, "The Lonely Night" gets right down to the business of illustrating that childhood is the time for working out problems. This extraordinary film, a sixty-five-minute documentary produced by Irving Jacoby (who also directed and wrote the script) and Willard Van Dyke, will remind you at times of "The Quiet One," that fine movie of several years ago which dealt with the psychological case history of a maladjusted Negro child. The main difference is that "The Lonely Night" has for its central character an adult, a woman who, although she doesn't realize she's hanging on to her therapist mainly out of fear of being rejected again, is well on the road to recovery by way of the fact that she recognizes that she has a problem and is seeking help.

What makes "The Lonely Night" so remarkable as a film is that this story is told not as an illustrated lecture on how psychotherapy works but through the cinema medium in which the visuals are as important as the narration. Effectively contrasted with the scenes showing the neurotic Caroline re-living her past with her psychotherapist, are short sequences in which the relationships of a normal family are worked out.

Another remarkable thing about "The Lonely Night" is its good cast, most of whom are non-professionals. Actress Marian Seldes gives a moving performance as the tortured Caroline. And I'm glad to report that the contrasting "normal family" scenes are not all sweetness and light; nor is a rosy, serene future predicted for Caroline even though she has grown emotionally and has learned that there's a right time to cry, laugh, be angry, and be in love.

ANOTHER new film that has other things to say about psychiatry is "Knock on Wood." The lady psychiatrist in this case is carrying on a romance with her male patient, played by Danny Kaye, who bubbles with his usual charm. When "Knock on Wood" has Danny carrying on with song and dance it is very funny indeed, but the picture gets bogged down by its complicated plot about spies and blueprints for a new weapon (blueprints which are hidden in the heads of ventriloquist Kaye's two dummies) and I found myself sitting through these lengthy espionage episodes only waiting for Kaye and the fun.

Written, produced and directed by Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, "Knock on Wood" shows Danny, a product of an unhappy home life, with a strong aversion to marriage—but of course it takes pretty Mai Zetterling, as the psychiatrist, no time at all to re-do Danny as well as his dummies. I wish "Knock on Wood" had more of Kaye doing his wonderful specialty numbers; the psychiatry sessions would have lent themselves well to his kind of double-talk nonsense. But perhaps I shouldn't gripe. The satirical ballet sequence is a riot, and Danny is in his best style singing the hilarious ballad by Sylvia Fine called "The Drastic, Livid History of Monohan O'Han."

ALLEN Rivkin had a good idea in writing the script of "Prisoner of War," but somehow the film makers got over-enthusiastic and the result, instead of being a semi-documentary on what happened to soldiers who were captured by the Reds in Korea, is a hopped-up melodrama about deprivation and torture with all the UN fighters standing as symbols of goodness and all the Koreans and Russians being the personification of evil.

The plot, in which Ronald Reagan is commissioned to be captured by the Reds to learn what the prison camps are like, is interesting enough; if Director Andrew Marton had allowed his good cast to carry on in a simple and realistic manner, this film could have been quite instructive. But piling cruelty on torture, the material becomes only a succession of grim details. Reagan, Steve Forrest, Dewey Martin, Oscar Homolka, Darryl Hickman and all the others in this large all-male cast do well enough with their roles, but the cards are stacked against them.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"THE MURROW SHOW"

Ithaca, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Although I admire Mr. Cogley's ability to criticize spokesmen on his own side of the political fence, I feel that I must take issue with "The Murrow Show" [March 26].

There is an essential difference between the methods employed in demonstrating positive evil in a particular situation and those used in indicating objectively the pros and cons of a given issue. It is not necessary, for instance, to point out the number of lives a doctor has saved while proving that he is an abortionist. An alleged murderer may be a kindly husband and father but this would have little relevance in a criminal proceeding. In the same manner Buchenwald adequately demonstrates the evils of the Hitler regime. McCarthy's abuse of a Congressional committee's investigative function and the consequent carnage to basic American

liberties, if properly understood, would be condemned by all but the most totalitarian-minded of American citizens as such a positive evil.

Mr. Murrow's job in this case is to present these abuses as he sees them. If he can show a continuing pattern of abuse then no amount of morality in other aspects of the Senator's life has any bearing on his fitness to head a Congressional committee. Similarly, if it can be shown that he lacks personal integrity and will use any means to further his own political position, then no matter how well he looks as a bridegroom or how many Communists he has exposed, he is still unqualified to hold a Senate seat.

GEORGE A. SMITH.

Good point. But what bothered me was the precedent set for the use of selective film clips to illustrate a partisan political thesis. With this technique, commercially sponsored TV can become a deadly political weapon and can be used against anybody the sponsor or the commentator is out to "get."—J.C.

Pittsburgh, Penna.

TO the Editors: When is the McCarthy "pro" but mostly "con" issue to be ended in your magazine? Surely there are more important matters to be presented and more serious problems to be discussed. The moaning and groaning over "McCarthyism" might suggest that The Commonweal is becoming the Commonwail.

I have pretty well determined my judgment on McCarthy and so has The Commonweal. Let's on to new fields of discovery of solutions to many disturbing world affairs.

In reading "The Murrow Show," I thought that I detected an adoring attitude towards Mr. Murrow on the part of Mr. Cogley. Personally I think that Mr. Murrow has a sly manner in slanting news. . . .

T. B. LAPPAN.

As long as Senator McCarthy keeps up his headline-a-day pace, we're stuck with him; and so is the nation and the world.

THE EDITORS.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: The "See It Now" program has not gotten by without comment on its potential danger. Jack Gould, the New York *Times* television reporter, in the March 21 issue of that paper also expressed concern over the possibility of selective accounts or views of the news being used by demagogic commentators. No doubt, the danger of this kind of abuse of the news is serious and will tempt the ingenious political reporter to make use of the carefully chosen word, the carefully selected newsreel sequence. That this method has been utilized before both on the radio and in the press cannot be denied. That it has been employed on television to a lesser degree is also manifest. It is inevitable that in the future this method of reporting will be used frequently on television. It can misinform the public; that is true. That it can present the truth is also true. Yet if the choice were to be given to the public, between the quiet, ordered type of dodging-the-issues broadcasting that has been sponsored in the past, and the method fostered by Mr. Murrow, I would choose Mr. Murrow's method. Television reporting has been serene long enough, delicately tiptoeing on all major issues and not hitting directly at the facts, not thoroughly evaluating the problems. Action was what was needed and action was what we got on "See It Now."

I am glad that John Cogley took the space to point out that reportorial abuses may be given impetus because of this telecast, but I am also glad that Edward R. Murrow took the time to say what he felt.

Although obviously motivated by a sense of fair play, the article painted an exaggerated picture of Senator McCarthy's being ill-treated by the "See It Now" presentation. It was said that McCarthy has no adequate defense against this type of programming. What else can McCarthy call on but his own words to defend himself? He has no defense. Whose speech did Murrow use but McCarthy's to illustrate his points? And if we were to see and read all of the words of Senator McCarthy, unchanged, we would still get the same impression of the man's methods emphasized by Mr. Murrow's selective film clippings. As for its being a one-man show, without the influence of any of those who disagreed with Murrow's evaluation of McCarthy, what else could it be at this time? Have we not had enough McCarthyism from which to draw upon for opposing opinions to be able to evaluate what Murrow did? I know Mr. Cogley is going to say he quarrels not with the ideas presented by Murrow but with the method of presentation. I think his fears, although plausible, are unwarranted in this particular case. The program was right for the time and should have been produced. The method used by Murrow will be abused, but that is the price we have to pay for action, the chance we have to take when we express ourselves.

ALEX KEMENY.

"RELIGION IN SPAIN"

Greenwich, Conn.

TO the Editors: The recent report on the state of religion among Spanish workers, as taken from *Ecclesia* and widely reported in the American press, is an unusually enlightening study for anyone genuinely interested in understanding Spain. I was, therefore, pleased to see you editorialize on this vital subject [February 19] because I felt that your interpretation would not only place this report in its proper perspective, but would also serve to assess its true significance.

However, after reading your comments, I find that I must disagree with your conclusions. Moreover, as you know, I have never been one to indulge in what you describe very appropriately as "the inordinate romanticizing done by some over Catholic Spain." I hope you will give me the opportunity to present what I believe is a more accurate interpretation of the meaning of *Ecclesia's* report. As authority for what I say, I offer two extensive visits to that country in the past year and considerable personal inquiry into the precise subject of your editorial.

First of all, may I mention that not more than six months ago, a prominent Spanish Jesuit told me exactly what *Ecclesia* has now said. I single him out because at that time I sensed a general reluctance, among both ecclesiastical and lay Catholics whom I interrogated in Spain, to recognize what is now reported regarding the workers' attitude towards religion. I believe the facts were quite apparent then, yet understandable shame seemed to prevent them from admitting the realities of this situation. Hence, the reaction was generally to minimize the problem and cite examples of tangible efforts that have been and are being made to correct this condition.

As I see it, *Ecclesia's* report is a rather remarkable development. It means that the Church has finally decided to bring this problem out in the open, admit its failure and work for new solutions to return the worker to religious practice. It seems to me that unless we realize what a departure this means—to recognize fallibility frankly and to recite at length how serious this problem is—we are not giving this report proper significance. It should be hailed as a healthy sign of self-criticism and prospective improvement.

Your editorial, after pointing out how discouraging *Ecclesia's* report is, goes on to say: "that it should not be surprising to anyone aware of the realities of social and economic life in Franco Spain." I wish this point had been spelled out more fully, because otherwise one is led to the conclusion, as I have been, that these realities are responsible for the continuation of this condition of irreligion in the Spanish proletariat. I think the conclusion drawn by you is an over-simplification of a very complex subject.

In the first place, the conditions about which *Ecclesia* talks are not really new. The loss of the vast majority of Spanish workers as practicing Catholics is a phenomenon that has been developing over a period of nearly one hundred years, under all types of governments: republics, constitutional monarchies, military dictatorships and finally, Franco. It is not a defense of the present regime to say that for many reasons, some perhaps idealistic, but mostly for self-preservation, it has done much to assist the Church (the propriety of these methods is not being discussed) in its efforts to restore the workers to a religious outlook.

Then, if we examine social and economic life conditions for workers under the present Government, it will be found that great stress is placed by it on wooing labor, which for the most part favored the Loyalist cause during the Civil War. It is true that free labor unions do not exist and that strikes are forbidden. However, the Government has endeavored to compensate for the loss of these rights by much labor and social legislation that has tangibly benefited this class of society. A point has been made to increase its purchasing power by compulsory wage increases and by keeping down the price of basic commodities, such as bread and oil. It is better off today, relatively speaking, than the white collar workers. In short, labor is, for the most part, a less than enthusiastic yet not an unwilling beneficiary of the Government's determination to avoid the recurrence of social and economic conditions that could lead to labor strife or an increase in Marxian activity.

You must pardon my rather lengthy description of social and economic conditions as they affect labor, because inadequate as they may be, the label "Franco" does not properly explain, as your editorial implies, the discouraging conditions *Ecclesia* reports. The loss of such a large percentage of workers as practicing believers is a characteristic phenomenon of most Latin countries. Remarkably similar reports on the working class would, I think, obtain for Italy and France, where democratic regimes are in power, and I believe you will agree that it would be most improper and illogical for us to attribute this condition to their present governments. In these countries also, the problem and its causes are not rooted so much in the present as in the past.

Responsibility would seem to lie rather with the Church itself. Gerald Brenan brings this out very forcefully in his *Spanish Labyrinth* when he points out that when the Church ceased to be the Church of the people, as it was in the days of Vittoria, Suarez and other illustrious defenders of the people's rights, unwittingly or otherwise, it became identified in the eyes of the masses as the spokesman or instrumentality of a particular class or classes, and it was precisely then that the Spanish worker began to stop practicing his religion and eventually fell prey to Marxian socialism, anarchism, syndicalism, communism, etc. A comparable development could be traced in Italy and France.

I think we should all applaud *Ecclesia's* forthright report and hope it will bring about a new approach to labor on the part of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities, and that its example will encourage similar examinations of conscience and *mea culpas* in many other countries where the same problem exists and where it is customary to minimize its existence or to blame its prevalence on alien influences.

CHARLES HENRY LEE.

to the Senate, and the only recession the House made was with respect to the additional judges the Senate placed in the bill?

Mr. McCARRAN. That is correct. The Senate amendments provided for additional judges for instance in Oklahoma, Kansas, California, and the District of Columbia. Those are the ones who come to my recollection.

Mr. LUCAS. I thank the Senator from Nevada.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On request of the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the consideration of the report will be delayed temporarily.

WAR CRIMES TRIAL IN AMERICAN-OCCUPIED EUROPE

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I should like to discuss in detail today a matter which I certainly do not enjoy discussing. I think it is a subject, however, which must be gone into in detail and brought to the attention of the Senate. It appears to me that it is especially appropriate to bring the matter up at this time while we are discussing the subject of giving financial aid to Europe. The subject I wish to discuss has to do with the conduct of our armed forces in meting out justice, or alleged justice, in the American occupied zones of Europe. It has to do with the investigation, or alleged investigation, by Army committees, and by one of our own Senate subcommittees.

Within the last 10 years this country has been involved in two major conflicts, both centering around the all-important issue of human rights—one, a fighting war with the totalitarian government of Hitler; the other, a cold war with the totalitarian government of Stalin.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] I know will wish to take exception to some of the things I am going to say, and for his convenience I give him a copy of my statement.

The first of those two major conflicts was the most expensive fighting war—in terms of the number of lives lost and the billions of dollars spent—that this country has ever fought. The second is the most expensive single project—in terms of dollars spent—that this country has ever embarked upon. Both of these conflicts have been concerned with stopping the spread of principles exactly opposite to ours. We have embarked upon both largely for the purpose of bringing to the people of the world the same standards of human rights that have been developed in this country. We have felt that it was a dangerous threat to our way of life to allow either of those governments, with their disregard for human rights, to move forward unchecked and force their set of standards on other people.

If then we feel it is this important to keep alive in the world the principle of the dignity of man, and our standards of justice and right; if we think it important enough to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men, and jeopardize the economy of our country by giving away billions of dollars, then it is of utmost importance that we demonstrate at all times to the people of the world that our form of government actually is what we say it is—that it is more fair, more honest, more decent than the governments they have known under Hitler or Stalin, and that our form of government stands for the rights of the individual over and above those of the state. In the face of what it has cost us to date to halt the spread of dictatorships and totalitarian governments, it is our duty to demonstrate by our actions the purpose behind these two great conflicts—our firm belief in the importance of the rights of the individual.

A very serious question has been raised as to whether a few incompetent and irresponsible men representing this country in western Europe today are not going a long way toward defeating this purpose.

The manner in which some of the war-crimes trials in Europe have been conducted does not in any way reflect the principles of fair play, decency, and honesty for which we Americans profess to stand. To look at the record of those trials it would appear that we have forgotten why we fought a war with Hitler and why we are spending billions of dollars abroad in an attempt to sell the democratic way of life over communism.

Regardless of the fact that the Nazis committed horrible acts of cruelty before and during the war, and regardless of the fact that those guilty of war crimes are entitled to no sympathy, the fact is that representatives of the American people and of the United States Army are guilty of sacrificing the basic principles of American justice, guilty of failing completely to protect the rights of the innocent and convict only the guilty, and guilty of adopting many of the very same tactics of which we accuse Hitler and Stalin. The cost of their ignorance, bungling, and incompetence has been to almost completely nullify any moral value which the war-crimes trials might have had.

The account which I am giving today will be an account of the manner in which members and hirelings of the United States Army conducted the war-crimes trials in western Europe and of the subsequent investigations of the conduct of these trials by two civilian judges, by an Army board, and by a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. It is not a picture of which the American people can be proud. As Bishop Theophilus Wurm of Stuttgart, the aged leader of German Protestantism, said in a blistering statement issued to the press on the onesidedness and the problematic character of the methods used in the war-crimes trials:

> Never will the people of the town of Schwabisch Hall, who in the nights heard the cries of pain of the tortured beyond the prison walls, be made to believe that these investigators were servants of justice and not servants of revenge.

In order to give a clear picture of this situation, it is necessary first to recall some recent history with which most of us are acquainted.

On the 16th day of December 1944 the German Army started its final all-out attempt to destroy the Allied armies in Europe. The first target was our main supply port of Antwerp. In a period of several weeks, they destroyed and captured a vast amount of American equipment and killed and wounded hundreds of thousands of Americans. This entire operation, in which the Germans penetrated the Allied lines approximately 70 miles, is known as the Battle of the Bulge.

A combat team under Lieutenant Colonel Peiper was one of the German units involved in this final push. Combat Group Peiper was assigned the task of reaching the Mass River within a period of 2 days. This meant breaking through the Allied lines and traveling many miles in Allied-held territory.

During the Battle of the Bulge many war crimes were charged against various units of the German Army—thirteen major incidents, plus a sizable number of minor incidents. One of the major incidents was the massacre of between 40 and 80 Americans at the Malmedy Crossroads. All of the trials for war crimes perpetrated during the Battle of the Bulge, however, have come to be classed in a group known as the "Malmedy Cases." These war crimes trials were held at Dachau. In referring to the "Malmedy Cases," the reference is not only to the actual Malmedy Crossroads massacre, but also to a great number of alleged war crimes that occurred during the entire Battle of the Bulge—some of them a great distance from the Malmedy Crossroads.

It seems to be definitely established that part of Peiper's group was responsible for the crossroads massacre. Apparently there is no question about it. Most of this group were killed by Allied soldiers as they pushed forward into the Allied lines. The few survivors of the Peiper group who were at the crossroads as well as the balance of the Peiper units were rounded up from various prison camps at the end of the war and charged with most of the atrocities that occurred during the Battle of the Bulge, such as the shooting of Belgian civilians as well as American prisoners of war.

After extended interrogation by members of the United States Army, practically all of the accused either signed confessions or signed statements implicating their coaccused. Seventy-four of the group were tried at Dachau and all convicted except one, who committed suicide during his questioning.

After the convictions, members of both the prosecution and defense teams who returned to this country made public statements to the effect that the methods used in getting convictions neither protected the rights of the innocent nor convicted the guilty, and that from the trial records there was no way of knowing whether guilty men or innocent men were being hanged.

One of the returning prosecuting attorneys, for example, stated that the deputy judge advocate in the European theater told the trial staff to "give the

accused a fair trial and then hang them," and that the law member of the court ordered all members of the trial staff at Dachau in December 1946 to "pay less attention to the principles of American justice and jurisprudence in the trials of war criminals, and forget any knowledge of the spirit upon which our form of government was founded and fostered."

The claims of improper conduct on the part of American Army officers and civilians employed by the Army to obtain statements and confessions from the accused were so startling in nature that the then Secretary of the Army, Kenneth Royall, appointed two outstanding judges—Judge Edward Van Roden of Pennsylvania and Judge Gordon Simpson of Texas—to go to Europe and make a complete investigation of the vast welter of charges and countercharges and give him a report thereon.

After an investigation, the Van Roden-Simpson committee made a report, which perhaps can best be summarized in the words of Judge Van Roden, who said:

> From the conduct of these trials, it is impossible to know whether the men being hanged are guilty or innocent.

The two civilian judges who were chosen to head this committee because it was felt they could and would approach the problem in an objective and disinterested manner, brought back a sordid story—a story to the effect that the American interrogation team tortured the defendants by means of beatings, kickings, and other physical abuse, that they conducted mock trials and threatened harm to families of the accused in order to get the accused to sign confessions dictated by members of the interrogation team.

> Some of the statements and confessions—

The report states—

> were obtained by the use of mock trials in which one or more persons attired as Army officers pretended to preside as judges and others attired in Army officers' uniforms pretended to be the prosecutor and defender of the accused.

The report and the statements of other disinterested witnesses describe in detail the weird proceedings which took place during a mock trial and which were designed to intimidate the accused and lead him to believe "it was his last chance to talk" and that he was actually on trial for his life.

If I may describe the mock trial—and on this there is practically no dispute between the defense and the prosecution—one of the members of the prosecution team would go to the cell where the accused, who might or might not be guilty, was being kept in solitary confinement. The accused, his head covered with a black hood, would be led into a small, dark room. In the center of the room was a table covered with a black cloth on which stood a crucifix and lighted candles.

Several members of the interrogation team, as I have said, were American citizens of very recent origin—German political refugees from Hitlerian Germany—employed by the Army, because of their hatred for the defendants, for the purpose of getting confessions from the accused. As one of them said, he would get a confession from any of the defendents that he murdered Abraham Lincoln, if such a confession were wanted.

The man would be brought up to the room where phony judges sat behind the table. There was a phony prosecution attorney, and there were phony witnesses. Then the defendant would be assigned a phony defense counsel.

Up to this point there is no dispute whatsoever in the testimony. After the trial was completed—and from this point on there is a difference of opinion—many of the witnesses give the remainder of the picture as follows: When the trial was completed, and after the defendant was sentenced to be hanged, the phony defense counsel who, during the trial, had won the confidence of the defendant, would go back to his cell and say, "If you will sign this confession which we have prepared, instead of hanging at sunrise we will get you off with 5 or 10 years."

There is evidence that at times phony priests and phony ministers were used. If those methods did not work, then another method was resorted to—a method, incidentally, which one member of the interrogation team, a Mr. Steiner, bragged about. In fact Mr. Steiner bragged so much about th confessions he obtained that an investigation was made. This investigation showed the situation was so bad that Steiner was discharged.

I do not condemn men like Steiner so much, because he had every reason to hate and dislike members of the German Army—his mother had been killed by the Germans. But I do condemn those who hired him to get confessions. He bragged about how he would take a man out, after a phony or mock trial, put a black hood over his head, lead him up three or four steps, put a rope around his neck and tighten it until he was unable to breathe, then loosen the rope and tell him that if he would sign a confession, he would get off with only 5 or 10 years imprisonment, instead of being executed. Of course it is not too difficult to get confessions under such circumstances.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I apologize for interrupting the Senator's remarks, but I must leave about 2:30. I should like to know who was the authority immediately responsible in Germany, whom the Senator claims tolerated or condoned or ordered such practices.

Mr. McCARTHY. I was coming to that.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I am sorry to interrupt, but, as I have said, I have to leave about now.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is quite all right; I was coming to that point. I wish I did not have to discuss it, but obviously I must. The man primarily responsible is the present law partner of the chairman of the Senate subcommittee that is investigating the charges, a Major Fanton. He was the man directly in charge of the interrogation team during all the time of the alleged brutality.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Who was the commanding officer in that area?

Mr. McCARTHY. A Colonel Streit, I believe.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I am trying to determine where the ultimate authority lodged in connection with these activities.

Mr. McCARTHY. The ultimate authority lodged in General Clay. But Colonel Streit was the intermediate authority.

The man who was directly in charge of the interrogation team, the man who hired the refugees from Hitlerian Germany to go into the cells and get the confessions and statements, the man who countenanced the beatings, the mock trials, and all the other medieval torture methods, is a young man from Connecticut named Fanton, who unfortunately is the law partner of the man the Senate assigned the job of making the "thorough and complete" investigation.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I am sorry that I must leave now, but I have a meeting which I must attend. I shall read the remainder of the Senator's statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to determine the chain of authority, not particularly as to General Clay, but as to the Judge Advocate General's office.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. I should like to advise the Senator from Iowa that the subcommittee which has been referred to by the Senator from Wisconsin has conducted a long series of investigations to determine who was responsible for the whole conduct of the trials. I would make available to the Senator from Iowa a very complete record of the testimony as to the chain of command.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I shall be glad to have that, but now I must leave.

Mr. BALDWIN. I simply wish to say that before accepting completely what the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin has said about the matter, I think it would be highly advisable for Senators to read the sworn testimony in the record as to the chain of command.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I have come to no conclusions whatsoever regarding this matter. Of course I am interested in the question of procedure.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I shall be glad to yield at any time to the Senator from Connecticut or to any other members of the subcommittee, to permit them to ask any questions or make comments, assuming that I may have unanimous consent to do so without thereby losing the floor. I assume that there may be some points which various Senators may wish to discuss as I proceed.

Beatings, kickings in the testicles, and other types of physical abuse of prisoners were also a part of the softening-up process employed by our questioners to get confessions from the accused despite the fact that it is one of the oldest established rules of Anglo-Saxon law that confessions secured by means of torture are absolutely worthless.

Obviously this system was effective in producing whatever type of confession or statement the questioner desired. It is an unquestioned fact that an innocent man will scream just as loudly as a guilty man when being tortured, and likewise that an innocent man will sign a confession the same as a guilty man if tortured enough.

The system was 100 percent productive in these cases. The trial records of this group of Dachau cases show that 74 of the accused were tried; 73 were convicted on the basis of confessions signed by the accused or statements by coaccused. The seventy-fourth man, incidentally, committed suicide during his questioning. If it had not been for that, so the chief prosecutor said, he would have had a "perfect record" and would have convicted all 74.

The Van Roden-Simpson Report, written by two civilian judges who had no personal interest whatsoever in the trials, was made public in January 1949.

Three months later, in March 1949, an Army board headed by Col. John Raymond concluded another investigation into the conduct of war-crimes trials of these cases and submitted its report thereon. This Army board was appointed to further investigate the charges, confirmed by the Van Roden-Simpson Committee, that physical torture, mock trials, mock hangings, and so forth, were employed to secure confessions with which to convict the accused.

The Raymond Board substantially confirmed the findings of the Van Roden-Simpson Committee. In fact, it added the findings that members of the Army's prosecution staff, under the guise of "taking care" of the husband's case, "fraternized"—for want of a better word—with wives of the accused who moved into the town of Dachau during the trials. The Raymond Army Report also stated that "representatives of the prosecution threatened harm to relatives of the accused if they would not confess." In fairness, however, it should be stated that several of the prosecution team who took the wives of some of the accused to the officers' club and got them liquored up, and so forth, were discharged, and were sent back to the United States.

As to charges of physical violence, the Raymond Board cited from an affidavit signed by Dr. Knorr, the dentist at Schwabisch Hall, which showed that he "treated 15 or 20 of the suspects for injuries to the mouth and jaw, apparently inflicted by blows."

After confirming the charges that convictions were secured by means of confessions and statements gotten from the accused as a result of torture, the Raymond Board concluded:

> The methods employed in interrogation, however, had a definite psychological effect on the defendants and resulted in their being more amenable to giving statements.

This statement in the Army report, as much as the charges of misconduct against the Army prosecution staff, greatly disturbed our Special Senate Investigating Committee and convinced our members that the matter should be investigated thoroughly and completely by a fair and impartial committee.

It was decided by a unanimous vote of our Special Senate Investigating Committee that we investigate the conduct of the war-crimes trials in American occupied Europe for the purpose of (1) recommending any changes we considered desirable or necessary in the judicial system under which these trials were conducted, and (2) determining the facts in regard to the alleged torture and duress used in obtaining confessions from accused and statements from witnesses, and to determine whether it was possible to know whether we were hanging the guilty or the innocent.

I very strongly felt that because of the actions of a group of vengeance-minded, irresponsible, and completely incompetent men representing this country in western Europe, our Government had been placed in the position of condoning a band of brutalitarianism worse than that practiced by the most morally degenerate in either Hitler's or Stalin's camp—as though morality and right could be determined by national tags.

I felt that if we in the United States Senate were to sit idly by and not raise a voice against the use of Hitlerian and communistic tactics by a group which is certainly not representative of the American Army or the American people, it could mean only one thing to the world. It could only mean that their ways were our ways and that the democratic way of life, which we are spending billions of dollars to sell to the people of the world, sanctioned a brand of justice that comparies unfavorably with the worst in history.

If the criminal phase of a judicial system protects the rights of the innocent and convicts and properly punishes the guilty, then it is a good system; otherwise, it is bad. If what the Van Roden-Simpson Committee and the Raymond Board said is true, then the American system of meting out justice in western Europe was neither effective in protecting the right of the innocent nor in convicting the guilty.

If the tactics used by our Army could be justified because they "created the right psychological atmosphere in which to secure confessions," then by the same rule either a Hitler or a Stalin could justify his actions in like manner.

After unanimously agreeing to conduct an investigation into the conduct of war-crimes trials in western Europe, it was decided by our Special Senate Investigation Committee to invite the Judiciary and Armed Services Committees to participate.

The chairman of the Armed Services Committee vigorously protested against such an investigation by our committee on the ground that the Armed Services Committee alone had jurisdiction to conduct the investigation. He, thereupon, appointed the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] chairman of a Special Armed Services Subcommittee to "investigate" the Dachau trials of those accused of war crimes during the Battle of the Bulge. Other members were the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT].

The selection of members to this Armed Services Subcommittee greatly disturbed those of us who were concerned with getting a fair and unbiased investigation. It was, of course, extremely unusual that a Republican Senator should have been appointed chairman of a committee which was controlled by the Democrats. The reason for this departure from the usual Senate rules was, however, rather easy to see. The selection of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] was even more unusual and questionable in view of the fact that he had previously indicated on the Senate floor on January 27, 1949, that he believed the charges of misconduct were "groundless." He did request an investigation, however, so as to give a certain "young man from Connecticut" an opportunity to answer these "groundless" charges.

It later developed that the "young man from Connecticut," who the chairman of this subcommittee defended on the Senate floor, was Dwight Fanton, the chairman's law partner.

Major Fanton was in command of the team that got the confessions and statements from the accused. He was in complete charge of those who both the Raymond Army Board and the judges' committee reported had used physical force, mock trials, and so forth, to get confessions. Whether these charges against Major Fanton were true or false—whether he was completely competent, as he claims, or shamefully incompetent as the above report and the testimony of some of the witnesses would indicate—was one of the very important matters upon which the committee would have to make a decision.

I felt that another investigation of this matter would be a complete waste of time and effort if it were not conducted in a completely fair and impartial manner. I felt that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN], because of his close personal connection and his law partnership with Major Fanton, one of the men whose actions were to be investigated, and because of his previous statement on the Senate floor, labeling as "groundless" the charges found to be true by both the Van Roden-Simpson committee and the Raymond Army Board, was most assuredly not the man to head up an investigation which, if it were to be worth while, had to be impartial and unbiased.

When it was called to the attention of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] that an investigation of his own law partner by him would be a farce since he had already in a speech on the Senate floor, in effect labeled Fanton simon-pure, BALDWIN did not step aside to let a disinterested Senator take over the chairmanship.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me go a little further first.

While I do not doubt that the Senator from Connecticut honestly felt that it was necessary for him to head this subcommittee so as to bring out what he considered to be the truth, it has long been the practice of judges and chairmen of committees to step aside under similar circumstances—not because they themselves felt they could not be fair, but because conditions were such that in the eyes of the public a fair hearing would be impossible. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, as the Senator from Wisconsin knows, the chairman of the subcommittee, the junior Senator from Connecticut, as well as the other two members of the committee, find themselves in a difficult position, because throughout this whole matter it is their duty and their purpose and desire to conduct themselves with the utmost impartiality in an effort to find the truth concerning the serious charges which have been made by the Senator from Wisconsin and others.

I think, however, Mr. President, it should appear in the RECORD at this particular point that the junior Senator from Connecticut offered on the floor of the Senate a resolution calling for an investigation of the trial of the perpetrators of the so-called Malmedy massacres. That came about for many reasons. One of them was, there had been filed in the Supreme Court of the United States by the chief of the defense counsel a petition for a new trial, or for other legal relief, to which were attached a number of extrajudicial affidavits drawn up by the condemned prisoners, making very serious charges. Others were by members of the prosecution, who had never, with one or two exceptions, been called before any of the reviewing boards to give their own direct testimony, but who, on one or two occasions, had submitted affidavits, to give to these men, who were members of the United States Army and who had conducted the investigation and the prosecution, an opportunity to present their point of view with reference to the situation.

There were other reasons behind it, too, the chief one being that I felt, as the junior Senator from Wisconsin feels, that these trials were extremely important; that the way in which they were handled had a tremendous significance not only to the Germans but to the whole world; that we were concerned with a very important experience in the matter of war crimes trials and their conduct, the prosecution, the make-up of the courts, the times at which the trials should be held, and all the many intricate details that enter into it.

So, Mr. President, I offered the resolution. It was referred to the Armed Services Committee, and the chairman of the committee appointed me to a subcommittee, with two colleagues on the committee, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT], to conduct the investigation called for by the resolution.

We began the conduct of the investigation. The Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments was also tremendously interested in the matter. We felt in the Armed Services Committee, that since it pertained to the conduct of the Army, one of the branches of the armed forces, it was well within the province of our committee. So the subcommittee was appointed and began its hearing.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to yield at as great length as the Senator from Connecticut desires, without my losing the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, It is not my purpose to get into a debate with my colleague from Wisconsin over the subject at this time, because at the proper time we shall have a complete report, based upon sworn testimony taken by the committee, not only in this country but, I hope, abroad. But I think it is only fair to the committee and to the junior Senator from Connecticut and his colleagues on the subcommittee to make this statement.

We asked the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments if the members desired to have a representative sit with the committee. As I recall, I personally extended an invitation to the Senator from Wisconsin, because I knew of his interest in the matter, and he did sit as a member of the committee for a time. I desire to say, and I do not think he can successfully contradict the statement, that every single witness suggested by the junior Senator from Wisconsin was called by the committee.

The question regarding the relationship of the junior Senator from Connecticut, who was chairman of the subcommittee, to Major Fanton, who was a junior law partner in the firm of which the junior Senator from Connecticut had been a member for a great many years, except during the period of time when he was Governor of Connecticut, was raised with considerable vehemence by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. When it was raised I thought it wise and proper to take it up before the full Armed Services Committee. So I presented the matter to the committee and told the committee that I should be very glad to withdraw as the chairman of the subcommittee. The committee, however, saw no reason why, because of this particular individual connection with the matter, and in the light of the testimony of a great number of other witnesses who would be called——

Mr. McCARTHY. May I interrupt the Senator a moment? Do I correctly understand that the Armed Services Committee was informed that Major Fanton was in charge of the interrogation during all the alleged brutalities, that it was informed that he was the Senator's law partner, that he was the man who was principally to be investigated, and that the Armed Services Committee took the position that it was perfectly proper for the Senator to act as chairman of the subcommittee investigating his own law partner?

Mr. BALDWIN. I do not recall the exact details of the conversation. It may be that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT] recalls them, for he was present at the time. The matter was presented and the importance of the young man's connection as a witness was also detailed. I think the junior Senator from Wisconsin is somewhat generous with the way in which he deals with the facts, because it is my recollection that Fanton was a junior officer to Colonel Ellis, who had charge of the whole matter, and that Fanton came after the organization had been there for some time. He was there, perhaps, during the most important part of the time.

Mr. McCARTHY. Major Fanton was in sole and direct charge of the interrogation. Colonel Ellis had nothing to do with the interrogation. He was in charge of the prosecution. Colonel Ellis came on the scene after Major Fanton had been there for some time, and Major Fanton left after his job of getting confessions and statements was substantially ended. Fanton came on the scene in complete charge of the interrogation. He was the man who hired and fired the refugees. Then Colonel Ellis, who was the chief prosecutor, came upon the scene. It is all a matter of record.

Mr. BALDWIN. It is all a matter of record, and the record has a better recollection than has either the Senator from Wisconsin or myself.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, may I have the general unanimous consent that I may yield not only for questions, but for comments by the members of the subcommittee, without my losing the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Wisconsin? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I did not hear the colloquy which preceded the latest observations, but I should like to refresh the memory of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut as to what happened in the Armed Services Committee when the matter was brought to the attention of that committee by letter, I think, from some organization called for the prevention of world war III. It criticized the acting of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut as chairman of the subcommittee because a former law partner of his was one of the witnesses or was in some way involved in the matter. The Senator from Connecticut said he did not want to continue if anyone had any question about the matter, and the chairman of the Armed Services Committee said that he and the committee had full confidence in the Senator from Connecticut to carry on the investigation impartially and to arrive at justice in the matter, and asked the Senator from Connecticut to carry on as chairman of the subcommittee. He expressed the assent of the entire committee in making that observation.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee this question: Does he think it was proper to have, as chairman of the

subcommittee, a man who had been a law partner of the alleged principal wrongdoer, and to have as the second member of the three-man committee the Senator from Tennessee, who was the law partner of Ralph Shumacker, who had been accused in a number of affidavits of brutalities? Does the Senator think it was proper to have those two Senators conducting the investigation? I know that every judge feels that he himself is perfectly competent and perfectly fair. There is no doubt that the Senator himself felt he would be absolutely fair in the matter. He took such a small part in it that I have not been dwelling on his connection with it at all. But does the Senator think that in the eyes of the world it looks fair, honest, and decent?

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. McCARTHY. I will yield to the Senator from Tennessee, if I may.

Mr. KEFAUVER. To my own knowledge, the Senator has not correctly stated the relationship of the distinguished Senator from Connecticut with the former member of his law firm.

Mr. McCARTHY. Not a former member; a present member.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Any way, the Senator from Connecticut is in a better position to state what that relationship is than is the Senator from Tennessee.

I want to say, in regard to the Senator's inference as to the junior Senator from Tennessee, that I never knew, until the young man came forward to testify, that Ralph Shumacker had been connected with the matter in any way. He was not one of the principals involved. The truth is not as the Senator from Wisconsin has stated, and he well knows that it is not in the evidence that this young man was ever a law partner of mine.

Mr. McCARTHY. What kind of a partner was he?

Mr. KEFAUVER. The truth is that in 1931 and 1932 he was employed as a young lawyer in a firm of which I was a member. After his service in the war he went into the mercantile business, and I have never seen any charge leveled against Ralph Shumacker. When he testified as a witness I frankly stated that I had known the young man, that he had been employed as a law clerk in our law firm almost 18 years previously.

Mr. McCARTHY. By "law clerk" the Senator means a lawyer?

Mr. KEFAUVER. As a young lawyer in our law firm. I am sorry the Senator from Wisconsin would feel that that connection would cause the Senator from Tennessee to have any bias in the matter.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me make myself clear.

Mr. KEFAUVER. It is my understanding that he was called as a witness to tell what he had known about the matter. I had heard of no accusations made against Mr. Shumacker.

Mr. McCARTHY. I have made no accusations against Mr. Shumacker. However, for the Senator's information, I would like to call his attention to the fact that the Ramond report—that is the Army board report—stated that Captain Shumacker was among those—and I quote—"principally accused of misconduct." I would also like to ask the Senator from Tennessee a question, and I think it is important to have his answer in the RECORD. I ask the Senator whether he thinks it is proper to have as the membership of this subcommittee, a chairman whose present law partner, not a former law partner, but whose present law partner, was in charge of the interrogation during the course of the alleged brutalities, which the Army committee said were true, and the Senator from Tennessee as the ranking Democratic member of the committee, whose former law employee, a young man who worked in his law firm for 2 years, who was charged in any number of affidavits with brutality. The question is not whether in the Senator's own mind he thought he could do a good job, but whether in the eyes of the people of the country and of the world any report the committee rendered would be worth a tinker's dam.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I should like to say to the Senator from Wisconsin that, so far as I am concerned, I have the fullest confidence in the integrity and fairness of the Senator from Connecticut, and I think the public appreciates and knows that he enjoys a reputation and standing for doing a job fairly and equitably.

Insofar as my part is concerned, it seems to me that in sitting on committees in Congress it is impossible to eliminate from the roll of witnesses those with whom one may have had some personal contact in years past. If a Senator were on an important committee, and a large number of witnesses were called, and it were assumed that in the consideration of matters he was not able fairly to judge the testimony of someone whom he had known or been employed with 18 years before, I think it might eliminate almost every member of every committee considering matters.

Mr. McCARTHY. I know I cannot insist on an answer, but I should like to know whether the Senator thinks it was proper to have as the chairman of this committee the law partner of the man who was in charge of the interrogation team during the time most of the medieval torture methods are alleged to have occurred. I might say that this is the first time I have mentioned the connection of the Senator from Tennessee with Mr. Shumacker, who was charged with brutality, but in view of the fact that he wants to discuss this matter, I think we should discuss all phases of it.

Mr. KEFAUVER. It is quite all right with me.

Mr. McCARTHY. In case the Senator does not recall the facts, Major Fanton was the man in charge of the interrogation team at the town of Schwabisch Hall. He was in charge at the time all the alleged brutality took place, during the time when the Van Roden-Simpson committee sat, and accused his interrogation team of beatings, mock hangings, fraternization with wives, taking ration cards away from the families of the accused, and so forth. He was in charge at the time the Raymond committee in substance confirmed all this, but added the statement that the methods used created the right psychological atmosphere to get confessions.

In view of all those facts, and the fact that the Senator from Connecticut had defended Major Fanton on the floor of the Senate, and had said that the charges in the Raymond and Van Roden-Simpson committees reports were groundless, does the Senator think that the situation is right, in the eyes of the people of the country and the world?

Mr. KEFAUVER. I can only say that I have full confidence in the fairness of the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from Connecticut asked me to yield to him, and I do so.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I have forgotten what we were discussing at the time I asked the Senator to yield. I wish to say that the Senator from Wisconsin approaches this matter as though these prosecutors were, by virtue of this investigation, necessarily placed on trial, and that charges were made against them. It may very well be that after we have completed the hearings there will be some very serious criticisms of the Army conduct in this situation. I do not pretend to prejudge the case. I cannot do that. This was a difficult experience for the United States Army to go through, in heated times, when tempers were on edge, right after the perpetration of what was one of the most heinous offenses ever perpetrated in the annals of warfare. These men are not, presently at least, as the result of this investigation, on trial for anything.

The interesting part of the matter is that these prosecutors, to a man, as I recall, welcomed the opportunity to appear and be questioned at great length, as they were by the Senator from Wisconsin at very great length.

Mr. President, the committee cannot prejudge the case. Nor can the committee, by the statements the Senator from Wisconsin has made about it and about its chairman, be forced into the position of finding other than what the facts indicate.

Mr. President, I should like to put into the RECORD at this point the statement of Colonel Ellis himself as to his relationship to this investigation. This is Colonel Ellis' sworn testimony before the committee. He said:

> I reported for duty with War Crimes Branch, ETOUSA, May 6, 1945, in Paris, France, and was assigned to the Investigation Section as assistant to the Chief; that shortly thereafter Major Dwight Fanton (then captain) was assigned to work on the Malmedy case, File No. W. C. B. 6-24; that I personally took a keen interest in the development of the case in my official capacity and carefully watched and aided in its development; that early in September 1945 I became Chief of the Investigational Section, and that in that capacity I was charged with the gathering of the evidence for war crimes cases, which included the Malmedy case; that I personally took more than ordinary interest in the development of this case and

carefully selected the personnel that I assigned to it; that I inspected the detachment as often as conditions permitted and personally aided them in obtaining a suitable prison, living quarters, transportation, and in formulating plans for the investigation; that in late February 1946 I was relieved as Chief of the Investigation Section and assigned as chief prosecutor on the case, with instructions to bring it to trial by March 25, 1946; that in March 1946 I was ordered to Schwabisch Hall, Germany, where the investigation detachment was located that was developing the case.

Mr. McCARTHY. What was the date?

Mr. BALDWIN. March 1946. It does not give the day.

That I then personally took over and supervised the investigation, preparation of the case for trial, and the apprehension of the accused; that when the trial date was postponed until May 16, 1946, I continued the development of the case; that on April 16 all but six of the accused and possible witnesses moved to Dachau; that on April 19, 1946, I completed the movement of the prisoners and investigation staff to Dachau, Germany, where the trial was held.

That is the statement under oath of the man who was in charge directly of the investigation.

I wish to say further, Mr. President——

Mr. McCARTHY. Before the Senator leaves that, so that there may be no question, are we both agreed that Ellis did not go to Schwabisch Hall until March 1946, and that Fanton was there long before that?

Mr. BALDWIN. I do not agree to any such thing.

Mr. McCARTHY. That was the testimony, that he went there in March 1946?

Mr. BALDWIN. That he took it over directly.

Mr. McCARTHY. That he first went to Schwabisch Hall?

Mr. BALDWIN. He was assigned to this particular case. He says:

> In September 1945 I became Chief of the Investigation Section and in that capacity * * * I personally took more than ordinary interest in the development of this case and carefully selected the personnel.

Mr. McCARTHY. So that we may have the facts straight, the Senator's law partner was in complete charge, and Ellis did not go there until March 1946. Is that correct?

Mr. BALDWIN. No, it is not correct.

Mr. McCARTHY. Does the Senator say that Ellis was there before March 1946?

Mr. BALDWIN. I say that he was in charge. But that does not matter.

Mr. McCARTHY. So that we do know that Ellis, according to his own testimony, did not go to Schwabisch Hall, regardless of whether he was technically in charge at all, until March of 1946.

Mr. BALDWIN. I do not believe the testimony will bear that out. That is only one part of his statement. That is not the whole of it, but it is a statement of his connection with the case.

Mr. McCARTHY. On what page does that appear?

Mr. BALDWIN. On page 85.

Mr. McCARTHY. On page 85 he said:

> In March 1946, I was ordered to Schwabisch Hall, Germany.

In other words, if his testimony is correct, he did not go to Schwabisch Hall until March.

Mr. BALDWIN. That does not necessarily follow. He was in charge of the whole detachment, and I think the record will disclose that he was at Schwabisch Hall before that, but that this order in March 1946 shifted his headquarters.

One thing further. The Senator will recall very well that when Fanton was on the witness stand I withdrew from the room.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct. Before the Senator continues, I would like to read one sentence to him from the record—the report issued by the Army board sent over to investigate this matter, the Raymond Board. "The interrogation of the accused and witnesses confined there [Schwabisch Hall] was at first under the command of Maj. Dwight F. Fanton, then for a short time under Capt. Ralph Shumacker, and finally under Lt. Col. Burton F. Ellis."

Mr. BALDWIN. And the Senator said, "No, you should not do that. I am perfectly willing that you should be here." Moreover, on one occasion when we could not get all the other members of the committee to attend to conduct the hearings, because they were engaged in other committee work, while Fanton was on the stand, and the Senator from Wisconsin examined him at great length, there was a question of adjourning the hearing or going on with me in the chair, and on that particular occasion I said I would adjourn the hearing if the Senator desired, and if he did not I would be glad to continue and let him continue Fanton's cross-examination, and the Senator did continue. I do not recollect the exact language, but the record will show it better than my own recollection.

Mr. McCARTHY. There is no doubt that I had no objection to the Senator from Connecticut staying in the committee room while Fanton was questioned.

Mr. BALDWIN. And I stayed there and did not ask a question.

I think the Senator will recall that after we had the first discussion about this matter, quite a long while ago, he wrote me a letter.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. BALDWIN. A very friendly letter.

Mr. McCARTHY. One that I let the Senator censor before I sent it. That is true. There is no doubt about the letter. I will be glad to read it into the RECORD. But let me ask the Senator a question. Does he think it is proper for him to sit in trial of his law partner, a man who is now in Connecticut bragging that he is writing the committee's report? I believe that to be completely improper. I do not question the Senator's own motives. The Senator undoubtedly thinks he is the only person who can give that young man from Connecticut a fair hearing. I think the Senator from Connecticut believes he is the only one who can do that young man justice. I believe the Senator from Connecticut firmly believes that everything this young man tells him is the truth. But I believe, with the intellectual capacity the Senator has and the innate sense of honesty which I am sure the Senator possesses, that the Senator cannot conceivably feel that it is proper for him to sit in judgment on his own law partner. Think how that looks in the eyes of the people of the country and in the eyes of the people of Europe who are so vitally concerned about this matter.

Mr. BALDWIN. I may say to the Senator from Wisconsin that the best way to determine that is by making an examination of the entire record, and by studying the report of the committee in this particular case. If that is done, it will be found that any claim which has been made that this young man is writing the report is utterly groundless. The Senator has made that statement to me several times before, and I investigated and found that there was no truth in the statement whatsoever.

So far as the rest of it is concerned, let me say to the Senator from Wisconsin that this is not a trial of anybody. It is an effort to determine what the facts are. If the facts reveal that there ought to be a military trial of the men who are concerned, then that is a matter to be determined by some other tribunal than a committee of the Congress which is trying to develop the facts.

Furthermore, I may say to my distinguished friend from Wisconsin that, after all, this man, as the Senator well knows, is only one of many in the case; and if I had an opportunity to examine the remarks my distinguished friend from Wisconsin himself made during the hearing about this matter I think I could disprove any claim that Fanton's connection with this case was of paramount importance. True, he was there in charge of the investigation.

I may say again that every single witness the Senator from Wisconsin asked us to call we have called, and we will continue to call witnesses the Senator asks us to call. We have examined them at great length, and while the Senator was sitting with the committee we permitted him to examine them and cross-examine them at great length. So long as the Senator from Connecticut has any connection with the committee, he will see to it that the utmost in fairness and impartiality and in justice obtains.

As I said before, the proof of that resides better in the printed record, the sworn testimony under oath, and in the ultimate decision of the subcommittee, of which the Senator from Connecticut is only one of three members. The three members of the subcommittee are only a small part of the whole Armed Services Committee of the Senate. So I leave the matter there. I know, because of our present engagement in dealing with this case, that it is difficult to make a statement now concerning the merits or demerits of it without completely and utterly prejudging the case, and I have no intention of doing that.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. I think I should make plain that the resolution offered by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] is not the first resolution

offered to investigate the trials in question. I, myself, offered the first resolution on that subject. I did so after I had made a thorough investigation to decide whether I should do so. A relative of one of the defendants, a man who was sentenced to be hanged, got in touch with me as a Senator of the United States. Before I did anything about the matter I got in touch with one of the judges who had been appointed by Kenneth Royall. After I found, from my consultation with Mr. Royall and with Mr. Roden, that an investigation was called for, I offered a resolution to investigate, and I was greatly surprised when shortly thereafter another resolution on the same subject was offered by my distinguished friend the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McCARTHY. As the Senator knows, while his resolution was pending the Army proceeded to hang five of the men whom the then Van Roden-Simpson committee——

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to conclude my statement?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me finish my sentence. While the resolution offered by the Senator from North Dakota was pending, five of the men whom the Van Roden-Simpson committee said should not hang—Secretary Royall had sent them as a committee to investigate and determine the facts in the case, and let him know whether or not those men should hang—five of the men whom the Van Roden-Simpson committee said should not hang because "The conduct of the trial was such we cannot tell whether they are guilty or innocent," were hanged by the Army while the Senator's resolution was pending.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me——

Mr. McCARTHY. I will yield to the Senator from Connecticut immediately the Senator from North Dakota has concluded.

Mr. LANGER. Before I had even offered my resolution, we hired a first-class lawyer in New York, who in turn hired a lawyer in Germany, in order to secure affidavits, and I have in my possession a stack of affidavits about this high [indicating].

After I had secured the affidavits, and was preparing to present them, those who prepared them found out that my distinguished friend the Senator from Connecticut had been appointed chairman of the subcommittee. Those who prepared the affidavits immediately got in touch with me and asked me not to submit the affidavits. They said that Dr. Libby and his organization had asked the Senator from Connecticut to withdraw. They said, "We do not believe we can get a fair trial. We cannot get a fair investigation." The Senator refused to withdraw, and I have a letter to that effect, not signed by the Senator from Connecticut, but by this organization.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut at no time refused to withdraw. The Senator from Connecticut offered his resignation, and when the chairman of the Armed Services Committee said he saw no reason why he should not continue, and asked him to continue, he continued.

Mr. LANGER. I heard that explanation a few minutes ago. It is simply repetition.

So far as the people who prepared these affidavits were concerned, so far as these relatives were concerned, they felt that they could not get a square deal before the committee because of the relationship between my distinguished friend from Connecticut and his former law partner.

In that connection, in order to disabuse their minds, I myself went to Hartford, Conn. I said, "I know Senator BALDWIN. I believe you can get a square deal before him. I know that from my association with him in the Senate." I regret to say that even after I made that statement they said, "We do not want these affidavits presented. We are going to take a chance. The day is coming when we are going to have another committee, one which we believe will be a fair committee." I may say that upon their request I did not present the affidavits. I think I presented one. I gave one to the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin before the request was made to withhold them. I then telephoned the Senator from Wisconsin and asked him not to present it, because of the request which had been made of me by the people who had been in communication with me.

Mr. President, I, for one, want to go on record publicly that I do not believe it is right for a man who is the former law partner of another man to be chairman of a subcommittee to investigate him. No matter how honest a man may be, so far as the public is concerned, it is suspicious. It thinks there may be something dishonest about it. Witnesses may appear, and yet they may color their testimony because of the fact that a certain man who has some connection, such as that of being a former law partner of one of the men being investigated, may not be as fair and open-minded with them as he otherwise might be. I say that without leveling the slightest imputation against my friend from Connecticut, of whom I am very fond. I went to the trouble of going to Hartford, Conn., and trying to disabuse the minds of the people I saw there, in order to let them present the matter.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. The Senator knows that Mr. Libby was in almost constant attendance during the hearings, and that Mr. Finucane, who originally published the article under the byline of Judge Van Roden, which article stimulated much of the interest in this case, was present and testified at length. In the presence of Mr. Finucane, Judge Van Roden repudiated nearly everything in the article, and said it had been issued without his approval, or if with his approval, it was because he did not understand it. That is going into testimony which I think it is useless to go into now. So far as I am concerned, the testimony, the conduct of the hearings, and the final findings will demonstrate more nearly whether the Senator from Connecticut conducted himself with complete impartiality in these hearings, or whether he did not, or whether he has the support of his colleagues. So far as I am concerned, I have never withdrawn from a thing when I was under attack, and I do not intend to withdraw voluntarily from this thing now. When I am under attack I do not think I can. But I do say that if a majority of the Senate feels that someone else should be chairman of this subcommittee, it is their privilege to appoint someone else as chairman. My personal interest in the thing amounts to nothing. That is the way I feel about it.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALDWIN. I say that it is entirely in the hands of the Senate as to what it wishes to do about the chairmanship of this subcommittee, just as I placed it at one time in the hands of the full committee. They decided that I should continue, and so I continued. I am in exactly the same position now.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, let me make it clear that I am not asking the Senate to discharge the Senator from Connecticut as chairman of the subcommittee. If the Senator from Connecticut thinks it is proper for him to sit in judgment on his own law partner, and do something which I think is completely shameful, I do not believe that it is incumbent upon the Senate to discharge him. I think, however, we should recognize the fact that the work of the committee and its report will be completely useless and worth nothing at all.

I wish to repeat what I have already said: I do not doubt that the Senator from Connecticut honestly felt that it was necessary for him to head this subcommittee so as to bring out what he considered to be the truth. However, it has long been the practice of judges and chairmen of committees to step aside under similar circumstances, not because they themselves felt that they could not be fair, but because conditions were such that in the eyes of the public a fair hearing would be impossible.

I understand that the Senator from Connecticut is very shortly to go on the bench. I sincerely hope that when he sits on the bench, if ever a situation like this arises, in which he is called upon to pass upon the rights of someone as close to him as Mr. Fanton is, he will have learned a lesson, and will disqualify himself.

The Senator from Connecticut has said that no one is on trial today. I submit that someone is on trial. The entire United States Senate is on trial. The American system of justice—if we can call it that—in our occupied area is on trial. We should be engaged in the most soul-searching investigation to find out whether or not all the charges and countercharges which have been made by two disinterested judges who went to Europe are true. In their testimony they say, in effect, that the Senator's law partner was criminally incompetent in the way he conducted the investigation. The Senator's job was to determine whether or not that report was true.

Prior to being appointed chairman of the subcommittee the Senator from Connecticut rose on the floor of the Senate on January 17 and asked for an investigation not to determine whether or not the charges of the Van Roden-Simpson committee and the Raymond board were true or false. He himself had previously decided that they were false. He said those charges were groundless. He asked for an investigation so as to give "a young man from Connecticut" an opportunity to come before the committee and prove that the charges were groundless. At that time the Senator did not notify the Senate that this young man from Connecticut was his former law partner. I cannot believe that the Senator went before the Armed Services Committee and told the Armed Services Committee that Maj. Dwight Fanton was his law partner, and that Maj. Dwight Fanton was in charge of the interrogation team at the time all of the alleged medieval torture methods were used, and that, having that information in mind, the committee said, "Senator BALDWIN, we want you in charge of the subcommittee."

It is not a question of whether the Senator from Connecticut can fairly conduct the subcommittee. It is a question of what the people of the Nation will think about the United States Senate. It is a question of what the people of the world will think about this country if we appoint a man to conduct an investigation and make a report on his own law partner, who is now bragging that he himself is writing the report.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, the Senator does not want to make that charge, does he?

Mr. McCARTHY. What charge?

Mr. BALDWIN. The charge that he is bragging that he is writing the report.

Mr. McCARTHY. He has so bragged a dozen times. The Senator knows that. I went to the office of the Senator from Connecticut and asked him, for his own good, not to take the chairmanship of this subcommittee. The Senator knows that I have a high regard for him. I explained to the Senator how improper I thought it was, and what the people of the Nation would think about it. The Senator from Connecticut said, "No; I will take it up with the committee, and if they are willing to have me sit, I will continue."

It is a reflection upon the integrity of the entire Senate that a chairman should have been appointed to a subcommittee whose job it was to investigate his own law partner, a man whom he had already defended. Furthermore, in maintaining this position, the Senator from Connecticut aggravated the feeling that a deliberate whitewash was being conducted by the United States Senate.

Ralph Shumacker, the former law partner of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the second member of the subcommittee, was a member of the interrogation team at the time of the alleged brutalities, and later assistant trial judge advocate in the trials being investigated.

The third member of the subcommittee, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT] did not, to my knowledge, have any personal connection with the case. The Senator from Tennessee has appeared on the floor and stated that Ralph Shumacker was not his law partner, but a young lawyer employed by his law firm for 2 years, so the statement is corrected to that extent.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. The point I wish to get into the RECORD—and I think it should come in at this point—is that this investigation deals with the trials in the Malmedy cases; does it not?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not with the Malmedy crossroads massacre, so-called, but with the Battle of the Bulge cases.

Mr. BALDWIN. The point I wish to get into the RECORD is this: The Senator from Wisconsin asked the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] if he knew that after the resolution was introduced five of those men were hanged.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. I wish to get the record on that matter straight, by telling the Senator from Wisconsin what I think he already knows, namely, that not a single one of the men who were convicted as a result of the Malmedy massacre, so-called, has yet been executed.

Mr. McCARTHY. I understand that the resolution of the Senator from North Dakota went beyond the so-called Malmedy cases. His resolution, as I understand, covered all the trials conducted by the United States Army.

Five of the men who, according to the Van Roden-Simpson report, should not have been hanged, were hanged while the resolution of the Senator from North Dakota was before the committee.

Mr. BALDWIN. But the point I wish to make is that they had no connection whatsoever with the investigation we were conducting.

Mr. McCARTHY. That is correct.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. FREAR in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Of course the Senator knows that at the time when I introduced the resolution, we got in touch with Secretary Royall, and he sent a cablegram stopping the execution of 18 men who were scheduled to be executed the next day. Some of the men were involved in the Malmedy massacre.

The Senator also knows that I tried in every possible way to have the Senate Judiciary Committee take jurisdiction over this matter; but before the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] could appoint a subcommittee and have action taken, the other committee was already functioning under the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN].

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. President, I may say in connection with the young man, Shumacker, the former employee of one of the members of the subcommittee—and I say this to give the Senate some conception of how these young men regarded their duties and what they felt their duties were toward the defendants and toward the court—that when Mr. Shumacker was on the stand and I was questioning him, after Colonel Ellis had left the stand, I said to him, "Mr. Shumacker, do you feel that it was Colonel Ellis' duty, when he found that a confession was false, when the chief of the prosecution found that a confession he had presented to the court was false, then to so notify the court?"

Mr. Shumacker came up with the unusual answer, "Not if it would hurt his case."

Of course, Mr. President, it would hurt his case. If for example, someone had extracted from John Jones a false confession to the effect that he had murdered someone, and if the prosecution introduced that confession in the trial, and thereafter learned that the confession was false, and so stated in court, and so notified the court it would lessen the chance of a conviction. Yet, according to that witness, the prosecuting officer should have taken the position that it was not his duty to tell the court that the confession was false, if it would hurt his case.

Mr. President, I was designated by the Senate Special Investigating Committee to sit in with the Armed Services Subcommittee as an observer, because of our committee's interest in the matter.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. May I inquire, for my own information, how much longer the Senator from Wisconsin intends to speak?

Mr. McCARTHY. Not very long. However, there may be some questions from other Senators and there may be comments regarding some of the things I shall say.

I was designated by the Special Senate Investigating Committee to sit in and take part in this Armed Services Investigation as an observer because of our committee's original interest in the matter.

As the hearings progressed, I became more and more convinced that the subcommittee was interested almost solely in a complete whitewash of those involved.

Under my cross-examination of the committee's witnesses, however, rather fantastic concepts of the rights of the accused and the method of administering justice were developed. For example—and I ask any Members of the Senate who ever were lawyers to listen to this—for example, Major Fanton issued an order, "SOP No. 4," which gave the interrogators, some of whom were not American citizens, the right—Mr. President, listen to this, if you will—the right to offer immunity to any of those charged with being war criminals if they would tell a story of sufficient value to convict other alleged war criminals.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Since the Senator makes rather sweeping claims with reference to some of these statements, I should like to have the opportunity at

this point, with the consent of the Senator from Wisconsin, to place in the RECORD the order to which he refers, which in the humble judgment of the chairman of the subcommittee does not go anywhere near so far as the Senator indicates.

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall appreciate very much having the order, so I can read the part to which I just referred, especially for the benefit of any Senator who has practiced law. I should certainly appreciate having the order, if the Senator has it available. While the order is being looked up, I repeat.

For example, Major Fanton issued an order, "SOP No. 4" which gave the interrogators, some of whom were not American citizens, the right to offer immunity to any of those charged with being war criminals if they would tell a story of sufficient value to convict other alleged war criminals. This, of course, placed a premium upon lying and, in my opinion, was responsible for freeing some of the worst of the war criminals.

If, for example, Defendant Jones were accused of killing four American prisoners of war during the Battle of the Bulge, he could be offered his freedom by one of the interrogators, after having first obtained Fanton's permission, if he would sign a statement which would effectively convict other war criminals. The order issued by Major Fanton, who was in charge, becomes doubly important—has the Senator from Connecticut been able to find the order?

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Utah?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. WATKINS. Was the order to which the Senator has been referring made a part of the record in this case?

Mr. McCARTHY. The order is a part of the record. I understand the Senator from Connecticut is now looking for it, and I shall be glad to read it to the Senator. I understand the Senator from Utah was formerly a judge, and if he reads this order, which the man in charge of the interrogation boasted of having brought to their attention, he cannot help, I believe, but be shocked beyond words.

Mr. WATKINS. I have not made up my mind on this matter at all. The first I heard of it was through the press. I may say I am very much concerned with the effect a situation of this kind may have upon how the world looks upon American justice. I think the matter should be aired, and aired thoroughly.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the Senator is right.

Mr. WATKINS. It should be aired fairly, too. I think I should say that. I do not think any misstatements should be issued, particularly misstatements of fact. Anyone who speaks on this subject should be very careful in what he says. That is why I asked whether an order of this kind was in the record.

Mr. McCARTHY. I intend to read the specific order to the Senator. May I ask the Senator from Connecticut whether his staff has been endeavoring to find the order?

Mr. BALDWIN. They have.

Mr. McCARTHY. May I inquire, have they found it? Has the Senator found the copy of SOP No. 4?

Mr. BALDWIN. No; I have not. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. I may say, Mr. President, I had no knowledge prior to coming on the floor of the Senate, about 15 minutes before the Senator from Wisconsin began his remarks, that he was going to discuss this subject here this afternoon, and so I am not prepared with citations from the record or anything of that kind. Of course, the record is available to the Senator. It is available to any Senator, for that matter.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, so that there may be no doubt, the Senator's office was notified. The office of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HUNT] was notified. The office of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] was notified. They were notified I was going to speak, and I had previously notified the Senator from Connecticut I would discuss the subject. On the day I was originally to have discussed it, the Senator, who was in Connecticut, had hurt his eye. I refrained from discussing the subject until the Senator could return, so he would be able to be on the Senate floor to discuss thoroughly any of the comments I might make. I ask the Senator from Connecticut, if there is any question about that?

Mr. BALDWIN. No. My point was, the Senator told me that, sometime, he intended to discuss what had happened.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. But I did not know the Senator intended to do it today.

Mr. McCARTHY. My office notified the Senator's office earlier today. The above order, issued by Major Fanton, was posted incidentally on all the walls. When the Senator finds the order, I shall refer specifically to paragraph 2 of order "SOP No. 4," which can have no other interpretation than the one I gave the Senator.

"SOP No. 4" also provided that "any ruse or deception may be used in the course of the interrogation." In this connection it should be noted that the Army board found that one of the ruses used was mock trials, and another one was telling the accused that his family would be deprived of ration cards if he did not sign a confession.

The above orders issued by Major Fanton, who was in charge, become doubly important when viewed in connection with what Colonel Ellis, the chief of the prosecution staff, felt were his duties to the court and to the defendants.

To give an idea of the background of the man whom the Army selected to handle one of our most important criminal cases, Colonel Ellis, on the stand, testified he had graduated from law school 20 years previously, and that he had been in private practice from 1929 until entering the service in 1942. Upon being asked whether he had tried any criminal cases, he replied they were not exactly criminal cases, but he had tried about 10 cases during those 13 years of private practice. Upon further questioning it was developed that the 10 cases he tried during the 13 years he had been in private practice, the 10 times he had been in court, were divorce and probate cases. When asked if he had any experience in criminal law, he replied—and this is part of the record—"absolutely none." That is the background of the lawyer whom the Army selected to try this most important criminal case.

I hope the Senate will understand I am not criticising Colonel Ellis. I think the young man just did not have the ability. He did not have the legal ability to perform the work that was assigned to him. That was not his field. It was the fault of whoever selected him for that work. His conception of his duties as chief prosecutor can perhaps best be shown by a very brief excerpt from his testimony under my cross-examination at the hearing. He was being questioned in regard to a confession—which had been obtained, according to the defendant, after medieval torture methods were used on him—a detailed confession of the deliberate murder of a Belgian woman in the town of Bullingen, a confession which the Army Frankfort board found to be false.

> Question: Did you not think it was your duty to tell the court that your investigator went over to this town of Bullingen and that your investigator reported back to you that it appeared that the confession was false and that this woman was not shot?
>
> Colonel ELLIS. I do not think my duty went to that extent.

Mr. President, I should like to repeat that. Here is a man in charge of prosecuting the case, a man who is assigned to seeing that every defendant has his fair and honest day in court. This man was asked:

> Did you not think it was your duty to tell the court, that your investigator went over to this town of Bullingen and that your investigator reported back to you that it appeared that the confession was false and that this woman was not shot?
>
> Colonel ELLIS. I do not think my duty went to that extent.

Later, Mr. Shumacker, one of the interrogation team and also one of the prosecuting attorneys, in referring to this testimony on the part of Ellis and in an apparent attempt to justify Ellis's position, had this to say:

> I do not believe, sir, that it is the duty of an attorney on either side of the case to point out the weaknesses of his case.

The question and answer immediately following this comment on the part of Shumacker shed some further light on the qualifications of the prosecution staff.

> Question by Senator McCARTHY: You said you did not think any attorney should present any weaknesses in his case. Now I, myself, have been in a number of court-martial proceedings, both as prosecutor and as defense attorney. I have always understood that a prosecutor in a court-martial case had a duty to present not necessarily what you or I would consider a strong case, but rather all of the facts, and if there are any facts which would help the court, not to find a man guilty, but to determine whether she should be found guilty or not, that then it is the duty of the prosecuting attorney and the defense attorney, to present all those facts to the court? Is that not the clear duty you have?

This is a question being asked the assistant trial judge advocate, Mr. Shumacker, and here is his answer:

I think I tried one court martial case in my experience.

Before the hearings commenced, I was informed by the staff that the first witness to be called was an alleged survivor of the Malmedy crossroads massacre.

I informed the subcommittee at that time that if this were done, it would immediately justify the fears of those of us who felt that the subcommittee was interested in clouding the issue and whitewashing those involved.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me finish this statement, and then I shall be glad to yield.

It was called to the subcommittee's attention that everyone agreed that the Malmedy massacre occurred, that it was an atrocious and inexcusable war crime, and that those who were guilty of this atrocity should be punished.

I reminded the subcommittee that there was no question about the Malmedy massacre having occurred, and that there was no necessity for proving this. The question which we were to determine was the question of whether or not we had the right men, whether we were hanging the guilty or hanging the innocent.

I informed the subcommittee that in my opinion the only purpose of calling witnesses to rehash the details of this war crime was to inflame the public mind and attempt to create a blind demand for vengeance on someone in retribution without regard to the question of the guilt or innocence of those being punished.

I now yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. I should like to ask the Senator if it is his position, in the conduct of an investigation by the Senate of these trials of the particular men who were tried and convicted, that a man who had actually been present when one of the massacres occurred, who saw his comrades shot, and who escaped, God knows how, with his life, was not a competent witness?

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator is not as naive as he tries to make out. He knows there was never any question that the Malmedy massacre occurred; he knows that the young man who appeared could not recognize any of the men who took part in the shooting; he knows that the young man could shed no light whatsoever on whether the men in charge allowed illegal torture methods. The only purpose, as I told the Senator before he called that witness, was to attempt to wave the flag and try to recreate a situation which he said existed at the time of the tortures and which he tried to use as a justification or an excuse for the tortures.

Mr. BALDWIN. May I remind the Senator from Wisconsin that many of the affidavits which he said were obtained by brutal methods——

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator from Wisconsin did not say that. The Army Board appointed by Secretary Royall said they were obtained by brutal methods. The two judges said they were obtained by brutal methods. All the Senator from Wisconsin has said is that we should have a clear, decent, honest investigation to determine whether they were obtained by brutal methods, to determine whether we are hanging guilty or innocent men, to determine whether the trials were conducted in such fashion that we can tell as of today whether the men who are to hang are guilty or not guilty.

Mr. BALDWIN. I have offered the Senator many a chance to make his speech.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator is not offering me a chance to make a speech. It is a right which I have. I am not receiving that right from the Senator from Connecticut. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Connecticut however to make any speech he cares to make. Let us have that clear.

Mr. BALDWIN. Of course, the Senator did not sit throughout all the hearings. He heard only a few of the witnesses. May I say to my distinguished friend that after he left we continued to call and question witnesses, one or two of whom he suggested, and we questioned them at great length. But the Senator will recall that some of the affidavits which it is claimed, and which the Senator claims, were obtained by brutal and improper methods, and which the Senator had before him in the conduct of the investigation described the way in which the shooting took place. Does the Senator have any question that those affidavits did accurately describe the way in which the shooting took place, and that it was fair and proper to call one of the eye-witnesses to the shooting to find out what he might say as to how it took place, to see whether the affidavits were at total variance with the facts? In other words, what the committee tried to do was to compare what eye-witnesses said was the way in which the shooting took place, against the way in which it was set forth in the affidavits of the accused men themselves as they described it. Interesting enough, those descriptions, barring some minor details, are practically alike.

But we will not pass judgment upon the affidavits; we will leave that for another day and time.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes. The statements and the confessions are alike even to the extent of the height of bushes in number of feet and inches. Men who had been placed in solitary confinement were offering confessions a year after the crime was committed, and they made statements which jibed exactly, even to the height of unimportant bushes in number of feet and inches. The Senator is correct when he says they were duplicates.

Mr. BALDWIN. The Senator is putting words into my mouth which I did not utter. I did not say they were duplicates. In fact, I avoided saying that, because they were not. I said that in their essential details the description of the shootings as set forth in some of the confessions compared, in their major details, with the description as testified to by an eyewitness.

Mr. McCARTHY. I felt then and I feel now that the purpose was to divert the committee and the public from looking at the cold facts of what our Army did and to prevent an honest decision on the question of whether the system of justice which we were imposing upon a defeated nation was actually convicting the guilty and protecting the innocent or whether the direct opposite was being accomplished by the incompetence and bungling of a few vengeance-minded individuals.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Let me make this point absolutely clear. The junior Senator from Connecticut wants to see no innocent man found guilty in this type of trial, as determined by a fair, competent, just tribunal. He wants to see no man penalized in any way. The junior Senator from Connecticut is going to try to conduct this case as impartially as he knows how, but he is not going to take the side of officers of the United States Army, or of SS troops, as I am fearful, in his enthusiasm, my distinguished friend from Wisconsin is doing.

Mr. McCARTHY. There is no doubt the Senator from Connecticut thinks he is competent, as chairman of the subcommittee, to bring out the facts, but I think the Senator is inherently so fair that the day will come when he will deeply regret doing what I consider to be a very shameful thing; that is, in insisting on acting as chairman of a subcommittee the principal task of which is to decide whether his own law partner counseled and allowed, and took part in, things which are so foreign to the Senator's own concept of what is honest and just. Some day the Senator from Connecticut is going to regret it. But, as I have told the Senator a thousand times, it is not a question of whether or not he himself thinks he is honest and fair, it is a question of what the American people and what the people of the world will think about a United States Senate which allows an important investigation to be conducted by a man who, according to all the rules of common fairness, cannot be as honest and fair as someone who is disinterested. The Senator may be an unusual man, he may be able to be absolutely fair, but it is not a question of what he himself thinks he can do, it is a question of what the American people think about the situation that counts.

Mr. BALDWIN. I thank the Senator for his testimony and his confidence and belief in my efforts at least to be fair and impartial about this matter. As I understand, the Senator's claim resolves itself to this, that it is not wise, it is not judicious, for the Senate to have a committee on which there are any members before whom there might appear some interested witness, or some witness he claims to be interested.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator knows exactly what my position is. My position is that prior to the commencement of the investigation the Senator said on the Senate floor that the findings of the Van Roden-Simpson committee and of

the Raymond committee were "groundless." He asked for an investigation, not for the purpose of finding out whether we were properly dispensing justice in the occupied area. These are the Senator's own words in the RECORD of January 17 this year, that the purpose was to allow a young man from Connecticut to answer these "groundless" charges. If the Senator had already decided that they were groundless, I think he was completely incompetent to sit in judgment, and I think in fairness to himself he should have removed himself from the committee, as I have urged him to do.

I hope the Senator realizes this is an unpleasant job I am doing today, but I feel so strongly that I have no choice but to present the whole picture—and a sorry picture it is—to the Senate and to the country.

Mr. BALDWIN. Will the Senator permit me to insert what I did say when I have found it?

Mr. McCARTHY. I shall be glad to.

The core of the situation we were investigating was, of course, the truth of the charges that members and employees of our military were guilty of applying torture to the accused in order to secure confessions. The four men principally charged with these alleged brutalities were Mr. Perl, Mr. Kirschbaum, Mr. Steiner, and Mr. Thon, at least three of whom were refugees from Hitlerian Germany. It appeared that two of these interrogators had very ample grounds to thoroughly hate the German race. For example, there was testimony to the effect that Steiner's mother had been killed by the Germans and it also appeared that Perl's wife had been confined in a concentration camp for approximately 1½ years. While it would be difficult to criticize those four men for hating the German soldiers after they had personally suffered so heavily at the hands of Hitlerian Germany, the members of our Army who hired them and gave them such unlimited latitude in handling prisoners, most certainly were guilty of shameful conduct, and the man in the Army who did the hiring was none other than our friend Maj. Dwight Fanton.

On the one hand those men denied the charges of torturing defendants to secure confessions, while on the other hand statements of defendants and Army personnel at Schwabisch Hall confirmed the charges. It was obvious, therefore, even before the hearings started that either those who charged the interrogators with brutalities or the interrogators themselves were lying. It was obvious also that neither group would admit having committed perjury.

If the charges were true, then they were so repugnant to the American sense of fair play and decency that the men guilty should be exposed. If, on the other hand, the charges were not true then the men accused of brutally mistreating the accused in order to get confessions should be cleared in the eyes of the public.

One of the interrogators appeared before the subcommittee and testified that under no circumstances did he ever kick, beat, starve, or mentally torture any of the defendants in order to get a confession. That was Mr. Perl. He had previously testified at the trials at Dachau. Both times he testified under oath. When his answers before our subcommittee appeared directly contradictory to those he made at Dachau and when he was questioned as to when he was telling the truth—at Washington or at Dachau—he retorted that he was telling the truth at both times. By way of explanation he quoted a philosopher's definition of the truth to the effect that—and I call the attention of the Senate particularly to this. Here was a man caught telling contradictory stories under oath, and this was his definition of the truth. He said:

> The truth has many faces each of which when taken alone is a lie, but when taken together constitute the truth.

Let me repeat that. This was a definition of truth by the interrogator who was caught in deliberate lying, according to the record. He said:

> The truth has many faces each of which when taken alone is a lie, but when taken together constitute the truth.

I thereupon suggested to this interrogator, Perl, that he submit to the Keeler lie detector which has been proven infallible in hundreds of important criminal cases and which has been used extensively in Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and other States with the consent of the defendant. He reluctantly consented to do so.

The chairman of the subcommittee immediately ridiculed the idea and took the position that it was unfair to suggest that anyone wearing the American uniform would be guilty of deliberate lying.

At that time I withdrew from taking part in these proceedings and made the following statement:

> I wish to announce that I will no longer take part in the hearings of the Armed Services Committee investigating the war crimes trials. I arrived at this decision with great reluctance, but I can no longer conscientiously participate.
>
> I was designated by the Senate Investigations Subcommittee to participate with the subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee in this inquiry. Since April 18, 1949, I have sat with this committee, listened to and cross-examined witnesses. I am convinced of several things: (1) that the subcommittee is not sincere in its investigation; (2) that it is not conscientious in pursuing the facts.
>
> As a practicing lawyer and a judge on the circuit bench in Wisconsin, I know and respect the American system of justice. I believe the world expected a demonstration of American justice to be applied to even our defeated enemies. Instead, Gestapo and OGPU tactics were used.
>
> I have listened to testimony and seen documentary evidence to the effect that accused persons were subjected to beatings and physical violence in such forms as only could be devised by warped minds. They were subjected to sham trials, to mock hangings, and families were deprived of rations—all of which the prosecution justified as being necessary to create the right psychological atmosphere in which to obtain confessions. I am firmly convinced that innocent as well as guilty persons thus put in the right psychological atmosphere will confess to or make statements supporting anything.
>
> I want no murdering Nazis freed.
>
> I do want the innocent protected from the abuse of Hitlerian tactics, Fascist interrogation, and the communistic brand of justice.
>
> Consistently the evidence pointed to four interrogators. One in the course of his appearance before the subcommittee agreed to take a lie detector test as to whether or not brutalities were used in securing confessions or statements. The chairman of the subcommittee objected to the use of the lie detector test. The subcommittee chairman submitted the question to the Armed Services Committee, but they objected to securing such facts as would be developed by the lie detector test.
>
> I accuse the subcommittee of being afraid of the facts. I accuse it of attempting to whitewash a shameful episode in the history of our glorious armed forces. I accuse it of compounding a wrong, perpetrated by a few members and impugning the fair name of the millions of men and women who served with valor and distinction in the armed services. I accuse it of sabotaging our efforts under the European Recovery Act, setting at naught that which we spent and are spending billions to accomplish.
>
> If this is allowed to stand, if the whitewash succeeds, the United States can never protest the use of these methods by totalitarian countries. If the United States condones these actions by a few men, all the world can criticize and forever after question our motives.

In this connection it might be well to cite the facts in several cases which I consider rather typical insofar as the value of the confessions and statements secured at Schwabisch Hall are concerned.

Max Reider confessed to the very brutal murder of an unarmed woman in the little Belgian crossroads hamlet of Bullingen. His confession, like all of the confessions obtained, was very detailed. It explained how he walked into the house, exactly where he found the husband and wife, how he asked if any American soldiers were around and when he was informed that there were no American soldiers in the house how he then stepped back two meters and shot the woman through the forehead. He explained how the husband ran out of the house before he could shoot him and how he and his companion made sure the woman was dead before leaving the house. "Otherwise," his confession reads, "I would have shot her again." The confession goes into gruesome detail as to how the brains were seeping out the back of her head onto the floor of the cottage. The defendant was convicted and sentenced to die.

This defendant, however, as well as practically every one of the other 73 defendants convicted in this mass trial, signed an affidavit claiming that he was tortured until he signed the confession and that there was not one word of truth in it.

An Army board known as the Frankfort Board which reviewed this case set forth the fact that an investigator was sent to the town of Bullingen to investigate the matter and found that the confession was completely false. The investigator brought back affidavits from the registrar, the burgomaster, and the woman's husband, witnessed by the parish priest, to the effect that the woman in question was killed by a shell or grenade while fleeing from a raid and that she was the only woman in this

little village who had died during the war from other than natural causes. The undertaker also certified that there were no bullet wounds on her body. The Frankfort Board, therefore, held that the conviction, on this ground, must be set aside.

The final authority, that is the Army board reviewing the case, in the Judge Advocate's office in Germany, however, dismissed the recommendation of the Frankfort Board and upheld the conviction without any discussion of the facts in the case—listen to this, if Senators will—except the statement that the defendant was old enough to know it was wrong to kill Belgian civilians.

Can anyone conceive of such a thing, Mr. President? Here we have a confession which the Frankfort board says was utterly false. It was shown by the husband's statement that the woman was not shot. Therefore the Frankfort Board found there was no truth in the confession, and recommended that the conviction be set aside. What does the Judge Advocate's office in Germany, under General Clay, do? It upholds the conviction without discussing the evidence, and merely says "that the defendant was old enough to know it was wrong to kill Belgian civilians."

That is one example of American justice.

Another case was that of Rudolph Pletz who was convicted of one of the most inexcusable crimes. The facts offered by the prosecution were to the effect that Pletz was a machine gunner in one of a line of tanks traveling through a small Belgian village, that there were some 25 or 35 unarmed American prisoners of war standing with their hands over their heads in front of a little crossroads store and that Pletz opened up with his machine gun with no orders whatsoever to do so and deliberately murdered all of the unarmed American prisoners. He was convicted and sentenced to death.

The defense in this case claimed that no American prisoners had ever been shot in this particular town, but that there had been an unfounded rumor of such a shooting and that the interrogators, without even checking to determine the truth of the rumor, had decided to convict someone of the "crime."

The evidence was, for example, that these prisoners were not even prisoners of his tank unit. There was no evidence whatsoever that Pletz operated under any order. The evidence was that this young man opened up with his machine gun and mowed down 25 or 35 unarmed American prisoners of war.

The Frankfort Army Board recommended the conviction be set aside because investigation showed that, first, not a single individual in the little Belgian hamlet had ever heard of any American prisoners of war being killed in that town; second, the grocer before whose store they were allegedly murdered stated positively that he knew nothing about any shooting, and, third, the American unit which came through this town immediately after the German tank corps passed through found no indication whatsoever that any American prisoners had been killed.

Again the final reviewing authority's action was fantastic, I believe, beyond words. It ignored the Frankfort board investigation and dismissed the matter by merely stating that because of the youth of the defendant, his sentence would be reduced to 20 years.

It is said the defendant was 21 years of age. Men younger than that were hanged, so the youth of the man had nothing to do with the case. There we have a case in which the Frankfort Army Board said there was not a word of truth in the case against the defendant; that no one in the little hamlet had ever heard of any American prisoners of war being killed in the hamlet; the grocer before whose store they were said to have been murdered said he knew nothing about any shooting, and the American unit which came through immediately after the German tank corps passed through, found no indication whatsoever that any American prisoners had been killed; that no bodies of Americans were found. Yet the final reviewing authority does not bother to go into the evidence at all. It merely says that because of his youth his sentence will be reduced to 20 years. Any man who has ever been inside of a court, who has any conception of justice, could not fail to see the injustice that was done in that case. Either this young man was guilty of the most deliberate willful murder of which we ever have heard, by deliberately mowing down 25 or 35 unarmed American prisoners, with their hands over their heads, or if he was not guilty of that, he was guilty of nothing. If he was guilty of such deliberate murder obviously he should have been hanged. If he was not guilty, certainly he should not serve 20 years.

Multiply these examples by hundreds and Senators will have some conception of American justice as meted out to a defeated enemy over whom we now have the power of life and death.

Mr. President, America came into Europe with clean hands. The people of the world had come to respect not only America's great military and economic power but also to respect and admire her conception of decency and fair play and above all her judicial system, which gave every man, no matter how unimportant, and no matter how much in the minority, his day in court. This vast wealth of good will and admiration which had been built up over the years is being dissipated by a few men of little minds who, unfortunately, in the eyes of the world, represent the American people.

Those of us in Washington who are charged with the job of representing the American people must not continue to blind our eyes and close our ears to a situation which is building up an unnecessary volcano of hate and which can do more to communize western Europe than all the workings of Stalin's agents. History has written with an indelible hand—yes, written in blood, if you please—that a nation cannot sow degenerate winds without ultimately reaping the whirlwind.

Recently the Baldwin committee announced that it had decided to take this investigation to Germany and that they were going to take with them three Public Health Service doctors to submit all the defendants to a physical examination in order to determine the truth of the charges that mental and physical torture was used to get confessions. In other words, they are going to look for bruises and marks of beatings and kickings that took place more than 3 years ago.

This, of course, is proper in the few cases where permanent disability is claimed in the affidavits. However, all the defendants are to be given a physical examination on the theory that if no bruises still remain after the passage of 3 years' time, then the claims of torture are untrue.

Rather conveniently, the subcommittee has overlooked the fact that a mock trial leaves no scars or bruises, nor does a mock hanging, nor does the fact that a man has been threatened that harm will come to his family leave the kind of scars and bruises that can be seen even by the expert eye of a doctor. Even the kickings, the beatings, after 3 years' time, leave no marks.

The doctors' report showing no scars will, of course, be of assistance in seeing this investigation through to the glorious finish of a whitewash report. The medical report will supply part of the proof needed to support a committee report that the actions of the interrogators were above reproach.

The trip, obviously, will not only be a complete waste of time and effort, but a complete waste of money. It will cost thousands to transport the three subcommittee members, the staff, the Army officers who have been invited by the subcommittee to go along, and the three Public Health doctors to and from Germany with all the additional living expenses and cost of conducting the investigation.

In this connection, it should be remembered that at the time I suggested that the lie detector be used on the interrogators charged with torturing the defendants, one of the objections raised was the cost of transporting these four men all the way to Chicago.

In closing I would like to predict the contents of the report which the Armed Services Subcommittee will issue after it has finished its investigation.

First. It will attempt to call up all the emotions of war hatred and concentrate solely on the gruesome details of the Malmedy crossroads massacre, which is only one of the many war crimes involved in these cases.

Second. It will wave the flag and speak of the white crosses over the graves of the American dead.

Third. It will ask, in self-righteous phrases, why—in view of the massacre and the atrociousness of this war crime—the Government of the United States of America should concern itself with applying decent rules of justice to these "vicious criminals."

Fourth. It will purposely avoid the inescapable fact that the conduct of these trials makes it impossible to know whether what they call vicious criminals or innocent men have been convicted and are being hanged.

Fifth. It will refuse to recognize the fact that accused men are not guilty unless and until proven so.

Sixth. It will disregard, gloss over, or attempt to discredit the findings of the committee composed of two disinterested and impartial judges selected by the Army Secretary to investigate this matter and also the findings of the Army Board which found the charges to be true.

Seventh. It will reflect what in my opinion was the main concern of the committee during the hearings—namely, a whitewash of the law partner of the chairman of the subcommittee and those who worked under and with him.

Our Special Senate Investigating Committee, whose original interest in this matter spurred the Armed Services Committee on to commence their so-called investigation, is no more satisfied today that this matter has been given a fair and impartial hearing than it was when the first meeting of the Armed Services Committee was called on this matter and the members to the subcommittee were selected.

In my opinion, the chairman's sense of values that places the reputation of a few men over and above the reputation of American standards of justice and respect for human rights has made a fair hearing impossible. A complete failure to understand the relationship of the conduct of these trials to our purpose in fighting a war and in launching a multibillion dollar aid-to-Europe program has helped to make a fair hearing impossible.

In a final attempt to get at the truth and make it known to the world that neither the United States Government nor the American people condone this complete disregard for individual rights and this prostitution of American principles of justice, the Special Senate Investigating Committee voted unanimously to request the Inspector General of the Army to conduct a thorough investigation of all European war-crimes trials conducted by our military forces including—

One. A thorough investigation of all the death cases.

Two. A spot check of a number of cases which were tried by the Army in an attempt to determine whether the facts found by the Van Roden-Simpson committee are true or false.

Three. A complete investigation of conditions at Landsburg Prison. This is something with which the Senator from Connecticut and his subcommittee have had nothing to do. I do not in any way blame them for not going into this matter. It was not within the scope of their inquiry. The reason for the last request is that we have had almost an unlimited number of complaints from the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, in regard to the treatment of prisoners at Landsburg Prison—complaints to the effect that the administration at Landsburg has made it almost impossible for either Catholic or Protestant chaplains to operate within the confines of the prison walls. That is where the accused war criminals are quartered.

In closing it might be well to remember the words of Winston Churchill when, as a young man, he was pleading for the lives of the Cape rebels in the Boer War:

> Over battlefields the grass grows quickly;
> Over gallows the grass grows never.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. In the course of his remarks the Senator made reference to an order which was issued by Major Fanton as to the conduct of the investigation.

Mr. McCARTHY. I referred to paragraph 2.

Mr. BALDWIN. I should like to read the complete text of the order which was issued. It reads as follows:

RULES GOVERNING INTERROGATION

(a) Any ruse or deception may be used in the course of the interrogation, but threats, duress in any form, physical violence, or promises of immunity or mitigation of punishment, should be scrupulously avoided.

(b) Where a prisoner being interrogated in a crime is implicated in that crime, it is permissible to tell him that he will be recommended as a witness, if such statement to the prisoner will cause him to tell a full or more complete story so that he will be of more value to the case as a witness than as a defendant. However, before any such statements are made to a prisoner, the matter must be cleared with the commanding officer.

(c) Stool pigeons may be employed, but prior to their selection or preparation, the matter of their employment must be cleared with the commanding officer.

I was not present when it occurred, but it is my recollection that the Senator from Wisconsin cross-examined Mr. Fanton at great length on that particular SOP.

Mr. McCARTHY. I certainly did.

Mr. BALDWIN. The record, of course, will disclose what was said. I do not intend to comment on it now, except to say that it is in the record.

It is my recollection from reading the testimony and from what the staff has reported to me about this and other matters pertaining to the trial, that there was not a single case in which immunity was promised to any witness if he would sign a confession. I think that is a correct statement of the facts. That was developed after lengthy cross-examination of the man who had conducted the prosecution.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator means that the prosecutors did not admit that they ever used that method.

Mr. BALDWIN. No; I do not mean anything of the kind. The investigators, of course, used ruses, and they used other methods of obtaining statements from the accused men.

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me read something to the Senator, if I may. I am sure that as a lawyer he will not stultify himself. Let me ask the Senator what he understands this to mean:

> Where a prisoner being interrogated in a crime is implicated in that crime it is permissible to tell him that he will be recommended as a witness, if such statement to the prisoner will cause him to tell a full or more complete story so that he will be of more value to the case as a witness than as a defendant.

That can mean only one thing. First, the man is implicated in the crime, so he is guilty. Second, the interrogators whom Mr. Fanton hired, men who were not American citizens, were given the right to go out in the compound and place a premium upon lying. They were told, "You can say to a man who is guilty that if he will tell a story that is sufficiently valuable in convicting some of the other men in this compound, he will be used as a witness and not as a defendant." We found that that was done. There is no doubt about it, as we go through the evidence.

That, I claim, has two results. First, it does not protect the rights of the innocent in any way whatsoever. Second, it does just the opposite of convicting the guilty. Never has it been heard of in American jurisprudence that an interrogator could go to a jail or somewhere else and say to a criminal, "If you will lie sufficiently so as to convict the men in the other cells, we will let you off."

Does the Senator wish me to yield further? If not, I am going to yield the floor.

Mr. BALDWIN. Of course, the Senator can strain it and put that interpretation on it if he wishes.

Mr. McCARTHY. The Senator says I can strain at this point; does he?

Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

It strikes me that the procedure in that case was similar to a procedure which often is used in our courts, namely, that when a man implicated in a crime chooses to turn State's evidence, often the prosecuting authorities permit him to act as a witness, and tell him quite frankly that if he will tell the whole truth, he probably will get some amelioration of his sentence.

The Senator from Wisconsin knows as a lawyer that in our courts that is done over and over again. I take it that he means to say that that procedure, which often is used in America, can be used in such cases.

The Senator from Wisconsin also knows that the procedure used in the war-crime trials was different from the procedure used in our courts, and that in those trials the same procedure that is used in courts in the United States was not attempted to be used. The Senator knows that those were military courts, and that there was a precedent, going back over a long period of years, for their establishment.

Mr. President, one thing in which the committee is interested is an examination of the law and the precedents and in determining whether, from this experience, which is a most unhappy one, we may learn something which will result in better justice and better trials in the future. That is one of the purposes of this investigation.

But the Senator from Wisconsin knows that oftentimes the prosecuting authorities and the police will interrogate a man who is implicated in a crime and will lead him to believe, either directly or indirectly, that he will receive some favored treatment, some amelioration of his sentence, if he will make a clean breast of the affair and tell the whole truth.

Mr. President, this debate has taken a great deal of time. It is obviously impossible for your committee to attempt

now to answer in full detail everything that has been stated here. Of course, in attempting to do so, the committee would have to indicate its judgment and its opinion upon the evidence offered.

Let me say that the committee has conducted very long hearings and we have voluminous testimony. We have tried to have everyone who might in any way know anything about these crimes appear and testify.

When it was discovered that it would be an extremely costly process to bring to the United States many witnesses whom we would like to interrogate, it was decided by the committee that the best thing for us to do was to go abroad and interrogate the witnesses there.

Grave charges were made about permanent physical injuries which it has been claimed some of the prisoners would show upon a physical examination. The committee thought it wise to check on that matter.

At this stage in our investigation, I do not propose to make a finding in this case or to detail all the testimony. We still have a job to do, unless the Senate should decide that it wished to do something else with this investigation.

Mr. President, in the face of the claims which have been made by the Senator from Wisconsin, I, for one, am not going to voluntarily withdraw from this job. My conscience is clear. I have tried to do the best I know how, and I shall keep on doing that to the end.

I say to the Senate that if the Senate believes that it is to the interest of justice and fairness that some other committee investigate this matter, then I shall understand completely. But I do say that I, for one, believe that in the interest of fairness and justice, American citizens, officers and enlisted men of our armed forces, who were charged with doing, at an extremely difficult time in our country's history, a very, very difficult job, should have a fair opportunity to present their case and have justice done, as well as should the SS Nazi soldiers who shot down in cold blood upwards of 250 American soldiers. I do not say that in an effort to "wave the flag." I do not do it for that purpose in the least, because I do not wish to see a single one of these Germans executed if he is not fairly and justly convicted under the rules of military law by which those courts apparently were established.

On the other hand, Mr. President, I do not want, in the interest of politics, or for any other reason, to see anything other than a fair deal for everyone in this case—a fair deal for the German prisoners, yes; but also a fair deal for the American citizens who, as I have said before, were charged with the task, on behalf of their country, of doing an extremely difficult job—a job with which I must admit they had not had much experience; a job for which I must admit there was not a great deal of precedent, as these men knew it; a job which I admit may have been done at a time when the heat was too great, and when it was extremely difficult to have things proceed smoothly and orderly, as they do in the normal courts of justice in our land.

This matter occurred after a long, costly, cruel war. It occurred after some of our men had themselves, perhaps, done things which were not properly recognizable under the rules of war; and it was done at a time shortly after a last desperate effort by Hitler and his minions to fight a way to the Channel and rescue themselves from impending defeat, at a time when, it is apparent, the rules of war did not count for very much.

On the other hand, Mr. President, I am frank to say that I have been interested in this case because I did not think that in the heat of the moment we should work any injustice of any kind. I should like to see, as a result of our investigations, some new procedural developments as to the time and place and the manner of such courts and their authority. Perhaps we could improve the procedure a good deal.

At the same time, Mr. President, I wish to say that I am not making any plea in behalf of these men, who worked with the best that was available to them at the time, and who at times perhaps made mistakes and errors. If the record discloses some things which require disciplinary action on the part of the Army or on the part of other governmental authorities, this committee will not be at all hesitant in recommending that that be done, because we are trying to do the best we can with an extremely difficult situation.

I am sorry the Senator from Wisconsin feels so strongly as he does about this matter, but of course he is entitled to his opinion. That is his right. I simply say to my colleague in the Senate from the State of Wisconsin that he had better study the record, he had better examine it with a fine-tooth comb. He would have done better to attend the hearings and hear all the witnesses, as the committee did, before he made up his mind and prejudged the case and decided what is right and what is wrong. He knows very well as a lawyer and as a former judge that judgment is not rendered in a case until all the evidence is in. The Senator knows very well as a lawyer and a judge that whoever has evidence to offer should have an opportunity to offer it. I say to my distinguished friend, in the burst of his enthusiasm here, he has taken up the side of these Nazi SS troopers. He may do that if he wants to. I say, too, Mr. President, my distinguished friend here is prejudging the case; the evidence is not all in. My distinguished friend is basing his judgment largely—on what? Largely on the affidavits of condemned men, some of whom the shadows of the gallows crossed. Thank God, we were able to hold that up until we had an opportunity to get to the bottom of this thing. Others have faced long terms of imprisonment—desperate men, Mr. President. They are the men who signed these affidavits, the men who make these charges of brutalities. We have tried, Mr. President, and we will continue to try, to bring every eyewitness that we can possibly find anywhere to testify as to what went on at Schwabisch Hall and what went on at Dachau in the treatment of these German prisoners, because, as human beings, Mr. President, they are entitled to justice, they are entitled to fair play, and we are going to see to it that they get it. That is the purpose of your committee, Mr. President, and we will continue to work in that direction as long as the Senate leaves the matter in our charge.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut says we are prejudging the case. I know that I cannot force the Senator to answer questions. I am just curious to know whether he thinks at this moment it is right for him to proceed, in view of the fact he says he wants a fair hearing, he wants to let the world know there is to be a fair hearing. Does the Senator think it is right for him to proceed with this investigation of his own law partner?

It is impossible to get away from the fact that Major Fanton, the Senator's own law partner, whom the Senator defended on the floor of the Senate, is the man who was in charge—complete charge—during all the time of the alleged atrocities. If the committee finds that what the Van Roden-Simpson committee said is true, if they find that what the Raymond Army Board said is true, then they will have indicted the Senator's law partner. This is either a clearing or an indictment of the Senator's own law partner, the man whom the Senator, on the floor of the Senate, on the 17th of January, defended. The Senator said all the charges against him were groundless. The Senator said of the report of the Van Roden-Simpson Committee and of the Raymond Board, the things they found to be true——

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. Let me finish. The Senator said they were groundless. The man who was in charge, Maj. Dwight Fanton, was the Senator's law partner. The Senator says, let us let the world know we are giving these people a fair hearing. The Senator may think he is giving them a fair hearing, but, I say to the Senator, if any other man were in his place, would he not say he was doing wrong to continue on with a farce such as this is? The Senator knows, and I know from his handling of this case thus far, that the report is not going to indict Major Fanton. The Senator and I know the report is going to clear him. So I say to the Senator, do not come up here and wave the flag at me. Please do not. I merely wonder, as of today, whether the Senator would tell the Senate it is proper for him to continue with this investigation of his own law partner? Does the Senator think that is right or wrong? I think it is——

Mr. BALDWIN. All right. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Let me say this, in answer to what the Senator has just said. My distinguished friend from Wisconsin has said this thing over and over and over again, about my law partner. Mr. President, if the committee continues with me in charge of the committee, and Dwight Fanton is responsible in one jot or tittle for any injustice, he will suffer with the rest of them, and the report will show that.

Mr. President, I am not alone on the committee. There are two other members. There is the entire record. There is the Armed Services Committee, which must decide upon it. Here is the Senate, Mr. President, before whom, in the face of these claims, it may be that sufficient interest is aroused to look into this thing fully.

God knows, Mr. President, I wish every Senator could read the record, because we need a just decision in this particular case. Insofar as I am able to render it, that is what it will be. But, Mr. President, this is not an indictment of anybody. These men are not on trial. This is an ascertainment of facts. They will be on trial, if, as a result of the facts disclosed in the committee report and in the record, the Army chooses to put them there. That is their function, not ours.

Mr. President, there is the whole record, developed as conscientiously as we know how to develop it. Furthermore, the Senator will remember that on several occasions he said to me—and he cross-examined Fanton at great length—he thought the main men in this case were four other men, and he did not mention Fanton. Now, in his address this afternoon, the whole case is built around this one thing, in an effort to discredit the Senator from Connecticut, in an effort to discredit the committee, in an effort to save God knows whom, Mr. President—I do not. But I know that there are some influences at work in this case that arouse a grave doubt in my mind. I wonder about Mr. Finucane, who is the executive secretary under Mr. Libby of the Society for the Prevention of War. I wonder why it is that he went up to see Judge Van Roden after he came back from Europe, conducting this investigation, after he had heard him talk before a meeting of the chamber of commerce or the Rotary Club. He hustles back to Washington and prepares an article containing many of the grave charges that are made here today. I wonder why Mr. Finucane, who was a conscientious objector in World War II, and who stayed out of it as long as he could—he goes up and sees Judge Van Roden, and the judge, very naively, apparently never had had anything to do with an article before. What does he do? He apparently approves the thing. Then, later, when he comes before our committee he repudiates it. He repudiates the article that was published in the Progressive magazine, so-called, that contains, and I think spark-plugged, many of these charges. Then, your committee, Mr. President, in a diligent effort to find out what the facts were, had Judge Van Roden sitting here. We had Mr. Finucane sitting here, and we had them denying what one another said. Here it is in the record. Finally, at the end, Judge Van Roden, one of these men who, with Judge Raymond, of Texas, made one of these examinations, repudiates the main part of the statement he had given, that contains many of these charges.

Mr. President, this is like any other case—it must be decided on the whole record. One cannot pick out one little fact here and associate it with another little fact there, and then think he has arrived at substantial justice. My friend from Wisconsin, as a judge, knows that all the evidence must be weighed.

Mr. President, I took an oath here in the Senate to do my duty. I expect to do it as long as I am here, without fear or favor to any man, just as I hope my distinguished friend from Wisconsin will do. I sometimes wonder about this case. I sometimes wonder why it is, what other reason there can be, other than the human one of wanting to see justice done. I wonder why there should be such a tremendous interest in the Nazi SS troopers, the cruelest troops of the war. I say they are entitled to fair play. We brought some of the witnesses in here and questioned them on the basis of what we understood they were going to say. The record will show that when they came and held up their right hand to solemnly swear that what they were going to say was the truth, they fell far short. They attributed to hearsay many of the things we had supposed were matters of their own direct knowledge, to be covered by their own direct testimony.

It is difficult to discuss the case, because I do not want to prejudge it. There still is many a question in my mind about this whole thing, many a question in my mind as to really what kind of treatment these men got when they were in prison, really whether they did get a fair trial. I have not prejudged the case, but I do think that our Army, our military government, has made a pretty conscientious effort in connection with it. There have been many reviews, at least four or five, and here is another one going on now, with the Secretary of the Army saying there will be no executions until the report of this committee is in.

Mr. President, that is a tremendously grave responsibility. So we shall try our best to do our job. But I say again that if the Senate feels that this matter should be given to some other committee, or to some other chairman, I have no interest in it other than to see justice and fair play done. It makes no difference to me, personally, what may happen to Major Fanton, who has been built up by my distinguished friend from Wisconsin as the motivating figure in the whole matter. But he falls far short of being the motivating figure. I think he spent approximately 3 months there and was not there during the entire investigation.

What the Senate may want to do in the matter is its own problem. But, Mr. President, I would not think that I would be defeating a really great and sincere purpose, in connection with charges which I consider to be utterly groundless, if I were to say that in the face of this claim I should beat a hasty retreat and should surrender. I have no intention of doing any such thing. But, at the same time, it is in the bosom of the Senate. The Senate has a right to change the committee and the chairman. I ask the Senate to judge us on the record, not on the claims made alone, but on the record, and I ask it to have in mind that in this particular phase of the proceedings it is impossible, without appearing to prejudge the case and take sides, to answer the things which have been said or to attempt to answer them.

So, Mr. President, I leave the matter in the hands of the Senate.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, in closing, let me say that I have no intention of asking the Senate to remove the Senator from Connecticut as chairman of the subcommittee. We have taken, I think, sufficient action to get a fair and honest investigation. We have asked the Inspector General's office—and by "we," I mean the special Senate investigating committee, which voted unanimously to make the request of the Inspector General's office—to make the investigation which we feel the subcommittee headed by the Senator from Connecticut will not make. I would also like to say that the Senator from Connecticut errs when he says I heard only a few of the witnesses and infers I attended only a very few sessions of the hearings. I attended every session until I could stomach the whitewash no longer.

Mr. President, I should like to put another matter in the RECORD which I think would be of especial interest to any lawyer reading the RECORD. During the trial the defense attorneys knew of "SOP No. 4" and they knew of paragraph (b), which authorized the interrogator to offer immunity to anyone who would tell a story sufficiently valuable to convict the codefendants. In view of that fact, the defense counsel naturally were very eager to cross-examine the men who were originally defendants and had their status changed to that of witnesses. So when such a valuable witness got on the stand, who had been, in the words of "SOP No. 4," "implicated in the crime," defense counsel tried to cross-examine to find out what the witnesses were offered to testify as they did, or whether they were threatened, or under what circumstances they received immunity. The law member of the court, the only member of the court who had had any legal experience, made all the rulings on objections which were raised. The prosecution consistently objected—this may be of interest only to the attorneys—to questioning the credibility of a witness on cross-examination. The objection was made on the ground that the subject was not gone into on direct examination. In other words, when the defense counsel would say to a witness, "What were you offered? Were you given immunity, or did they threaten to send you back to Russia if you did not testify as you have testified?" the prosecuting attorney would always object on the ground that the subject was not gone into on direct examination. That is obviously the most groundless legal objection conceivable, because the credibility of one's own witness is not questioned on direct examination. But the law member ruled that the credibility of any witness could not be gone into, which tied the hands of the defense. That ruling alone made it extremely difficult to get a fair trial.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator from Wisconsin, in referring to the Senator from Connecticut recently used language unbecoming a Senator when he used the words "criminally responsible" in referring to the Senator from Connecticut.

I cite paragraph 2 of rule XIX, which provides as follows:

No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator.

I call attention also to paragraph 4 of the same rule, and I claim that the rule should be enforced this afternoon, and I demand it.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I did not use that phrase but before I used the phrase to which the Senator evidently refers I stopped, because I realized that it might be better unsaid. The Senator from Connecticut said, "Proceed and say it," and I did. I think the Senator from New Hampshire may be correct, and I shall be glad to have the language stricken from the RECORD.

Mr. HUNT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield the floor.

Mr. HUNT. Mr. President, as a member of the subcommittee which has been referred to by the Senator from Wisconsin, I should like to take a few minutes of the time of this distinguished body with reference to the very difficult investigation which has been assigned to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN], as chairman, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and myself. I should like to say that the subcommittee has been most diligent in its efforts to ferret out the truth and to get to the very bottom of the situation. For days on end the subcommittee held extensive hearings. It called witnesses from every part of the United States who had even the most remote connection with the Malmedy trials, to appear before it and to give their testimony.

Primarily, I wish to say that my distinguished colleague the Senator from Connecticut, has been most fair throughout all the hearings. I want to say, further, that he has been more of a seeker for the truth because of his connection with Major Fanton than could possibly have been any other Member of the Senate.

Mr. President, as a member of the subcommittee, I resent the statements made by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin this afternoon. My colleague from Connecticut has been fair, he has been honest, and he has made every effort to obtain every bit of evidence he possibly could from every witness appearing before the subcommittee. I think the charge made this afternoon against the subcommittee is, first, untimely; second, I think it is unfair; and, in the third place, I think it is hitting below the belt.

Mr. President, I am not going to be drawn into any argument with reference to the merits of this case, but I wish to say that we are going to get to the bottom of this matter, and we are going to find out who it is, and to what organization they belong, who are back behind the scenes pushing this investigation.

Mr. President, I have an open mind in this investigation, and I intend to keep it open. When all the testimony is in, and when the report is then written, I shall address the Senate in no uncertain terms, and the Senate will understand and know whether or not this committee has been thorough and fair, and they will then appreciate the distinguished services of my colleague from Connecticut, for whom I have the greatest affection and love.

Mr. McMAHON subsequently said. Mr. President, during the address by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] on the Malmedy trials, I was engaged in a meeting of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and I arrived in the Senate Chamber just at the conclusion of the Senator's address and in time to hear my colleague, the junior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN], make some comments on the speech. I have since examined the manuscript of the address delivered by the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and I deeply regret that he has seen fit to attack the integrity of my colleague.

I know nothing about the Malmedy investigation or the Malmedy controversy, but I do know Senator BALDWIN. I have known him for over 25 years. As young lawyers we opposed one another in the courts of the State of Connecticut, our native State. The attack which has been made on Senator BALDWIN will not injure him in the slightest in the State which we have the honor to represent here in the Senate. His reputation for integrity and his character are known to our people. He was Governor of our State on three different occasions. I suppose he knows more people in Connecticut by their first names than any other of its public servants do. I could not let the record stand without rising here to say that I regard this attack on him as extremely regrettable. I feel that the Senate's judgment on the attack will coincide with mine.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these remarks appear in the RECORD before the remarks of the Senator from North Dakota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McCLELLAN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I rise to express my profound thanks to my distinguished colleague and friend from Connecticut for the kindly way he has treated me in connection with this little controversy. What he has done is very generous and very kind of him.

I also want to say, Mr. President, that I appreciate the support the two members of the subcommittee have given in this controversy, and to say that no man worked with better colleagues on the subcommittee than the junior Senator from Connecticut has been privileged to work in this rather difficult, trying, and highly controversial matter. I am extremely grateful for their remarks, as well as the remarks of my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON].

THE FARMERS NEED AND WANT RURAL TELEPHONES NOW—"WHY NOT NOW?"

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, on June 11, the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry held a hearing on the bill to provide for the extension of telephone service to farmers. I consider the matter of such great importance that on June 24 I presented to the Senate the testimony that had been given to the committee. Since that time 1 month has passed.

In the meantime, the House of Representatives passed and sent to the Senate a bill providing for rural telephones. The bill and all the issues it involves was thoroughly discussed by the House Committee on Agriculture and by the House itself on the floor. Our own Senate committee has discussed it. All sides have had the opportunity to present their arguments to Congress.

I am glad to say that Senator THOMAS, chairman of the committee, says that it is time for action on the Senate floor.

The telephone legislation we have under consideration is nonpartisan in every respect. The Senate bill is sponsored by a bipartisan group of 11 Senators. The Senators sponsoring the bill are: the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON]; the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL]; the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GILLETTE]; the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR]; the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER]; the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN]; the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON]; the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN]; the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG], my distinguished colleague, and myself.

In the House it was passed overwhelmingly by the strong support of both parties. Both the majority and the minority leaders supported the measure.

The farmers of this country are looking to the Senate for action on this legislation at this session and I want to know that the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry will soon give us an opportunity to vote on this bill.

We all know that the telephone monopoly has fought this legislation from the very beginning. The bill is opposed by those segments of the telephone industry which not only have failed to supply most farmers with telephone service, but openly admit their inability to do so.

The lobbyists representing the telephone monopoly are hard at work. First of all, they have tried to defeat the bill. Failing in that, as they did in the House, they have tried to propose every conceivable reason for delaying action. When this is ineffective, they propose all kinds of crippling and restrictive amendments.

In the House all these efforts to tack on crippling amendments were defeated and the bill that has come over from the House is in good shape. Therefore, I am glad that the Senate committee will soon report on the bill.

A farmer, perhaps more than any other citizen, represents the qualities of character by which we like to measure our national strength. He is independent, ingenious, self-sufficient to a large degree, ever willing to help his neighbor, aware and confident that in time of need his neighbor will help him. God-fearing, a good provider, and a good family man. More than that he is a businessman, running a business which is important to the welfare of this Nation. Since this is true, the farmer feels entitled to the

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESS

FOR RELEASE: 7 PM. Tuesday, June 1, 1954

"Dr. Oppenheimer has requested John W. Davis and myself to make public the attached documents of record in the proceedings concerning him.

Lloyd K. Garrison"

* * *

LIST OF ATTACHED DOCUMENTS:

1. "Findings and Recommendation of the Personnel Security Board in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer," containing Majority and Minority Opinions of the Board (in form of letter to K. D. Nichols, General Manager, AEC, dated May 27, 1954).

2. Letter from General Nichols to Dr. Oppenheimer, dated May 28, 1954.

3. Reply to General Nichols by Lloyd K. Garrison, counsel for Dr. Oppenheimer, in letter dated June 1, 1954, in which John W. Davis joins.

* * *

PAGE INDEX TO ATTACHED DOCUMENTS:

Loyalty and Discretion: Personnel Security Board unanimously (3-0) finds Dr. Oppenheimer loyal (pp. 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, Document #1) and discreet in keeping vital secrets (p. 31).

Reinstatement of Clearance: A majority of the Board (2-1) recommends that Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance not be reinstated (p. 33). Dr. Evans, the third member of the Board, dissents (p. 34).

Procedure on Appeal: K. D. Nichols, General Manager, AEC, advises Dr. Oppenheimer and counsel that final determination as to reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance will be made by the Atomic Energy Commission (Document #2).

Counsel for Dr. Oppenheimer waives review by Personnel Security Review Board and requests leave to file brief and make oral argument before the Commission (Document #3).

FOR RELEASE: 7 P.M. Tuesday, June 1, 1954

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.

May 27, 1954

Mr. K. D. Nichols, General Manager,
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
1901 Constitution Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Subject: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE PERSONNEL SECURITY BOARD IN THE CASE OF DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER

Dear Mr. Nichols:

On December 23, 1953, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was notified by letter that his security clearance had been suspended. He was furnished a list of items of derogatory information and was advised of his rights to a hearing under AEC procedures. On March 4, 1954, Dr. Oppenheimer requested that he be afforded a hearing. A hearing has been conducted by the Board appointed by you for this purpose, and we submit our findings and recommendation.

Dr. Ward V. Evans dissents from the recommendation of the majority of the Board, and his minority report is attached. He specifically subscribes to the "Findings" of the majority of the Board, and to a portion of the material entitled "Significance of the Findings."

Introduction

It must be understood that in our world in which the survival of free institutions and of individual rights is at stake, every person must in his own way be a guardian of the national security. It also must be clear that, in the exercise of this stewardship, individuals and institutions must protect, preserve and defend those human values for which we exist as a nation, as a Government, and as a way of life.

The hard requirements of security, and the assertion of freedoms, together thrust upon us a dilemma, not easily resolved. In the present international situation, our security measures exist, in the ultimate analysis, to protect our free institutions and traditions against repressive totalitarianism and its inevitable denial of human values. Thoughtful Americans find themselves uneasy, however, about those policies which must be adopted and those actions which must be taken in the interests of national security, and which at the same time pose a threat to our ideals. This Board has been conscious of these conflicts, presenting as they do some of the grave problems of our times, and has sought to consider them in an atmosphere of decency and safety.

We share the hope that some day we may return to happier times when our free institutions are not threatened and a peaceful and just world order is not such a compelling principal preoccupation. Then security will cease to be a central issue; man's conduct as a

citizen will be measured only in the terms of the requirements of our national society; there will be no undue restraints upon freedom of mind and action; and loyalty and security as concepts will cease to have restrictive implications.

This state of affairs seems not to be a matter of early hope. As we meet the present peril, and seek to overcome it, we must realize that at no time can the interests of the protection of all our people be less than paramount to all other considerations. Indeed, action which in some cases may seem to be a denial of the freedoms which our security barriers are erected to protect, may rather be a fulfillment of these freedoms. For, if in our zeal to protect our institutions against our measures to secure them, we lay them open to destruction, we will have lost them all, and will have gained only the empty satisfaction of a meaningless exercise.

We are acutely aware that in a very real sense this case puts the security system of the United States on trial, both as to procedures and as to substance. This notion has been strongly urged upon us by those who recommend clearance for Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and no doubt a similar view is taken by those who feel he should not be cleared.

If we understand the two points of view, they may be stated as follows: There are those who apprehend that our program for security at this point in history consists of an uneasy mixture of fear, prejudice, and arbitrary judgments. They feel that reason and fairness and justice have abdicated and their places have been taken by hysteria and repression. They, thus, believe that security procedures are necessarily without probity and that national sanity and balance can be served only by a finding in favor of the individual concerned. On the other hand, there is a strong belief that in recent times our Government has been less than unyielding towards the problem of Communism, and that loose and pliable attitudes regarding loyalty and security have prevailed to the danger of our society and its institutions. Thus, they feel that this proceeding presents the unrelinquishable opportunity for a demonstration against Communism, almost regardless of the facts developed about the conduct and sympathies of Dr. Oppenheimer.

We find ourselves in agreement with much that underlies both points of view. We believe that the people of our country can be reassured by this proceeding that it is possible to conduct an investigation in calmness, in fairness, in disregard of public clamor and private pressures, and with dignity. We believe that it has been demonstrated that the Government can search its own soul and the soul of an individual whose relationship to his Government is in question with full protection of the rights and interests of both. We believe that loyalty and security can be examined within the frameworks of the traditional and inviolable principles of American justice.

The Board approached its task in the spirity of inquiry, not that of a trial. The Board worked long and arduously. It has heard forty witnesses including Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and compiled over three thousand pages of testimony in addition to having read the same amount of file material.

Dr. Oppenheimer has been represented by counsel, usually four in number, at all times in the course of the proceedings. He has confronted every witness appearing before the Board, with the privilege of cross examination. He is familiar with the contents of every relevant document, which was made available to the Board, except those which under Governmental necessity cannot be disclosed, such as reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He has, in his own words, received patient and courteous consideration at the hands of the Board. The Board has, in the words of his chief counsel, displayed fairness in the conduct of the hearings. And, finally, perhaps it should be said that the investigation has been conducted under the auspices of the responsible agency which has the obligation of decision.

As it considered substance, the Board has allowed sympathetic consideration for the individual to go hand in hand with an understanding of the necessities for a clear, realistic, and rugged attitude towards subversion, possible subversion, or indeed broader implications of security.

It was with all these considerations in mind that we approached our task.

Procedures Governing the Hearing

This proceeding is based upon the Atomic Energy Act of 1946; upon the Atomic Energy Commission's published Security Clearance Procedures, dated September 12, 1950; and Personnel Security Clearance Criteria for Determining Eligibility, dated November 17, 1950; and upon Executive Order No. 10450, dated April 27, 1953.

Subparagraphs (ii) and (iv) of Section 10(b)(5)(B) of the Atomic Energy Act provide that, except as authorized by the Commission in case of emergency, no individual shall be employed by the Commission until the Civil Service Commission or (in certain instances) the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made an investigation and report to the Commission on the "character, associations, and loyalty" of such individual.

The AEC published Procedures provide, among other things, for written notice to the individual (1) listing the items of derogatory information and (2) explaining his rights (a) to reply in writing to the information set forth in the Commission's letter, (b) to request a hearing before a Personnel Security Board, (c) to challenge the appointment of the members of the Board for cause, (d) to be present for the duration of the hearing, (e) to be represented by counsel of his own choosing, and (f) to present evidence in his own behalf through witnesses, or by documents, or by both. The Commission's Procedures further provide that in the event of a recommendation for a denial of security clearance, the individual shall be immediately notified of that fact and of his right to request a review of his case by the AEC Personnel Security Review Board, with the right to submit a brief to that Board before the case goes to the General Manager for final determination.

The AEC published Criteria establish the uniform standards to be applied in determining eligibility for clearance. These

Criteria, which, of course, are binding on this Board, provide that it is the responsibility of the Atomic Energy Commission to determine whether the common defense or security will be endangered by granting security clearance.

The Executive Order requires the head of each department and agency of the Government to establish and maintain within his department or agency an effective program to insure that "the employment and retention in employment of any civilian officer or employee within the department or agency is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security." The Executive Order further provides that information on this issue shall relate, but shall not be limited, to certain categories of information set forth in the Order.

Findings

In compliance with Section 4.16(c) of the Commission's Security Clearance Procedures, the Board makes the following specific findings as to the allegations contained in Mr. K. D. Nichols' letter of December 23, 1953 to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer:

1. It was reported that in 1940 you were listed as a sponsor of the Friends of the Chinese People, an organization which was characterized in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front organization.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Oppenheimer in his answer replied that he had no recollection of the Friends of the Chinese People, or of what, if any, his connection with this organization was.

The Board had before it a four-page pamphlet (undated) entitled, "American Friends of the Chinese People." The fourth page contains a list of sponsors which includes "Professor J. R. Oppenheimer."

2. It was further reported that in 1940 your name was included on a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom as a member of its National Executive Committee. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was characterized in 1942 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front which defended Communist teachers, and in 1943 it was characterized as subversive and Un-American by a Special Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified before the Board to having joined the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in 1937. He said that it then stood as a protest against what had happened to intellectuals and professionals in Germany. The Board had before it a letterhead of the "American Committee for Democracy

and Intellectual Freedom." The letterhead contains a printed list of the National Executive Committee, which includes "Professor J. R. Oppenheimer." Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he supposed he accepted membership on this Executive Committee although he did not meet with it.

Dr. Oppenheimer stated in his personnel security questionnaire, which he executed on April 28, 1942, for the purpose of obtaining a clearance for work on the atomic program, that he had joined the "American Committee for Democratic Intellectual Freedom" in 1937 and was still a member on the date the PSQ was executed. He testified that he did not know how long after that he continued to be a member; that, in any event, he was not active thereafter.

3. It was further reported that in 1938 you were a member of the Western Council of the Consumers Union. The Consumers Union was cited in 1944 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front headed by the Communist Arthur Kallet.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Oppenheimer in his answer stated that for perhaps a year he had been a member of the Western Council of the Consumers Union. In his Personnel Security Questionnaire, which he executed on April 28, 1942, Dr. Oppenheimer stated that he had been a member of the Consumers Union (Western) in 1938-1939.

The Board had before it a photostat of a four-page pamphlet (undated) entitled, "Western Consumers Union," containing a list of Western sponsors, which included the name "Dr. Robert J. Oppenheimer -- Internationally-known Physicist at the University of California."

4. It was further reported that you stated in 1943 that you were not a Communist, but had probably belonged to every Communist-front organization on the west coast and had signed many petitions in which Communists were interested.

The Board concludes that this statement was made by Dr. Oppenheimer, and the Board had before it considerable evidence indicating Dr. Oppenheimer's membership in, and association with, Communist-front organizations and activities on the West Coast. However, Dr. Oppenheimer, in his answer, claimed that the quotation was not true and that if he had said anything along the lines quoted, it was a half-jocular overstatement.

The Board had before it a memorandum, dated September 14, 1943, prepared by Lt. Col. John Lansdale, Jr., who was then head of Security and Intelligence for the Manhattan District, which reported "Oppenheimer categorically stated (to General Groves) that he himself was not a Communist and never had been, but stated that he had probably belonged to every Communist-front organization on the West Coast and signed many petitions concerning matters in which Communists were interested."

The Board also had before it a transcript of an interview between Colonel Lansdale and Dr. Oppenheimer on September 12, 1943, which reflected that Colonel Lansdale had asked Dr. Oppenheimer, "You've probably belonged to every front organization on the coast," to which Dr. Oppenheimer replied "Just about." The transcript further records that Dr. Oppenheimer also stated that he thought he would have been considered at one time a fellow-traveler and that "my association with these things was very brief and very intense."

Dr. Oppenheimer in his testimony defined "fellow-traveler" as "someone who accepted part of the public program of the Communist Party, who was willing to work with and associate with Communists, but who was not a member of the Party." He testified to having been a fellow-traveler from late 1936 or early 1937, with his interest beginning to taper off after 1939, and with very little interest after 1942. He further stated that within the framework of his definition of a fellow-traveler, he would not have considered himself as such after 1942.

He further stated that with respect to things that the Communists were doing, in which he still had an interest, it was not until 1946 that it was clear to him that he would not collaborate with Communists no matter how much he sympathized with what they pretended to represent.

5. It was reported that ~~in~~ 1943 and previously you were intimately associated with Dr. Jean Tatlock, a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco, and that Dr. Tatlock was partially responsible for your association with Communist-front groups.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Oppenheimer in his testimony before this Board admitted having associated with Jean Tatlock from 1936 until 1943. He stated that he saw her only rarely between 1939 and 1943, but admitted that the association was intimate. He admitted having seen Jean Tatlock under most intimate circumstances in June or July of 1943, during the time when he was Director of the Los Alamos Laboratory, and admitted that he knew she had been a Communist and that there was not any reason for him to believe that she was not at that time still a Communist. He named several Communists, Communist functionaries or Communist sympathizers whom he had met through Jean Tatlock, or as a result of his association with her.

6. It was reported that your wife, Katherine Puening Oppenheimer, was formerly the wife of Joseph Dallet, a member of the Communist Party, who was killed in Spain in 1937 fighting for the Spanish Republican Army.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Mrs. Oppenheimer testified that she was married to Joseph Dallet from 1934 until he was killed in Spain, fighting for the Spanish Republican Army in 1937.

Mrs. Oppenheimer admitted knowing that Dallet was a member of the Communist Party and was actively engaging in Communist Party activities.

7. It was further reported that during the period of her association with Joseph Dallet, your wife became a member of the Communist Party. The Communist Party has been designated by the Attorney General as a subversive organization which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means, within the purview of Executive Order 9835 and Executive Order 10450.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Mrs. Oppenheimer testified to having been a member of the Communist Party from about 1934 to June 1936 and having engaged in Communist Party activities in the Youngstown, Ohio area.

8. It was reported that your brother Frank Friedman Oppenheimer became a member of the Communist Party in 1936 and has served as a Party organizer and as Educational Director of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Frank Friedman Oppenheimer admitted in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representative, on June 14, 1949, that he had been a member of the Communist Party from about 1937 until the early spring of 1941. He testified that he joined under the name of "Frank Folsom."

From information before it, the Board concludes that Dr. Frank Oppenheimer had served as a Party organizer and as Educational Director of the Professional Section of the Communist Party in Los Angeles County.

9. It was further reported that your brother's wife Jackie Oppenheimer, was a member of the Communist Party in 1938;

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Mrs. Jacquenette Oppenheimer in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, on June 14, 1949, admitted having been a member of the Communist Party from 1937 until the spring of 1941.

10. and that in August, 1944, Jackie Oppenheimer assisted in the organization of the East Bay branch of the California Labor School.

On the basis of information before it, the Board concludes that this allegation is true.

11. It was further reported that in 1945 Frank and Jackie Oppenheimer were invited to an informal reception at the Russian Consulate, that this invitation was extended by the American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and was for the purpose of introducing famous American scientists to Russian scientists who were delegates to the United Nations Conference on International Organization being held at San Francisco at that time, and that Frank Oppenheimer accepted this invitation.

On the basis of information before it, the Board concludes that this allegation is true.

12. It was further reported that Frank Oppenheimer agreed to give a six-week course on "The Social Implications of Modern Scientific Development" at the California Labor School, beginning May 9, 1946. The American-Russian Institute of San Francisco and the California Labor School have been cited by the Attorney General as Communist organizations within the purview of Executive Order 9835 and Executive Order 10450.

On the basis of information before it, the Board concludes that this allegation is true.

13. It was reported that you have associated with members and officials of the Communist Party, including Isaac Folkoff, Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, Kenneth May, Jack Manley, and Thomas Addis.

The Board concludes that this allegation is substantially true.

Dr. Oppenheimer in his answer and in his testimony admitted having associated with Isaac Folkoff, Steve Nelson, Rudy Lambert, Kenneth May and Thomas Addis. He testified that he knew at the time of his association with them that Folkoff, Nelson, Lambert and May were Communist Party functionaries, and that Addis was either a Communist or close to one. He admitted that his associations with these persons continued until 1942. There was no evidence before the Board with respect to an association with Jack Manley.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he made contributions to the Spanish War and Spanish Relief through Isaac Folkoff and Thomas Addis. He testified that he had seen Lambert on half a dozen occasions, and that he discussed such contributions once or twice at luncheon with Lambert and Folkoff.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that Steve Nelson and his family visited his home on several occasions, the last being probably in 1942; that such visits lasted "a few hours;" that he had met Steve Nelson through his (Oppenheimer's) wife since Nelson had befriended her in Paris at the time of Dallet's death; that he had nothing in common with Nelson "except an affection for my wife."

14. It was reported that you were a subscriber to the Daily People's World, a west coast Communist newspaper, in 1941 and 1942.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he had subscribed to the People's World "for several years." He could not recall when the subscription expired and stated that he did not believe he had cancelled the subscription. He testified that he knew the Daily People's World was the West Cost Communist newspaper.

15. It was reported in 1950 that you stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that you had in the past made contributions to Communist-front organizations, although at the time you did not know of Communist Party control or extent of infiltration of these groups. You further stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that some of these contributions were made through Isaac Folkoff, whom you knew to be a leading Communist Party functionary, because you had been told that this was the most effective and direct way of helping these groups.

The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer made the statements attributed to him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Board concludes that Dr. Oppenheimer in the past made contributions to Communist-front organizations and that some of these contributions were made through Isaac Folkoff, a leading Communist Party functionary.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he contributed to Spanish causes through Communist Party channels from the winter of 1937-38 until early in 1942. He said that he had contributed more than $500 and less than $1,000 each year during this period. He testified that he made the contributions in cash and, in explaining how these contributions came to an end, he said (in referring to Pearl Harbor) that he "didn't like to continue a clandestine operation of any kind at a time when I saw myself with the possibility or prospect of getting more deeply involved in the war."

Dr. Oppenheimer in his answer admitted making the contributions through Thomas Addis and Isaac Folkoff. He testified that he knew Addis was a Communist or very close to a Communist. He knew that Folkoff was connected with the Communist Party. In addition, Dr. Oppenheimer admitted having contributed about $100 in cash to the Strike Fund of one of the major strikes of "Bridges' Union" about 1937 or 1938.

16. It was reported that you attended a housewarming party at the home of Kenneth and Ruth May on September 20, 1941, for which there was an admission charge for the benefit of The People's World, and that at this party you were in the company of Joseph W. Weinberg and Clarance Hiskey, who were alleged to be members of the Communist Party and to have engaged

in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. It was further reported that you informed officials of the United States Department of Justice in 1942 that you had no recollection that you had attended such a party, but that since it would have been in character for you to have attended such a party, you would not deny that you were there.

The Board concludes on the basis of information before it, that it was probable that Dr. Oppenheimer attended "the housewarming party" at the home of Kenneth and Ruth May. The Board concludes that Dr. Oppenheimer made the statements to the U. S. Department of Justice officials attributed to him.

Dr. Oppenheimer did not deny having attended such a party and testified that he knew Kenneth May. He denied knowing Hiskey but testified that he, Oppenheimer, was at parties at which Weinberg was present.

17. It was reported that you attended a closed meeting of the professional section of the Communist Party of Alameda County, California, which was held in the latter part of July or early August, 1941, at your residence, 19 Kenilworth Court, Berkeley, California, for the purpose of hearing an explanation of a change in Communist Party policy. It was further reported that you denied that you attended such a meeting and that such a meeting was held in your home.

The Board is of the opinion that the evidence with respect to this meeting is inconclusive. The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer did deny that he attended such a meeting and that such a meeting was held in his home.

18. It was reported that you stated to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1950 that you attended a meeting in 1940 or 1941, which may have taken place at the home of Haakon Chevalier, which was addressed by William Schneiderman, whom you knew to be a leading functionary of the Communist Party. In testimony in 1950 before the California State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, Haakon Chevalier was identified as a member of the Communist Party in the San Francisco area in the early 1940's.

The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer made the statements attributed to him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that on December 1, 1940, he attended an evening meeting at the home of Haakon Chevalier at which perhaps 20 people were present and at which William Schneiderman, Secretary of the Communist Party in California, gave a talk about the Communist Party line. He testified that he thought that possibly Isaac Folkoff, Dr. Addis and Rudy Lambert were there.

He also testified that "after the end of 1940" he attended a similar meeting at the home of Louise Bransten, "a Communist sympathizer," at which some of the same people were present and at which Schneiderman also spoke and expounded the Communist Party line.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that sometime between 1937 and 1939 as a "guest" he attended a Communist Party meeting at the home of his brother, Frank.

19. It was reported that you have consistently denied that you have ever been a member of the Communist Party. It was further reported that you stated to a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1946 that you had a change of mind regarding the policies and politics of the Soviet Union about the time of the signing of the Soviet-German Pact in 1939. It was further reported that during 1950 you stated to a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that you had never attended a closed meeting of the Communist Party; and that at the time of the Russo-Finnish War and the subsequent break between Germany and Russia in 1941, you realized the Communist Party infiltration tactics into the alleged anti-Fascist groups and became fed up with the whole thing and lost what little interest you had.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer made the statements attributed to him by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

It was further reported, however, that:

19(a). Prior to April, 1942, you had contributed $150 per month to the Communist Party in the San Francisco Area, and that the last such payment was apparently made in April, 1942, immediately before your entry into the atomic bomb Project.

The Board concludes on the basis of testimony and other information before it that Dr. Oppenheimer made periodic contributions through Communist Party functionaries to the Communist Party in the San Francisco area in amounts aggregating not less than $500 nor more than $1,000 a year during a period of approxima ely four years ending in April 1942. As of April 1942, Dr. Oppenheimer had been for several months participating in Government atomic energy research activities. He executed a questionnaire for Government clearance on 28 April 1942, and subsequently assumed full-time duties with the atomic energy project.

19(b). During the period 1942-1945 various officials of the Communist Party, including Dr. Hannah Peters, organizer of the Professional Section of the Communist Party, Alameda County, California, Bernadette Doyle, secretary of the Alameda County Communist Party, Steve Nelson, David Adelson, Paul Pinsky, Jack Manley, and Katrina Sandow, are reported to have made statements indicating that you were then a member of the Communist Party; that you could not be active in the Party at that time; that your name should be removed from the Party mailing list and not mentioned in any

way; that you had talked the atomic bomb question over with Party members during this period; and that several years prior to 1945 you had told Steve Nelson that the Army was working on an atomic bomb.

The Board finds that during the period 1942-45, Dr. Hannah Peters, Bernadette Doyle, Steve Nelson, Jack Manley and Katrina Sandow made statements indicating that Dr. Oppenheimer was then a member of the Communist Party; and that the other statements attributed to officials of the Communist Party in this allegation were made by one or more of them. The Board does not find on the basis of information available to it that such statements were made by David Adelson and Paul Pinsky.

19(c). You stated in August of 1943 that you did not want anybody working for you on the Project who was a member of the Communist Party, since "one always had a question of divided loyalty" and the discipline of the Communist Party was very severe and not compatible with complete loyalty to the Project. You further stated at that time that you were referring only to present membership in the Communist Party and not to people who had been members of the Party. You stated further that you knew several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist Party. You did not, however, identify such former members of the Communist Party to the appropriate authorities. It was also reported that during the period 1942-1945 you were responsible for the employment on the atomic bomb Project of individuals who were members of the Communist Party or closely associated with activities of the Communist Party, including Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, Joseph W. Weinberg, David Bohm, Max Bernard Friedman, and David Hawkins. In the case of Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz, you urged him to work on the Project, although you stated that you knew he had been very much of a "Red" when he first come to the University of California and that you emphasized to him that he must forego all political activity if he came on to the Project. In August, 1943, you protested against the termination of his deferment and requested that he be returned to the Project after his entry into the military service.

The Board concludes that Dr. Oppenheimer did state in 1943 that he did not want anybody working for him on the Project who was a member of the Communist Party since "one always had a question of divided loyalty" and the discipline of the Communist Party was very severe and not compatible with complete loyalty to the Project. He further stated at that time he was referring only to present membership in the Communist Party and not to people who had been members of the Party. He stated further that he knew several individuals then at Los Alamos who had been members of the Communist Party. He did not, however, identify such former members of the Communist Party to the appropriate authorities.

The Board concludes that Dr. Oppenheimer was responsible for the employment on the atom bomb Project of Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz at Berkeley and David Hawkins at Los Alamos.

The Board concludes that Dr. Oppenheimer asked for the transfer of David Bohm to Los Alamos, although Bohm was closely associated with the Communist Party. In his answer, Dr. Oppenheimer admitted that while at Berkeley he had assigned David Bohm to a problem of basic science having a bearing on atomic research.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he understood that Hawkins had left-wing associations; and that Hawkins "talked about philosophy in a way that indicated an interest and understanding and limited approval anyway of Engels."

The Board does not conclude that Dr. Oppenheimer was responsible for the employment of Friedmann or Weinberg on the Atomic Energy Program.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that Joseph W. Weinberg was a graduate student of his; that he had heard that Weinberg had been a member of the Young Communist League before coming to Berkeley and the Board had before it a transcript of a conversation with Dr. Oppenheimer indicating that at least by August 1943, he knew Weinberg to be a member of the Communist Party and that he "suspected that before but was not sure." Weinberg gave Oppenheimer as a reference at the time he (Weinberg) obtained employment at the Radiation Laboratory on April 22, 1943.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he asked General Groves for the transfer of David Bohm to Los Alamos in 1943, but was told by General Groves that he could not be transferred since he had relatives in Nazi Germany. In March, 1944, after a conversation with Bohm at Berkeley, (a surveillance report indicated that the talk took place at a sidewalk meeting) he checked with the Security Officer at Los Alamos to see whether the objections to Bohm still obtained.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he thought that in 1946 or 1947 he helped Bohm get a job as Assistant Professor of Physics at Princeton. He testified that he happened to meet Bohm and Lomanitz on the street in Princeton in 1949 just prior to their testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities; that he said that "they should tell the truth"; that he later saw Bohm at Princeton and attended a farewell party for him in Princeton; that he would, if asked, have written a letter of recommendation for Bohm as a competent physicist in connection with a job in Brazil, although he knew and was worried about Bohm having pleaded the Fifth Amendment when he testified.

The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer did urge Lomanitz to work on the project although he knew he had been very much a "Red" when he first came to the University of California and, in fact, during his attendance at the University, and that Dr. Oppenheimer later stated to a Manhattan District official that

he had warned Lomanitz that he must forego all political activity if he came to the project. The Board finds further that in August, 1943, Dr. Oppenheimer protested against the termination of Lomanitz' deferment and urgently requested that he be returned to the Project after his entry into the military service. It appears from the testimony that Dr. Oppenheimer first learned of the impending induction of Lomanitz in a letter from Dr. E. U. Condon who wrote to him "About it in a great sense of outrage."

> 20. It was reported that you stated to representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on September 5, 1946, that you had attended a meeting in the East Bay and a meeting in San Francisco at which there were present persons definitely identified with the Communist Party. When asked the purpose of the East Bay meeting and the identity of those in attendance, you declined to answer on the ground that this had no bearing on the matter of interest being discussed.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true. The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer did attend a meeting in the East Bay and a meeting in San Francisco (see Item 18 above) at which there were present persons definitely identified with the Communist Party and that when he was asked about this meeting by representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on September 5, 1946, he declined to answer on the ground that this had no bearing on the matter of interest being discussed.

The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer advised representatives of the F.B.I. of this meeting in a subsequent interview in 1950.

> 21. It was reported that you attended a meeting at the home of Frank Oppenheimer on January 1, 1946, with David Adelson and Paul Pinsky, both of whom were members of the Communist Party. It was further reported that you analyzed some material which Pinsky hoped to take up with the Legislative Convention in Sacramento, California.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true.

> 22. It was reported in 1946 that you were listed as Vice Chairman on the letterhead of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Inc., which has been cited as a Communist-front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Board concludes that this allegation is true, although the Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer advised the organization in a letter on October 11, 1946, that he was not in accord with its policy and wished to resign. He wrote again on December 2, 1946, insisting upon resignation. The resignation was accepted on December 10, 1946.

23. It was reported that prior to March 1, 1943, possibly three months prior, Peter Ivanov, Secretary at the Soviet Consulate, San Francisco, approached George Charles Eltenton for the purpose of obtaining information regarding work being done at the Radiation Laboratory for the use of Soviet scientists; that George Charles Eltenton subsequently requested Haakon Chevalier to approach you concerning this matter; that Haakon Chevalier thereupon approached you, either directly or through your brother, Frank Friedman Oppenheimer, in connection with this matter; and that Haakon Chevalier finally advised George Charles Eltenton that there was no chance whatsoever of obtaining the information. It was further reported that you did not report this episode to the appropriate authorities until several months after its occurrence; that when you initially discussed this matter with the appropriate authorities on August 26, 1943, you did not identify yourself as the person who had been approached, and you refused to identify Haakon Chevalier as the individual who had made the approach on behalf of George Charles Eltenton; and that it was not until several months later, when you were ordered by a superior to do so, that you so identified Haakon Chevalier. It was further reported that upon your return to Berkeley following your separation from the Los Alamos Project, you were visited by the Chevaliers on several occasions; and that your wife was in contact with Haakon and Barbara Chevalier in 1946 and 1947.

The Board concludes that this allegation is substantially true.

The Board had before it a recording of a conversation between Dr. Oppenheimer and Lt. Col. Boris T. Pash, War Department Intelligence Officer, who had the responsibility for investigating subversive activities at the Radiation Laboratory, University of California at Berkeley. This conversation took place on August 26, 1943, at the Radiation Laboratory.

It was on this occasion that Dr. Oppenheimer reported the incident to Government authorities. He named Eltenton but refused to identify Chevalier. He also stated that the unnamed contact (Chevalier) had approached three persons on the atomic project and in the course of the interview mentioned other factors, such as the use of microfilm or other means and the involvement of the Russian Consulate.

The Board also had before it a transcript of a conversation between Dr. Oppenheimer and Lt. Col. Lansdale which records that on September 12, 1943, Dr. Oppenheimer again refused to name Chevalier but reported the involvement of three others.

It was not until December, 1943, that Dr. Oppenheimer, after being told by General Groves that he would be ordered to divulge the identity of the contact, reported the name of Chevalier.

However, the record shows that having been told of the identity of Chevalier by Dr. Oppenheimer, the Manhattan District officials were still of the opinion that Chevalier had contacted three employees on the atomic project.

Dr. Oppenheimer, in his answer, stated that his friend, Haakon Chevalier, with his wife, visited him at his home on Eagle Hill probably in early 1943. He stated further that during the visit Chevalier came into the kitchen and told him that George Eltenton had spoken to him of the possibility of transmitting technical information to Soviet scientists. Dr. Oppenheimer said that he made some strong remark to the effect that this sounded terribly wrong to him, and the discussion ended there.

Dr. Oppenheimer's answer further states that nothing in his long-standing friendship would have lead him to believe that Chevalier was actually seeking information, and he was certain that Chevalier had no idea of the work on which Dr. Oppenheimer was engaged.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that the detailed story of the Chevalier incident which he told to Colonel Pash on August 26, 1943, and affirmed to Colonel Lansdale on September 12, 1943, was false in certain material respects. Dr. Oppenheimer testified that this story was "a cock-and-bull story;" that "the whole thing was a pure fabrication except for the one name, Eltenton." He said that his only explanation for lying was that he "was an idiot" and he "was reluctant to mention Chevalier" and "no doubt somewhat reluctant to mention myself." He admitted on cross examination, however, that if the story he told Colonel Pash had been true, it would have shown that Chevalier "was deeply involved;" that it was not just a casual conversation; that Chevalier was not an innocent contact, and that it was a criminal conspiracy.

Dr. Oppenheimer admitted that if this story to Colonel Pash had been true, it made things look very bad for both Chevalier and himself. He acknowledged that he thought the request for information by Eltenton was "treasonable." He admitted that he knew when he talked to Colonel Pash that his falsification impeded Colonel Pash's investigation.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that in June or July of 1946 shortly after Chevalier was interviewed by the F.B.I. about the Eltenton-Chevalier Incident, Chevalier came to Oppenheimer's home in Berkeley and told Oppenheimer about the interview; that Chevalier said the F.B.I. had pressed him about whether he talked to anyone besides Oppenheimer; that quite awhile later Dr. Oppenheimer was interviewed by the F.B.I. about the same matter, and at this time he knew from Chevalier substantially what Chevalier had said to the F.B.I. about the incident.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he recalled getting a letter from Chevalier in 1950 asking him about Dr. Oppenheimer's testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee concerning the Chevalier-Eltenton incident. He responded, giving

Chevalier a summary of what he, Dr. Oppenheimer, had testified. This letter was later used by Chevalier in support of his application for a passport. Dr. Oppenheimer further testified that at about that time, Chevalier came to Princeton and spent two days with Dr. Oppenheimer, discussing Chevalier's personal affairs and that he also then mentioned the matter of his passport. Dr. Oppenheimer said that on this occasion he recommended to Chevalier a lawyer named Joseph Fanelli, who, cross examination disclosed, was the attorney who represented Joseph Weinberg at his trial for perjury. Dr. Oppenheimer testified that he did not know Mr. Fanelli at this time but he had represented Frank Oppenheimer at his appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified further that in December of 1953, when he and Mrs. Oppenheimer were in Paris, they had dinner with Dr. and Mrs. Chevalier and, on the following day, went with the Chevaliers to visit a Dr. Malraux. According to Dr. Oppenheimer, Dr. Malraux had given a speech at a "Spanish Relief" meeting in California at which Chevalier presided in about 1938. Dr. Oppenheimer said that since that time, Malraux had undergone "rather major political changes;" that "Malraux became a violent supporter of DeGaulle and his great brainman and deserted politics and went into purely philosophic and literary work." It appears also that subsequent to his meeting with Dr. Oppenheimer in Paris in December 1953, Chevalier wrote a letter to an official of the United States Embassy in Paris, reading as follows:

> "My friend -- and yours -- Robert Oppenheimer, gave me your name when he was up for dinner here in our apartment early last December, and urged me to get in touch with you if a personal problem of mine which I discussed with him became pressing. He gave me to understand that I could speak to you with the same frankness and fullness as I have with him, and he with me, during the fifteen years of our friendship.
>
> "I should not have presumed to follow up such a suggestion if it had come from anyone else. But, as you know, Opje never tosses off such a suggestion lightly.
>
> "If you are in Paris, or will be in the near future, I should, then, like to see you informally and discuss the problem.
>
> "On rereading what I have written, I have a feeling that I have made the thing sound more formidable than it really is. It's just a decision that I have to make, which is fairly important to me, and which Opje in his grandfatherly way suggested that I shouldn't make before consulting you.
>
> "Very sincerely, Haakon Chevalier."

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that the problem which was bothering Chevalier and his wife was that Chevalier was employed as a translator for UNESCO, and he understood that if he continued this work as an American citizen, he would have to be cleared after investigation, and he was doubtful as to whether he would be cleared. He did not wish to renounce his American citizenship but did wish to keep his job, and he was in a conflict about it. Dr. Oppenheimer in his testimony denied going to the American Embassy to assist Dr. Chevalier in getting a passport to return to the United States although he admitted having had lunch with the official in question.

Dr. Oppenheimer also denied discussing with the official in question or anyone else the matter of Chevalier's passport.

Dr. Oppenheimer in his testimony has stated that his association with Chevalier has continued and that he still considers him to be his friend.

24. It was reported that in 1945 you expressed the view that "there is a reasonable possibility that it (the hydrogen bomb) can be made," but that the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb did not appear, on theoretical grounds, as certain as the fission bomb appeared certain, on theoretical grounds, when the Los Alamos Laboratory was started; and that in the Autumn of 1949 the General Advisory Committee expressed the view that "an imaginative and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years." It was further reported that in the Autumn 1949, and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb: (1) on moral grounds, (2) by claiming that it was not feasible, (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable. It was further reported that even after it was determined, as a matter of national policy, to proceed with development of a hydrogen bomb, you continued to oppose the project and declined to cooperate fully in the project. It was further reported you departed from your proper role as an advisor to the Commission by causing the distribution, separately and in private, to top personnel at Los Alamos of the majority and minority reports of the General Advisory Committee on development of the hydrogen bomb for the purpose of trying to turn such top personnel against the development of the hydrogen bomb. It was further reported that you were instrumental in persuading other outstanding scientists not to work on the hydrogen bomb project, and that the opposition to the hydrogen bomb, of which you are most experienced, most powerful, and most effective member, has definitely slowed down its development.

In order to assess the influences of Dr. Oppenheimer on the thermonuclear program, it has been necessary for the Board not only to consider the testimony but also to examine many documents

and records, most of which are classified. Without disclosing the contents of classified documents, the Board makes the following findings, which it believes to be a sufficient reference to this allegation.

The Board confirms that in 1945 Dr. Oppenheimer expressed the view that "'there is reasonable possibility that it (the hydrogen bomb) can be made,' but that the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb did not appear, on theoretical grounds, as certain as the fission bomb appeared certain, on theoretical grounds, when the Los Alamos Laboratory was started; and that in August of 1949, the General Advisory Committee expressed the view that 'an imaginative and concerted attack on the problem has a better than even chance of producing the weapon within five years.'"

With respect to Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude and activities in relation to the hydrogen bomb in World War II, the evidence shows that Dr. Oppenheimer during this period had no misgivings about a program looking to thermonuclear development and, indeed, during the latter part of the war, he recorded his support of prompt and vigorous action in this connection. When asked under cross examination whether he would have opposed dropping an H-Bomb on Hiroshima, he replied that "It would make no sense," and when asked "Why?" replied, "The target is too small." He testified further under cross examination that he believed he would have opposed the dropping of an H-Bomb on Japan because of moral scruples although he did not oppose the dropping of an A-Bomb on the same grounds. During the post-war period, Dr. Oppenheimer favored, and in fact urged, continued research in the thermonuclear field and seemed to express considerable interest in results that were from time to time discussed with him. However, he was aware that the efforts being put forth in this endeavor were relatively meager and he knew that if research were continued at the same pace, there would be little likelihood of success for many years. Testimony in this connection indicated that there was a feeling on his part that it was more important to go forward with a program for the production of a wider range of atomic bombs.

The Board finds further that in the Autumn of 1949, and subsequently, Dr. Oppenheimer strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb on moral grounds; on grounds that it was not politically desirable; he expressed the view that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development without seriously interfering with the orderly development of the program for fission bombs; and until the late spring of 1951, he questioned the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb efforts then in progress.

Dr. Oppenheimer testified that what he was opposing in the fall of 1949 was only a "crash program" in the development and production of thermonuclear weapons. In this connection, Dr. Oppenheimer contended that the main question relating to thermonuclear weapons presented to the GAC at its meeting of October 29, 1949, was whether or not the United States should

undertake such a crash program. The Board does not believe that Dr. Oppenheimer was entirely candid with the Board in attempting to establish this impression. The record reflects that Dr. Oppenheimer expressed the opinion in writing that the "super bomb should never be produced," and that the commitment to this effect should be unqualified. Moreover, the alternatives available to the GAC were not a choice between an "all-out effort" and no effort at all; there was a middle course which might have been considered.

The Board further concludes that after it was determined, as a matter of national policy (January 31, 1950) to proceed with development of a hydrogen bomb, Dr. Oppenheimer did not oppose the project in a positive or open manner, nor did he decline to cooperate in the project. However, Dr. Oppenheimer is recognized in scientific circles as one of the foremost leaders in the atomic energy field and he has had considerable influence on the "policy direction" of the atomic program. The Board finds that his views in opposition to the development of the H-Bomb as expressed in 1949 became widely known among scientists, and since he did not make it known that he had abandoned these views, his attitude undoubtedly had an adverse effect on recruitment of scientists and the progress of the scientific effort in this field. In other words, the Board finds, that if Dr. Oppenheimer had enthusiastically supported the thermonuclear program either before or after the determination of national policy, the H-bomb project would have been pursued with considerably more vigor, thus increasing the possibility of earlier success in this field.

The Board finds that Dr. Oppenheimer was not responsible for the distribution, separately and in private, to top personnel at Los Alamos of the majority and minority reports of the General Advisory Committee on development of the hydrogen bomb, but that such distribution was made on the direction of the then General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission, Carroll L. Wilson, apparently in order to prepare the personnel at Los Alamos to discuss the matter with the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the Congress.

The Board does not find that Dr. Oppenheimer urged other scientists not to work on the program. However, enthusiastic support on his part would perhaps have encouraged other leading scientists to work on the program.

Because of technical questions involved, the Board is unable to make a categorical finding as to whether the opposition of the hydrogen bomb "has definitely slowed down its development." The Board concludes that the opposition to the H-bomb by many persons connected with the atomic energy program, of which Dr. Oppenheimer was the "most experienced, most powerful and most effective member" did delay the initiation of concerted effort which led to the development of a thermonuclear weapon.

General Considerations

We do not believe that our findings with respect to the letter of notification provide a full and automatic answer to the categorical question posed to us in these proceedings. Only the dimensions of the problem have perhaps been defined. On the one hand, we find no evidence of disloyalty. Indeed, we have before us much responsible and positive evidence of the loyalty and love of country of the individual concerned. On the other hand, we do not believe that it has been demonstrated that Dr. Oppenheimer has been blameless in the matter of conduct, character and association.

We could in good conscience, we believe, conclude our difficult undertaking by a brief, clear and conclusive recommendation to the General Manager of the Commission in the following terms: There can be no tampering with the national security, which in times of peril must be absolute, and without concessions for reasons of admiration, gratitude, reward, sympathy, or charity. Any doubts whatsoever must be resolved in favor of the the national security. The material and evidence presented to this Board leave reasonable doubts with respect to the individual concerned. We, therefore, do not recommend reinstatement of clearance.

It seemed to us that an alternative recommendation would be possible, if we were allowed to exercise mature practical judgment without the rigid circumscription of regulations and criteria established for us.

In good sense, it could be recommended that Dr. Oppenheimer simply not be used as a consultant, and that therefore there exists no need for a categorical answer to the difficult question posed by the regulations, since there would be no need for access to classified material.

The Board would prefer to report a finding of this nature. We have had a desire to reconcile the hard requirements of security with the compelling urge to avoid harm to a talented citizen.

The Board questioned why the Commission chose to revoke Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance and did not follow the alternative course of declining to make use of his services, assuming it had serious questions in the area of security. To many, this would seem the preferable line of action. We think that the answer of the Commission to this question is pertinent to this recital. It seemed clear that other agencies of Government were extending clearance to Dr. Oppenheimer on the strength of AEC clearance, which in many quarters is supposed to be an approval of the highest order. Furthermore, it was explained that without the positive act of withdrawal of access, he would continue to receive classified reports on Atomic Energy activities as a consultant, even though his services were not specifically and currently engaged. Finally it is said that were his clearance continued, his services would be available to, and probably would be used by, AEC contractors. It is noted that most AEC work is carried on by contractors.

Withdrawal of clearance and Dr. Oppenheimer's request for a hearing precipitated this proceeding.

In view of the fact that we must address ourselves to security, we feel constrained to examine some of the great issues and problems brought into focus by the case. Many of these are perhaps more important than the outcome of this inquiry. We believe their examination is a necessary precondition to its disposition on security grounds.

What, within the framework of this case, is meant by loyalty?

Because of widespread confusions and misapprehensions about the security system of the United States, the Board feels that it must state some considerations with respect to loyalty. If a person is considered a security risk in terms of loyalty, the fact or possibility of active disloyalty is assumed, which would involve conduct giving some sort of aid and comfort to a foreign power. The Communist Party is an international conspiracy organized in support of the Soviet Union. It should then be clear that (1) a member of the Communist Party is automatically barred from a position of trust with the United States Government; (2) a fellow-traveler must be declared ineligible for such a position of trust -- such a person being described as one who perhaps may not be subject to party discipline, but who is sufficiently close to the Party, or sympathetic with its aims, purposes and methods that danger inheres in the situation; (3) any person whose absolute loyalty to the United States is in question, aside from present or former Communist affiliations or associations, should be rejected for Government service; (4) a person whose former status would be encompassed in one, two or three above, has the burden of proof of change in position and attitude which must be so clearly borne by him as to leave no reasonable doubt in the minds of those who are called upon to make a Governmental decision in the case. If he fails in this demonstration, he must be considered a security risk and denied access to classified information.

One of the important issues presented in cases of this sort is that of rehabilitation

Stated in the context of this proceeding, must we accept the principle that once a Communist, always a Communist, once a fellow-traveler, always a fellow-traveler? Can an individual who has been a member of the Communist Party, or closely enough associated with it to make the difference unimportant at a later time, so comport himself personally, so clearly have demonstrated a renunciation of interest and sympathy, so unequivocally have displayed a zeal for his country and its security as to overcome the necessary presumptions of security risk? We, as a Board, firmly believe that this can be the case, and, if we may be permitted something in the nature of a dictum, we believe that this principle should be a part of the security policy of the United States Government. The necessary but harsh requirements of security should not deny a man the right to have made a mistake if its recurrence is so remote a possibility as to permit a comfortable prediction as to the sanity and correctness of future conduct.

This Board has been conscious of the atmosphere of the time in which Dr. Oppenheimer's clear-cut Communist affiliations occurred. We have considered his activities against the background of the pervasive disillusionment among many of our people arising out of the effects of the great depression and the perhaps normal tendency of a humanitarian to turn to an organization which seemed to him to be espousing primarily humanitarian causes. We recognize what may have seemed to be at the time a beckoning towards a better social order. We know that many academic people and other intellectuals, honest and moral though they were, misinterpreted the talk, aims and purposes of the Communist Party and its affiliated organizations. We are aware that the fact that the Soviet Union was an ally during some of those years cannot be overlooked. This intellectual exercise has, we think, not been inappropriate because we recognize that 1943 conduct cannot be judged solely in the light of 1954 conditions. At the same time, it must be remembered that standards and procedures of 1943 should not be controlling today.

Another vital question is, can an individual be loyal to the United States and, nevertheless, be considered a security risk?

Because the security interests of this country may be endangered by involuntary act, as well as by positive conduct of a disloyal nature, personal weaknesses of an individual may constitute him a security risk. These would include inordinate use of alcohol or drugs, personal indiscretion (in the sense of careless talk), homosexuality, emotional instability, tendency to yield to pressures of others, unusual attachment for foreign systems. The presence of any of these items would support a finding of security risk, even though in every case accompanied by a deep love of country.

There remains also an aspect of the security system which perhaps has had insufficient public attention. This is the protection and support of the entire system itself. It must include an understanding and an acceptance of security measures adopted by responsible Government agencies. It must include an active cooperation with all agencies of Government properly and reasonably concerned with the security of our country. It must involve a subordination of personal judgment as to the security status of an individual as against a professional judgment in the light of standards and procedures when they have been clearly established by appropriate process. It must entail a wholehearted commitment to the preservation of the security system and the avoidance of conduct tending to confuse or obstruct.

The Board would assert the right of any citizen to be in disagreement with security measures and any other expressed policies of Government. This is all a part of the right of dissent which must be preserved for our people. But the question arises whether an individual who does not accept and abide by the security system should be a part of it.

In this connection, we should acknowledge that in the early war years very few people were aware of the full implications of security or security measures which needed to be undertaken. Even many of those in the military services found themselves for a time in a new field. This was a new concept under strange and alien pressures. We believe that no person should now be held accountable for lack of full knowledgeability in the early years of the war. However, those who have been associated with it during the war years and subsequently and who have been exposed repeatedly to security measures, should not fail to understand the need for their full support of the system.

Another major question posed by these proceedings is whether we should take calculated risks where the national security is involved

It has been urged upon us that where there is lingering doubt about the security status of an individual in the absence of a finding of disloyalty or a tendency towards indiscretion, we should take a calculated risk in granting clearance to such an individual if he is a man of great attainments and capacity and has rendered outstanding services.

Within the framework of our national philosophy which rests in large part upon the declaration that all men are equal before the bar of justice, can we apply one test to an individual, however brilliant his capacities and however magnificent his contributions, and another test to an individual with more mundane capabilities and lesser contributions? In other words, can a different test for security purposes be justified in the case of the brilliant technical consultant than in the case of the stenographer or clerk? It seems to us that such a distinction can be justified only on the ground of critical national need and that otherwise there can be but one standard for all.

We acknowledge that the national necessity may at times require the taking of a calculated risk. Such a calculated risk was taken in the employment and retention of Dr. Oppenheimer as Director of the Los Alamos Laboratory during the war years, on the ground of the overriding need for his services. The officer-in-charge has said that, had he found the risk becoming a danger, he would have felt impelled to open up the whole project and throw security to the winds rather than lose the talents of the individual. Again, wartime exigencies demanded the use of Nazi scientists before the issues with Germany were settled.

What we have learned in this inquiry makes the present application of this principle inappropriate in the instant case. Notwithstanding the undoubted and unparalleled contributions of Dr. Oppenheimer to the atomic energy program, it appears that his services as a consultant were used by the Atomic Energy Commission during the entire year of 1953 for a period approximating only two and one-half days' time. We conclude, therefore, that our recommendation should not be based upon such principle, overriding all other considerations.

Another major issue which has been highlighted by this inquiry is whether a moral principle akin to double jeopardy in the traditional legal sense should have a place in the jurisprudence of security.

We properly ask ourselves the question: How many times may the same circumstances of a man's life be examined with a view toward determination of his security status? Once a responsible agency of the Government has made an evaluation, should this not be a bar to later and similar consideration by the same or another agency in the absence of newly discovered evidence or developments. This is an important consideration and the Board has undertaken to examine it with care.

It must be made clear to the public by the Government that its employees and consultants are not to be subject to repeated and capricious reviews of their loyalty or security status. In General, this Board believes that responsible prior clearance should be given great weight and should be virtually considered a settled matter in cases where there is manifestly no new material or developments of consequence. We would not urge this as an absolute principle, however, for the reason that the criminal law concept referred to is for the protection of the individual whereas security measures are for the protection of the country, whose interests should never be foreclosed.

There seems to be a widespread view that such a principle should apply in the case at hand. It has been suggested that the clearance by the Manhattan Engineering District and the subsequent action of the AEC in 1947 should be controlling. We believe this not to be sound.

In the first place, we must acknowledge the important difference between an administrative review of files not involving the personal appearance of the employee and of which he is probably not aware, and a hearing before the Board at which the employee appears and at which testimony is taken. This is the first occasion of review of this case by a Personnel Security Board. Indeed, this is the only time that all of the available evidence regarding Dr. Oppenheimer has been correlated and presented in a package. This latter fact suggests the second reason why Dr. Oppenheimer is not being placed in double jeopardy in a moral sense by this proceeding. It was necessary to the national security that material information not considered in previous clearances be studied.

Third, new developments have occurred since the granting of previous clearances. Among these are changed national and international circumstances and new security standards and criteria which have been published in the interim. We refer specifically to the AEC criteria published since 1947 and the Executive Order of the President of April 27, 1953.

It must be recalled that the Manhattan District criteria were primarily loyalty and discretion. Such records as are available with respect to the AEC clearance in 1947 indicate that in general it was based in large part upon the earlier clearance by the Manhattan Engineering District, upon a finding of loyal service to the country, and the risk to the program in the loss of services of the individual.

Fourth, viewed against the background of earlier history, the conduct of the individual subsequently to 1947 has been such as to raise questions of security risk.

Another major issue prompted by these proceedings concerns itself with the extent of the right of a citizen to continued employment by his Government because of loyal and distinguished accomplishment in Government service.

There are those who seem deeply convinced that Dr. Oppenheimer has a right to continued employment, in view of his previous contributions and in the light of his brilliant capabilities. Citizens of this country have many inalienable rights, but it is clear that Government service is a privilege and not a right. This principle was simply, but effectively, stated by Oliver Wendell Holmes:

> ". . . The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman . . ."

We deem it, therefore, to be within the power of Government in the absence of Civil Service requirement or contractual relationships to terminate employment of a consultant at any time.

A major question which has repeatedly emerged in our deliberations is whether in determining the security status of an individual who is a scientist, the Government must take into account the reactions of, and the possible impact upon, all other scientists.

The Board takes cognizance of the serious alarm expressed to it by witnesses and frequently adverted to in the public press that denial of clearance to Dr. Oppenheimer would do serious harm in the scientific community. This is a matter of vital concern to the Government and the people.

We should express our considered view that, because the loyalty or security risk status of a scientist or any other intellectual may be brought into question, scientists and intellectuals are ill-advised to assert that a reasonable and sane inquiry constitutes an attack upon scientists and intellectuals generally. This Board would deplore deeply any notion that scientists are under attack in this country and that prudent study of any individual's conduct and character within the necessary demands of the national security could be either in fact or in appearance a reflection of anti-intellectualism.

The Board has taken note of the fact that in some cases of this sort groups of scientists have tended towards an almost professional opposition to any inquiry about a member of the group. They thus, by moving in a body to the defense of one of their number, give currency, credence, and support to a notion that they as a group are under attack. A decision of a Board of this sort, whether favorable or unfavorable to the individual whose case is before it, should be considered neither as an exoneration of all

scientists from imputations of security risk nor a determination that all scientists are suspect.

We know that scientists, with their unusual talents, are loyal citizens, and, for every pertinent purpose, normal human beings. We must believe that they, the young and the old and all between, will understand that a responsible Government must make responsible decisions. If scientists should believe that such a decision in Government, however distasteful with respect to an individual, must be applicable to his whole profession, they misapprehend their own duties and obligations as citizens.

In this connection, the Board has been impressed, and in many ways heartened by the manner in which many scientists have sprung to the defense of one whom many felt was under unfair attack. This is important and encouraging when one is concerned with the vitality of our society. However, the Board feels constrained to express its concern that in this solidarity there have been attitudes so uncompromising in support of science in general, and Dr. Oppenheimer in particular, that some witnesses have, in our judgment, allowed their convictions to supersede what might reasonably have been their recollections.

One important consideration brought into focus by this case is the role of scientists as advisors in the formulation of Government policy.

We must address ourselves to the natural constraints and the particular difficulties inherent in the AEC program itself. As a nation we find it necessary to delegate temporary authority with respect to the conduct of the program and the policies to be followed to duly elected representatives and appointive officials as provided for by our constitution and laws. For the most part, these representatives and officials are not capable of passing judgment on technical matters and, therefore, appropriately look to specialists for advice. We must take notice of the current and inevitable amplification of influence which attaches to those giving advice under these circumstances. These specialists have an exponential amplification of influence which is vastly greater than that of the individual citizen.

It must be understood that such specialists did not, as scientists, deliberately create this condition. For example, Dr. Oppenheimer served his Government because it sought him. The impact of his influence was felt immediately and increased progressively as his services were used. The nation owes these scientists, we believe, a great debt of gratitude for loyal and magnificent service. This is particularly true with respect to Dr. Oppenheimer.

A question can properly be raised about advice of specialists relating to moral, military and political issues, under circumstances which lend such advice an undue and in some cases decisive weight. Caution must be expressed with respect to judgments which go beyond areas of special and particular competence.

Any man, whether specialist or layman, of course, must have the right to express his deep moral convictions; must have the privilege of voicing his deepest doubts. We can understand the

emotional involvement of any scientist who contributed to the development of atomic energy and thus helped to unleash upon the world a force which could be destructive of civilization. Perhaps no American can be entirely guilt-free, and, yet, these weapons did not bring peace nor lessen the threats to the survival of our free institutions. Emotional involvement in the current crisis, like all other things, must yield to the security of the nation.

Dr. Oppenheimer himself testified, "I felt perhaps quite wrongly that having played an active part in promoting a revolution in warfare I needed to be as responsible as I could with regard to what came of this revolution".

We have no doubt that other distinguished and devoted scientists have found themselves beset by a similar conflict.

It is vitally important that Government and scientists alike understand the need for and value of the advice of competent technicians. This need is a present and a continuing one. Yet, those officials in Government who are responsible for the security of the country must be certain that the advice which they seriously seek appropriately reflects special competence on the one hand, and soundly based conviction on the other, uncolored and uninfluenced by considerations of an emotional character.

In evaluating advice from a specialist which departs from the area of his speciality, Government officials charged with the military posture of our country must also be certain that underlying any advice is a genuine conviction that this country cannot in the interest of security have less than the strongest possible offensive capabilities in a time of national danger.

Significance of the Findings of The Board

The facts referred to in General Nichols' letter fall clearly into two major areas of concern. The first of these, which is represented by Items 1 through 23, involves primarily Dr. Oppenheimer's Communist connections in the earlier years and continued associations arising out of those connections.

The second major area of concern is related to Dr. Oppenheimer's attitudes and activities with respect to the development of the hydrogen bomb.

The Board has found the allegations in the first part of the Commission letter to be substantially true, and attaches the following significance to the findings: There remains little doubt that, from late 1936 or early 1937 to probably April, 1942, Dr. Oppenheimer was deeply involved with many people who were active Communists. The record would suggest that the involvement was something more than an intellectual and sympathetic interest in the professed aims of the Communist Party. Although Communist functionaries during this period considered Dr. Oppenheimer to be a Communist, there is no evidence that he was a member of the Party in the strict sense of the word.

Using Dr. Oppenheimer's own characterization of his status during that period, he seems to have been an active fellow-traveler.

According to him, his sympathies with the Communists seem to have begun to taper off somewhat after 1939, and very much more so after 1942. However, it is not unreasonable to conclude from material presented to this Board that Dr. Oppenheimer's activities ceased as of about the time he executed his Personnel Security Questionnaire in April, 1942. He seems to have had the view at that time and subsequently that current involvement with Communist activities was incompatible with service to the Government. However, it also would appear that he felt that former Communist Party membership was of little consequence if the individual concerned was personally trustworthy.

Dr. Oppenheimer's sympathetic interests seemed to have continued beyond 1942 in a diluted and diminishing state until 1946, at which time we find the first affirmative action on his part which would indicate complete rejection. In October, 1946, he tendered his resignation from the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Inc., and he now says it was at this time that he finally realized that he could not collaborate with the Communists, whatever their aims and professed interests. We would prefer to have found an affirmative action at an earlier date.

The Board takes a most serious view of these earlier involvements. Had they occurred in very recent years, we would have found them to be controlling and, in any event, they must be taken into account in evaluating subsequent conduct and attitudes.

The facts before us establish a pattern of conduct falling within the following Personnel Security Clearance criteria: Category A, including instances in which there are grounds sufficient to establish a reasonable belief that an individual or his spouse has (1) Committed or attempted to commit or aided or abetted another who committed or attempted to commit any act of sabotage, espionage, treason, or sedition. (2) Establish an association with espionage agents of a foreign nation . . . (3) Held membership or joined any organization which had been declared by The Attorney Geneal to be . . . Communist, subversive . . . . These criteria under the AEC procedures establish a presumption of security risk.

The Board believes, however, that there is no indication of disloyalty on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer by reason of any present Communist affiliation, despite Dr. Oppenheimer's poor judgment in continuing some of his past associations into the present. Furthermore, the Board had before it eloquent and convincing testimony of Dr. Oppenheimer's deep devotion to his country in recent years and a multitude of evidence with respect to active service in all sorts of Governmental undertakings to which he was repeatedly called as a participant and as a consultant.

We feel that Dr. Oppenheimer is convinced that the earlier involvements were serious errors and today would consider them an indication of disloyalty. The conclusion of this Board is that Dr. Oppenheimer is a loyal citizen.

With respect to the second portion of General Nichols' letter, the Board believes that Dr. Oppenheimer's opposition to the

hydrogen bomb and his related conduct in the post-war period until April, 1951, involved no lack of loyalty to the United States or attachment to the Soviet Union. The Board was impressed by the fact that even those who were critical of Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment and activities or lack of activities, without exception, testified to their belief in his loyalty.

The Board concludes that any possible implications to the contrary which might have been read into the second part of General Nichols' letter are not supported by any material which the Board has seen.

The Board wishes to make clear that in attempting to arrive at its findings and their significance with respect to the hydrogen bomb, it has in no way sought to appraise the technical judgments of those who were concerned with the program.*

We cannot dismiss the matter of Dr. Oppenheimer's relationship to the development of the hydrogen bomb simply with the finding that his conduct was not motivated by disloyalty, because it is our conclusion that, whatever the motivation, the security interests of the United States were affected.

We believe that, had Dr. Oppenheimer given his enthusiastic support to the program, a concerted effort would have been initiated at an earlier date.

Following the President's decision, he did not show the enthusiastic support for the program which might have been expected of the chief atomic adviser to the Government under the circumstances. Indeed, a failure to communicate an abandonment of his earlier position undoubtedly had an effect upon other scientists. It is our feeling that Dr. Oppenheimer's influence in the atomic scientific circles with respect to the hydrogen bomb was far greater than he would have led this Board to believe in his testimony before the Board. The Board has reluctantly concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer's candor left much to be desired in his discussions with the Board of his attitude and position in the entire chronology of the hydrogen bomb problem.

We must make it clear that we do not question Dr. Oppenheimer's right to the opinions he held with respect to the development of this weapon. They were shared by other competent and devoted individuals, both in and out of Government. We are willing to assume that they were motivated by deep moral conviction. We are concerned, however, that he may have departed his role as scientific adviser to exercise highly persuasive influence in matters in which his convictions were not necessarily a reflection of technical judgment, and also not necessarily related to the protection of the strongest offensive military interests of the country.

In the course of the proceedings, there developed other facts which raised questions of such serious import as to give us concern about whether the retention of Dr. Oppenheimer's services would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States.

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*This is the end of page 32 referred to in the minority report of Dr. Ward V. Evans.

It must be said that Dr. Oppenheimer seems to have had a high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets. However, we do find suggestions of a tendency to be coerced, or at least influenced in conduct over a period of years.

By his own testimony, Dr. Oppenheimer was led to protest the induction into military service of Giovanni Rossi Lomanitz in 1943 by the outraged intercession of Dr. Condon. It is to be remembered that, at this time, Dr. Oppenheimer knew of Lomanitz's connections and of his indiscretions. In 1949, Dr. Oppenheimer appeared in executive session before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and at that time was asked about his friend, Dr. Bernard Peters. Dr. Oppenheimer confirmed the substance of an interview with the security officer which took place during the war years and in which he had characterized Dr. Peters as a dangerous Red and former Communist. This testimony soon appeared in the Rochester, New York, newspapers. At this time, Dr. Peters was on the staff of the University of Rochester. Dr. Oppenheimer, as a result of protestations by Dr. Condon, by Dr. Peters himself, and by other scientists, then wrote a letter for publication to the Rochester newspaper, which, in effect, repudiated his testimony given in secret session. His testimony before this Board indicated that he failed to appreciate the great impropriety of making statements of one character in a secret session and of a different character for publication, and that he believed that the important thing was to protect Dr. Peters' professional status. In that episode, Dr. Condon's letter, which has appeared in the press, contained a severe attack on Dr. Oppenheimer. Nevertheless, he now testifies that he is prepared to support Dr. Condon in the loyalty investigation of the latter.

Executive Order 10450 in listing criteria to be taken into account in cases of this sort indicates in part the following:

> "Section 8(a)(1)(i) any behavior, activities, or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy.
>
> (v) Any facts which furnish reason to believe that the individual may be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure which may cause him to act contrary to the best interest of the national security."

Whether the incidents referred to clearly indicate a susceptibility to influence or coercion within the meaning of the criteria or whether they simply reflect very bad judgment, they clearly raise the question of Dr. Oppenheimer's understanding, acceptance, and enthusiastic support of the security system. Beginning with the Chevalier invident, he has repeatedly exercised an arrogance of his own judgment with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens to an extent which has frustrated and at times impeded the workings of the system. In an interview with agents of the F.B.I. in 1946, which in good part concerned itself with questions about Chevalier, when asked about a meeting which Dr. Oppenheimer had attended, at which Communists and Communist sympathizers were in attendance, he declined to discuss it on the ground that it was irrelevant, although the meeting itself

was held in Chevalier's home. In a subsequent interview, he declined to discuss people he had known to be Communists.

Indeed, in the course of this proceeding, Dr. Oppenheimer recalled pertinent details with respect to Communist meetings and with respect to individuals with Communist connections, which he had never previously disclosed in the many interviews with Government authorities, in spite of the fact that he had been interviewed regarding such matters.

In 1946 or 1947, he assisted David Bohm in getting a position at Princeton and, at least on a casual basis, continued his associations with Bohm after he had reason to know of Bohm's security status. He testified that today he would give Bohm a letter of recommendation as a physicist, and, although not asked whether he would also raise questions about Bohm's security status, he in no way indicated that this was a matter of serious import to him.

While his meeting with Lomanitz and Bohm immediately prior to their appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1949, at which time both plead the Fifth Amendment, may have been a casual one as he testified, he nevertheless discussed with them their testimony before that Committee.

Moreover, his current associations with Dr. Chevalier, as discussed in detail in item No. 23, are, we believe, of a high degree of significance. It is not important to determine that Dr. Oppenheimer discussed with Chevalier matters of concern to the security of the United States. What is important is that Chevalier's Communist background and activities were known to Dr. Oppenheimer. While he says he believes Chevalier is not now a Communist, his association with him, on what could not be considered a casual basis, is not the kind of thing that our security system permits on the part of one who customarily has access to information of the highest classification.

Loyalty to one's friends is one of the noblest of qualities. Being loyal to one's friends above reasonable obligations to the country and to the security system, however, is not clearly consistent with the interests of security.

We are aware that in these instances Dr. Oppenheimer may have been sincere in his interpretation that the security interests of the country were not disserved; we must, however, take a most serious view of this kind of continuing judgment.

We are constrained to make a final comment about General Nichols' letter. Unfortunately, in the press accounts in which the letter was printed in full, Item number 24, which consisted of one paragraph, was broken down into four paragraphs. Many thoughtful people, as a result, felt that the implication of one or more of these paragraphs as they appeared in the press standing alone was that the letter sought to initiate proceedings which would impugn a man on the ground of his holding and forcefully expressing strong opinions. It is regrettable that the language of the letter or the way in which it publicly appeared, might have

given any credence to such an interpretation. In any event, the Board wishes strongly to record its profound and positive view that no man should be tried for the expression of his opinions.

Recommendation

In arriving at our recommendation we have sought to address ourselves to the whole question before us and not to consider the problem as a fragmented one either in terms of specific criteria or in terms of any period in Dr. Oppenheimer's life, or to consider loyalty, character and associations separately.

However, of course, the most serious finding which this Board could make as a result of these proceedings would be that of disloyalty on the part of Dr. Oppenheimer to his country. For that reason, we have given particular attention to the question of his loyalty, and we have come to a clear conclusion, which should be reassuring to the people of this country, that he is a loyal citizen. If this were the only consideration, therefore, we would recommend that the reinstatement of his clearance would not be a danger to the common defense and security.

We have, however, been unable to arrive at the conclusion that it would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States to reinstate Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance and, therefore, do not so recommend.

The following considerations have been controlling in leading us to our conclusion:

1. We find that Dr. Oppenheimer's continuing conduct and associations have reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of the security system.

2. We have found a susceptibility to influence which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country.

3. We find his conduct in the hydrogen bomb program sufficiently distrubing as to raise a doubt as to whether his future participation, if characterized by the same attitudes in a Government program relating to the national defense, would be clearly consistent with the best interests of security.

4. We have regretfully concluded that Dr. Oppenheimer has been less than candid in several instances in his testimony before this Board.

Respectfully submitted.

/s/ Gordon Gray
Gordon Gray, Chairman

/s/ Thomas A. Morgan
Thomas A. Morgan

MINORITY REPORT OF DR. WARD V. EVANS

I have reached the conclusion that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's clearance should be reinstated and am submitting a minority report in accordance with AEC procedure.

The Board, appointed by the Commission, has worked long and arduously on the Oppenheimer case. We have heard 40 witnesses and have taken some 3,000 pages of testimony in addition to having read a similar number of pages of file material. We have examined carefully the notification letter to Dr. Oppenheimer from Mr. Nichols of December 23, 1953, and all other relevant material.

I am in perfect agreement with the majority report of its "findings" with respect to the allegations in Mr. Nichols' letter and I am in agreement with the statement of the Board concerning the significance of its "findings" to the end of page 32.* I also agree with the last paragraph of this section in which the Board makes a final comment on Mr. Nichols' letter. I do not, however, think it necessary to go into any philosophical discussion to prove points not found in Mr. Nichols' letter.

The derogatory information in this letter consisting of twenty-four items has all been substantiated except for one item. This refers to a Communist meeting held in Dr. Oppenheimer's home, which he is supposed to have attended.

On the basis of this finding, the Board would have to say that Dr. Oppenheimer should not be cleared.

But this is not all.

Most of this derogatory information was in the hands of the Commission when Dr. Oppenheimer was cleared in 1947. They apparently were aware of his associations and his left-wing policies; yet they cleared him. They took a chance on him because of his special talents and he continued to do a good job. Now when the job is done, we are asked to investigate him for practically the same derogatory information. He did his job in a thorough and painstaking manner. There is not the slightest vestige of information before this Board that would indicate that Dr. Oppenheimer is not a loyal citizen of his country. He hates Russia. He had Communistic friends, it is true. He still has some. However, the evidence indicates that he has fewer of them than he had in 1947. He is not as naive as he was then. He has more judgment; no one on the Board doubts his loyalty - even the witnesses adverse to him admit that - and he is certainly less of a security risk than he was in 1947, when he was cleared. To deny him clearance now for what he was cleared for in 1947, when we must know he is less of a security risk now than he was then, seems to be hardly the procedure to be adopted in a free country.

We don't have to go out of our way and invent something to prove that the principle of "double jeopardy" does not apply here. This is not our function, and it is not our function to rewrite any clearance rules. The fact remains he is being investigated twice for the same things. Furthermore, we don't have to dig

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* The reference is to page 32 of the typewritten document. In this reproduction the material referred to is to the end of the second full paragraph at the top of page 30.

deeply to find other ways that he may be a security risk outside of loyalty, character and association. He is loyal, we agree on that. There is, in my estimation, nothing wrong with his character. During the early years of his life, Dr. Oppenheimer devoted himself to study and did not vote or become interested in political matters until he was almost thirty. Then, in his ignorance, he embraced many subversive organizations.

His judgment was bad in some cases, and most excellent in others but, in my estimation, it is better now than it was in 1947 and to damn him now and ruin his career and his service, I cannot do it.

His statements in cross examination show him to be still naive, but extremely honest and such statements work to his benefit in my estimation. All people are somewhat of a security risk. I don't think we have to go out of our way to point out how this man might be a security risk.

Dr. Oppenheimer in one place in his testimony said that he had told "a tissue of lies." What he had said was not a tissue of lies; there was one lie. He said on one occasion that he had not heard from Dr. Seaborg, when in fact he had a letter from Dr. Seaborg. In my opinion he had forgotten about the letter or he would never have made this statement for he would have known that the Government had the letter. I do not consider that he lied in this case. He stated that he would have recommended David Bohm as a physicist to Brazil, if asked. I think I would have recommended Bohm as a physicist. Dr. Oppenheimer was not asked if he would have added that Bohm was a Communist. In recent years he went to see Chevalier in Paris. I don't like this, but I cannot condemn him on this ground. I don't like his about face in the matter of Dr. Peters, but I don't think it subversive or disloyal.

He did not hinder the development of the H-bomb and there is absolutely nothing in the testimony to show that he did.

First he was in favor of it in 1944. There is no indication that this opinion changed until 1945. After 1945 he did not favor it for some years perhaps on moral, political or technical grounds. Only time will prove whether he was wrong on the moral and political grounds. After the Presidential Directive of January 31, 1950, he worked on this project. If his opposition to the H-bomb caused any people not to work on it, it was because of his intellectual prominence and influence over scientific people and not because of any subversive tendencies.

I personally think that our failure to clear Dr.Oppenheimer will be a black mark on the escutcheon of our country. His witnesses are a considerable segment of the scientific backbone of our nation and they endorse him. I am worried about the effect an improper decision may have on the scientific development in our country. Nuclear physics is new in our country. Most of our authorities in this field came from overseas. They are with us now. Dr. Oppenheimer got most of his education abroad. We have taken hold of this new development in a very great way. There is no predicting where and how far it may go and what its future

potentialities may be. I would very much regret any action to retard or hinder this new scientific development.

I would like to add that this opinion was written before the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists came out with its statement concerning the Oppenheimer case.

This is my opinion as a citizen of a free country.

I suggest that Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance be restored.

/s/ W. V. Evans
Ward V. Evans

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
Washington 25, D. C.

May 28, 1954

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Findings and Recommendation of the Personnel Security Board which has been considering your case. A majority of the Board recommends that your clearance not be reinstated.

You have the right, under Section 4.18 of the Atomic Energy Commission's Security Clearance Procedures, to request review of your case by the Personnel Security Review Board and to submit a brief in support of your contentions. If you wish such review, it is necessary that you submit your request to me within five days of your receipt of this letter or June 7, 1954, whichever is later, and that your brief be filed with me not later than twenty days after your receipt of this letter.

If you do not request review of your case by the Personnel Security Review Board within the prescribed time, a final determination will be made on the basis of the existing record.

Upon full consideration of the entire record in the case, including the recommendation of the Personnel Security Review Board in the event you request review by that Board, I shall submit to the Commission my recommendation as to whether or not your clearance should be reinstated. The final determination will be made by the Commission.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Garrison, along with additional copies of the Personnel Security Board's Findings and Recommendation.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ K. D. Nichols

K. D. Nichols
General Manager

cc: Lloyd K. Garrison, Esq.
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton
& Garrison
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WASHINGTON OFFICE
1614 EYE STREET, N.W.
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June 1, 1954

General K.D. Nichols
General Manager
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear General Nichols:

Dr. Oppenheimer has received your letter of May 28, 1954, in which you enclosed a copy of the "Findings and Recommendation of the Personnel Security Board" dated May 27. In this document the Board unanimously found that Dr. Oppenheimer was a loyal citizen, but by a 2 to 1 vote, Dr. Ward V. Evans dissenting, recommended that Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance should not be reinstated. Dr. Oppenheimer has asked me to send you this reply on his behalf.

You informed Dr. Oppenheimer that he might have until June 7 to notify the Commission whether he would request a review of the case by the Commission's Personnel Security Review Board. You also informed him that, after considering the record (including the recommendation of the Review Board if a review were taken), you would make your recommendation to the Commission and the Commission would finally determine the matter.

Since the Commission is in any event to decide the case, it seems to us that no useful purpose would be served by our requesting the Review Board to go over the matter afresh and to make

a recommendation that would have no more finality to it than that which the Personnel Security Board has already made.

Such a review would entail further delay, which Dr. Oppenheimer is naturally anxious to avoid; moreover, Dr. Oppenheimer's annual contract as a Consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission expires on June 30, the end of the fiscal year, and with it his clearance (now suspended) would automatically expire, so that if this case is not finally determined by June 30, the possibility exists that the question of reinstating Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance might be regarded as moot and might be left in a state of confusion and uncertainty. We do not believe that such an outcome would be in the public interest. Accordingly, Dr. Oppenheimer waives his privilege of review by the Personnel Security Review Board and requests immediate consideration of the case by the Atomic Energy Commission.

In order to assist the Commission in its deliberations, and because of the great public importance of some of the issues raised by the majority and minority opinions of the Personnel Security Board, we request the Commission's permission to file a brief and to make oral argument. A brief is already in the course of preparation and can be delivered to the Commission by June 7 (the latest date specified in your letter to request review). Argument of counsel can, we are sure, be arranged to meet the Commission's convenience.

Meanwhile we think it fitting to identify for the Commission what we conceive to be certain issues of basic importance which are presented by the majority and minority opinions. We believe it essential, however, that the Commission have the

benefit of critical analysis and illumination of these issues, which can only be supplied adequately by the brief and oral argument herein requested.

To begin with, the majority's conclusion not to recommend the reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance stands in such stark contrast with the Board's findings regarding Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and discretion as to raise doubts about the process of reasoning by which the conclusion was arrived at. All members of the Board agreed:

(1) That the nation owed scientists "a great debt of gratitude for loyal and magnificent service" and that "This is particularly true with respect to Dr. Oppenheimer." (p.27)

(2) That "we have before us much responsible and positive evidence of the loyalty and love of country of the individual concerned" (p. 21), and "eloquent and convincing testimony of Dr. Oppenheimer's deep devotion to his country in recent years and a multitude of evidence with respect to active service in all sorts of Governmental undertakings to which he was repeatedly called as a participant and as a consultant." (p.29)

(3) That "even those who were critical of Dr. Oppenheimer's judgment and activities or lack of activities, without exception, testified to their belief in his loyalty." (p.30)

(4) That "we have given particular attention to the question of his loyalty, and we have come to a clear conclusion, which should be reassuring to the people of this country, that he is a loyal citizen. If this were the only consideration, therefore, we would recommend that the reinstatement of his clearance

would not be a danger to the common defense and security." (p.33)

(5) That "It must be said that Dr. Oppenheimer seems to have had a high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets." (p.31)

In spite of these findings of loyalty and of discretion in the handling of classified data, the majority of the Board reached the conclusion that Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance should not be reinstated. How can this be? The majority advanced four considerations as controlling in leading them to their conclusion (p.33).

The first two -- an alleged "serious disregard for the requirements of the security system", and an alleged "susceptibility to influence" -- rest upon an appraisal of the evidence which we do not think is justified by the record. Taking sharp issue, as we do, with the majority's treatment of the incidents cited in support of these two considerations, we cannot undertake here to review the detailed evidence, but propose to do so in the brief.

We would like, however, to draw attention to two of the incidents referred to by the majority in support of these considerations, merely to indicate the care with which we think the record needs to be reviewed by the Commission. The majority held it against Dr. Oppenheimer, apparently as an example of his supposed susceptibility to influence, that despite a severe attack on him by Dr. Edward Condon in 1949, in a letter which appeared in the press, Dr. Oppenheimer is now prepared to support Dr. Condon in

the latter's pending loyalty investigation (p.31). It seems to us strange that a man should be criticized for refusing to let his personal feelings stand in the way of his giving evidence on behalf of a man he believes to be loyal. The majority further criticized Dr. Oppenheimer for his continuing associations and supposed disregard of security requirements in that "In 1946 or 1947 he assisted David Bohm [a former student] in getting a position at Princeton and, at least on a casual basis, continued his associations with Bohm after he had reason to know of Bohm's security status. He testified that today he would give Bohm a letter of recommendation as a physicist, and, although not asked whether he would also raise questions about Bohm's security status, he in no way indicated that this was a matter of serious import to him." (p.32) Dr. Evans' comment on this incident was: "I think I would have recommended Bohm as a physicist. Dr. Oppenheimer was not asked if he would have added that Bohm was a Communist." (p.35)

We propose to analyze in detail, in brief and argument, these and other incidents referred to by the majority as bearing on Dr. Oppenheimer's supposed "disregard" for the "security system" and "susceptibility to influence".

The third and fourth considerations advanced by the majority for concluding that Dr. Oppenheimer was a "security risk" warrant more extended comment here.

The third item -- Dr. Oppenheimer's "conduct in the hydrogen bomb program", characterized as "disturbing," -- and the fourth -- alleged "lack of candor" in several instances in his

testimony -- require discussion, because they involve questions of policy and procedure which we wish particularly to draw to the Commission's attention in a preliminary way.

In the case of the third consideration -- Dr. Oppenheimer's so-called disturbing conduct in the hydrogen bomb program -- the Board's unanimous findings of fact again stand in stark contrast with the conclusion of the majority. Thus the Board unanimously found:

(1) That Dr. Oppenheimer's opposition to the H-bomb program "involved no lack of loyalty to the United States or attachment to the Soviet Union." (p.30)

(2) That his opinions regarding the development of the H-bomb "were shared by other competent and devoted individuals, both in and out of Government." (p. 30)

(3) That it could be assumed that these opinions "were motivated by deep moral conviction." (p.30)

(4) That after the national policy to proceed with the development of the H-bomb had been determined in January 1950, he "did not oppose the project in a positive or open manner, nor did he decline to cooperate in the project." (p.20)

(5) That the allegation that he urged other scientists not to work on the hydrogen bomb program was unfounded. (p.20)

(6) That he did not, as alleged, distribute copies of the General Advisory Report to key personnel with a view to

turning them against the project, but that on the contrary this distribution was made at the Commission's own direction. (p.20)

In short, all the basic allegations set forth in General Nichols' letter to Dr. Oppenheimer of December 23, 1953, regarding any improper action by him in the H-bomb problem were disproved.

In the face of these unanimous findings, the majority then somehow conclude that "the security interests of the United States were affected" by Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude toward the hydrogen bomb program. (p.30). Why? Because, according to the majority of the Board:

> "We believe that, had Dr. Oppenheimer given his enthusiastic support to the program, a concerted effort would have been initiated at an earlier date.
>
> "Following the President's decision, he did not show the enthusiastic support of the program which might have been expected of the chief atomic adviser to the Government under the circumstances. Indeed, a failure to communicate an abandonment of his earlier position undoubtedly had an effect upon other scientists." (p.30)

Without taking into account the factual evidence, which in our opinion should have led the Board to an opposite conclusions, we submit that the injection into a security case of a scientist's alleged lack of enthusiasm for a particular program is fraught with grave consequences to this country. How can a scientist risk advising the government if he is told that at some later day a security board may weigh in the balance the degree of his enthusiasm for some official program? Or that he may be held

accountable for a failure to communicate to the scientific community his full acceptance of such a program?

In addition to Dr. Oppenheimer's alleged lack of "enthusiasm", there are indications that the majority of the Board may also have been influenced in recommending against the reinstatement of Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance by judgments they had formed as to the nature and quality of the advice he gave to the AEC. While the majority of the Board stated -- with sincerity, we are sure -- that "no man should be tried for the expression of his opinions" (p.33), it seems to us that portions of the majority opinion do just that.

For example, the opinion says that while the Board can understand "the emotional involvement of any scientist who contributed to the development of atomic energy and thus helped to unleash upon the world a force which could be destructive of civilization", nevertheless "emotional involvement" of this sort in the current crisis "must yield to the security of the nation"; and government officials "who are responsible for the security of the country must be certain that the advice which they seriously seek appropriately reflects special competence on the one hand, and soundly based conviction on the other, uncolored and uninfluenced by considerations of an emotional character." (p.28) Does this mean that a loyal scientist called to advise his government does so at his peril unless, contrary to all experience, he can guarantee that his views are unaffected by his heart and his spirit?

The opinion further stated that defense officials "must also be certain that underlying any advice is a genuine conviction

that this country cannot in the interest of security have less than the strongest possible offensive capabilities in a time of national danger." (p.28) Does this mean that a loyal scientist called to advise his government does so at his peril if he happens to believe in the wisdom of maintaining a proper balance between offensive and defensive weapons?

It would appear from the following passage about Dr. Oppenheimer's advice that the majority of the Board assumed affirmative answers to both of the foregoing questions:

> "We are concerned, however, that he may have departed his role as scientific adviser to exercise highly persuasive influence in matters in which his convictions were not necessarily a reflection of technical judgment, and also not necessarily related to the protection of the strongest offensive military interests of the country." (p.30)

This poses a serious issue. If a scientist whose loyalty is unquestioned may nevertheless be considered a security risk because in the judgment of a board he may have given advice which did not necessarily reflect a bare technical judgment, or which did not accord with strategical considerations of a particular kind, then he is being condemned for his opinions. Surely our security requires that expert views, so long as they are honest, be weighed and debated and not that they be barred.

We quite agree with the Board's view that, "because the loyalty or security risk status of a scientist or any other intellectual may be brought into question, scientists and intellectuals are ill-advised to assert that a reasonable and sane inquiry consti-

tutes an attack upon scientists and intellectuals generally." (p.26) This statement, however, begs the fundamental question as to what are the appropriate limits of a security inquiry under existing statutes and regulations, and under a government of laws and not of men -- a question of concern not merely to scientists and intellectuals but to all our people.

* * * * *

As to the majority's comments about Dr. Oppenheimer's alleged lack of "candor" in "several instances in his testimony", we shall ask the Commission to take special note of the observations in Dr. Evans' minority opinion that while Dr. Oppenheimer's "statements in cross-examination show him to be still naive", they also show him to be "extremely honest and such statements work to his benefit in my estimation" and that while "his judgment was bad in some cases" it was "most excellent in others but it is better now than it was in 1947", when the Atomic Energy Commission unanimously cleared him. We shall also direct the Commission's attention to the fact that the text of the Board's report contains only three specific references to alleged lack of candor, all having to do with the hydrogen bomb program (pp.20 and 30). [We should point out that as to two of these references (p.30) Dr. Evans specifically disassociated himself from the majority (p. 34) and as to the other (p. 20) he did so by clear implication (p.35).] As to all these matters there was extensive testimony not only by Dr. Oppenheimer but also by others who served with him on the General Advisory Committee, including Dr. James B. Conant, Dr. I. I. Rabi (now Chairman of the GAC), Dr. Enrico Fermi, and Mr. Hartley Rowe of

the United Fruit Company; and also by Dr. Norris Bradbury (Dr. Oppenheimer's successor as director of Los Alamos); by Mr. Gordon Dean (former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission); by Dr. Hans Bethe; by Dr. Robert Bacher (a former member of the AEC); and by a number of other distinguished men.

In brief and argument we expect to analyze for the Commission's assistance the evidence they gave, which in our judgment bears out the truth and sincerity of Dr. Oppenheimer's account of the H-bomb controversy.

* * * * *

We wish to make two more observations of a general character.

First, we trust that the Commission in weighing the evidence, including the instances of alleged lack of candor, will take into account certain procedural difficulties which beset the presentation of Dr. Oppenheimer's case. Weeks before the hearing commenced we asked you and the Commission's general counsel for much information which we thought relevant to our case but which was denied us -- documents and minutes concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's 1947 clearance and a variety of other material. Much of this information did come out in the hearings but usually only in the course of cross-examination when calculated to cause the maximum surprise and confusion and too late to assist us in the orderly presentation of our case. Some of the information which was denied to us before the hearing was de-classified at the moment of cross-examination or shortly before and was made available to us only during cross-examination or after.

It is true that Dr. Oppenheimer was accorded the privilege of re-examining, prior to the hearings, reports and other material in the preparation of which he had participated. But he was not given access to the broad range of material actually used and disclosed for the first time at the hearings by the Commission's special counsel who had been retained for the case. And of course Dr. Oppenheimer was not given access to the various documents which, according to the Board's report "under Governmental necessity cannot be disclosed, such as reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." (p.31)

The voluminous nature of this undisclosed material appears from the Board's report. It notes that in our hearings the Board heard 40 witnesses and compiled over 3,000 pages of testimony; and we then learn from the report that "in addition" the Board has "read the same amount of file material." (p.2) We can only speculate as to the contents of this "file material." We cannot avoid the further speculation as to how much of this material might have been disclosed to Dr. Oppenheimer in the interests of justice without any real injury to the security interests of the government if established rules of exclusion, which the Board felt bound to apply and we to accept, had not stood in the way.

Having in mind the difficulties and handicaps which have been recounted above, we urge upon the Commission as strongly as possible the following:

(1) That in weighing the testimony, and particularly those portions where documents were produced on cross-examination in

the manner described above, the Commission should constantly bear in mind how, under such circumstances, the natural fallibility of memory may easily be mistaken for disingenuousness;

(2) That in the consideration of documentary material not disclosed to Dr. Oppenheimer, the Commission should be ever conscious of the unreliability of ex parte reports which have never been seen by Dr. Oppenheimer or his counsel or tested by cross-examination; and

(3) That if in the course of the Commission's deliberations the Commission should conclude that any hitherto undisclosed documents upon which it intends to rely may be disclosed to us without injury to what may be thought to be over-riding interests of the national government, they should be so disclosed before any final decision is made.

* * * * *

Our final observation has to do with the general structure of the Board's report, and with what has been omitted from it which we feel the Commission should put in the forefront of its consideration if it is to view this case in anything like the true perspective of history -- a history through which Dr. Oppenheimer has lived and which in part he has helped to create.

The Board's opinion, as required by the AEC Procedures, makes specific findings on each allegation of "derogatory information" contained in your letter of December 23, 1953. These findings, which are placed at the beginning of the report, are not thereafter,

except in Dr. Evans' dissenting opinion, considered in the context of Dr. Oppenheimer's life as a whole. Dr. Oppenheimer's letter to you of March 4, 1954, in answer to yours of December 23, 1953, stated at the outset that "the items of so-called 'derogatory information' set forth in your letter cannot fairly be understood except in the context of my life and work."

In his letter Dr. Oppenheimer tried to describe the derogatory information about him in that context. There is, in fact, little in the Board's findings that did not appear from what Dr. Oppenheimer volunteered about himself in his original letter to you. Over and above that, he gave a picture of his life and times without which the items of derogatory information cannot fairly be understood -- a picture to which many witnesses added who had known him intimately and had worked side by side with him in the positions of high responsibility which the government, first in war and then in peace and then in the cold war, successively devolved upon him. This picture, which is glimpsed in Dr. Evans' vivid opinion, does not appear at all in the main body of the report, nor is any mention made of the many witnesses who testified at his behest. Some of these we have already named above. The others were Mervin J. Kelly, president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories; General Leslie R. Groves; T. Keith Glennan, president of Case Institute of Technology; Karl T. Compton, retired president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Col. John Lansdale, Jr., wartime senior security officer for the atomic bomb project; James B. Fisk, vice president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories; Prof. Jerrold B. Zacharias, of M.I.T.; Oliver E. Buckley, of the GAC,

retired chairman of the Bell Telephone Laboratories; General Frederick H. Osborn; Ambassador George F. Kennan; Prof. Walter G. Whitman, of M.I.T.; Harry A. Winne, former vice-president of General Electric, chairman of the Defense Department's Panel on Atomic Energy; Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution; Sumner T. Pike, former Atomic Energy Commissioner; David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of the A.E.C.; Lee A. DuBridge, president of California Institute of Technology; James R. Killian, Jr., president of M.I.T.; Prof. Norman F. Ramsey, Jr., of Harvard; Maj. Gen. James McCormack, Jr., vice-commander of the Air Research and Development Command; John J. McCloy, chairman of the Chase National Bank; Prof. John von Neumann of the Institute for Advanced Study; Prof. John H. Manley of the University of Washington, former secretary of the G.A.C.; and Prof. Charles C. Lauritsen of the California Institute of Technology. The witnesses included ten former and present members of the General Advisory Committee, and five former Atomic Energy Commissioners.

Since all these witnesses testified to Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and since the Board unanimously found him to be loyal, the omission of their names from the report was understandable; but we mention them here and direct the Commission's attention particularly to their testimony, to which we hope to refer in brief and argument, because they did much more than vouch for Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty. These, and the other men previously mentioned, were not ordinary character witnesses who tell about a man's reputation in the community. Every one of them had served with Dr. Oppenheimer, either at Los Alamos or on the many governmental boards and committees to

which he was later appointed. They saw him on the job and off the job, and in their varied testimony about their contacts with him over many years they helped to fill in the picture of the "man himself" which the Atomic Energy Commission, in its 1948 opinion in Dr. Frank Graham's case, said should be considered in determining whether an individual is a good or bad security risk.

Because we believe that the "man himself" can only be understood, and therefore fairly judged, by the closest attention to the testimony of those who have known him and worked intimately with him, as well as to his own testimony, we are particularly hopeful that the Commission will permit us to file a brief and to be heard.

In closing this letter we wish to record our appreciation of the patience and consideration accorded to Dr. Oppenheimer and his counsel by Mr. Gray, Mr. Morgan and Dr. Evans throughout the nearly four weeks of hearings, and our recognition of the sacrifices which they made in the public interest in assuming the long and arduous task assigned to them.

Mr. John W. Davis has authorized me to say that he joins in this letter and will join in the brief.

Very truly yours,

Lloyd K. Garrison

cc: Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman
Mr. Joseph Campbell
Mr. Thomas E. Murray
Dr. Henry D. Smyth
Mr. Eugene M. Zuckert

NIGHT LETTER

MARCH 25, 1954

DEAN ERWIN N. GRISWOLD
LAW SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASS.

I SAY YOU MY THANKS FOR THE TEXT AND THE ENCOURAGEMENT.

ED MURROW

1-43-7

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge 38, Mass.

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

March 22, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I have just read the treatment of you in the March 19, 1954 issue of Counterattack -- which for the past couple of years I have felt I had to read.

This is just to say that I remain one of your strong admirers and supporters, and hope that you will continue to do your important work as you have been doing it.

With the thought that you might possibly be interested, I am enclosing a reprint of a speech on the Fifth Amendment which I gave last month, and also a copy of a speech which I am planning to give on Wednesday evening, March 24. The latter deals with procedure in legislative investigations.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

Erwin N. Griswold

Erwin N.Griswold
Dean

Enclosures

Dean Erwin N. Griswold's Speech On Fifth Amendment

(The following speech was delivered by Dean Erwin N. Griswold at the Winter Meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association held in Springfield, Massachusetts, on Friday, February 5, 1954.)

It is Reprinted as a Courtesy of The Harvard Law School Record, Student weekly Publication.

President Bodfish, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Old friends are good friends. Yet even with the best of friends problems sometimes arise. I have the feeling that that is in a sense the situation we find ourselves in with respect to the Fifth Amendment. It has been with us a long time. It is rather comforting to have around. Yet in the past few years it has come to our consciousness as it rarely has before, and it has been troublesome to many members of the public. It has seemed to me worth while, therefore, to undertake a review of the Fifth Amendment with the thought that ordinarily the better we understand something in human experience, the less fearsome it becomes.

Before going further it may be well to introduce our old friend itself. The Fifth Amendment contains a number of provisions which are commonplace. It is the source of our constitutional rule that serious criminal charges must be made by indictment of a grand jury. It provides against double jeopardy, against the taking of property without due process of law, and against the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. Along with these other provisions is the phrase which has currently come to the fore: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." In this connection, it is well to mention the fact that the Massachusetts Constitution has a corresponding provision, which antedates that in the Federal Constitution. Article XII of the Bill of Rights in the Massachusetts Constitution, adopted in 1780, provides that "No subject shall . . . be compelled to accuse, or furnish evidence against himself." We are not dealing with either an alien or a novel doctrine.

Historians can trace the origin of this privilege back to the twelfth century. Apparently it began in controversies between the king and the bishops. The bishops sought to examine people about a wide variety of alleged offenses, and the king sought to limit the bishops to purely ecclesiastical subjects. By the sixteenth century the idea had been reduced to a latin maxim which was rather frequently voiced, but which does not seem by any means to have reflected the practice of that period. This maxim is: Nemo tenetur prodere se ipsum – or, in English, No one should be required to accuse himself. As early as 1589, the young Coke apparently obtained a writ of prohibition against proceedings in the spiritual courts, on this ground. *Cullier and Cullier*, Cro. Eliz. 201 (1589). But the maxim was then little more than an idea. Over the next 50 years, it was apparently standard practice not only to make suspected persons give evidence against themselves, but also to use torture to make sure that the accused would speak. Indeed, it appears that Coke himself at times participated in the administration of torture for this purpose. As we think of the development of the privilege as it has continued to this day, we should not overlook the fact of its close connection with the struggle to eliminate torture as a governmental practice.

It seems quite clear that we owe the privilege of today primarily to Freeborn John Lilburn. He was a cantankerous person, the sort to whom we owe much for many of our basic rights. One of his contemporaries said that "if all the world was emptied of all but John Lilburn, Lilburn would quarrel with John and John with Lilburn." Like most contentious people, he was stubborn. In 1637, he was haled before the Star Chamber on a charge of having imported certain heretical and seditious books. He refused to take the oath to answer truly, and the Council of the Star Chamber condemned him to be whipped and pilloried, for his "boldness in refusing to take a legal oath," without which many offences might go "undiscovered and unpunished." And in 1638, the sentence was carried out.

But Lilburn persisted. He filed a petition with Parliament, and in 1641 the House of Commons voted that the sentence was "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Later, the House of Lords concurred with this view, and ordered an indemnity paid to him in the amount of £3,000, which was a very large sum in those days.

This event seems to have been enough to establish the privilege against self-incrimination as a part of the common law. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, we find many occasions when the privilege was recognized by the English courts, and it has been recognized ever since. Indeed, it is still a matter of common law in England. But it is very deeply imbedded in the common law.

Thus, the privilege came to this continent as a part of the legal heritage of our early settlers. Some trace of the privilege is found in this Commonwealth as early as 1637, in the trial of Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright. It was also recognized in the other colonies, although the evidences are rather scarce.

Let me read to you a record which has come down to us from Pennsylvania in 1689. In that year, William Bradford was summoned before the Governor and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania. Bradford was the man who introduced the art of printing to the middle provinces of America. He was about twenty-six years old when this episode occurred.

At the instance of one of the citizens of Pennsylvania, Bradford had printed the Charter of the Province so that people could see their rights. He had not put his name on the pamphlet, apparently anticipating some trouble. Here is the examination, chiefly by the Governor. You may want to consider whether you have ever heard anything like it before.

"Governour.–Why, sir, I would know by what power of authority you thus print? Here is the Charter printed!

"Bradford.–It was by Governour Penn's encouragment I came to this Province, and by his license I print.

"Governour.–What, sir, had you license to print the Charter? I desire to know from you, whether you did print the Charter or not, and who set you to work?

"Bradford.–Governour, it is an impracticable thing for any man to accuse himself; thou knows it very well.

"Governour.–Well, I shall not much press you to it, but if you were so ingenuous as to confess, it should go the better with you.

"Bradford.–Governour, I desire to know my accusers; I think it very hard to be put upon accusing myself.

"Governour.–Can you deny that you printed it? I do know you did print it, and by whose directions, and will prove it, and make you smart for it, too, since you are so stubborn.

"John Hill.–I am informed that one hundred and sixty were printed yesterday, and that Jos. Growden saith he gave 20s for his part towards the printing it.

"Bradford.–It's nothing to me, what 'Jos. Growden saith.' Let me know my accusers, and I shall know the better how to make my defence."

Little is heard about self-incrimination during the eighteenth century. This may well have been because the privilege was generally recognized in the colonies after it had become established as a part of the common law of England. Violation of the privilege did not figure as one of the major grievances of the colonists, although there are occasional references to "Inquisitional Courts," and there was complaint about the roving jurisdiction of the admiralty courts during the controversy over the Stamp Acts. The Privilege was included in the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776 drafted by George Mason, and, apparently largely because of its presence there, it made its way, in various forms, into the constitutions of six or seven of the original States. When the Federal Constitution was ratified, a number of the States proposed amendments, and the privilege against self-incrimination was specifically mentioned. Accordingly, it was included in the proposals made by Congress which became the Fifth Amendment in 1791, and it has been there unchanged ever since. It is truly an old friend, with an ancient and I believe useful history.

A good many efforts have been made to rationlaize the privilege, to explain why it is a desirable or essential part of our basic law. These have been carefully reviewed by Wigmore, and he concludes that none of the explanations is wholly satisfactory. I am going to offer my own attempt to express the reason for the Fifth Amendment, and why I think it is a sound provision of our basic laws, both Federal and State.

I would like to venture the suggestion that the privilege against self-incrimination is one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized. As I have already pointed out, the establishment of the privilege is closely linked historically with the abolition of torture. Now we look upon torture with abhorrence. But torture was once used by honest and conscientious public servants as a means of obtaining information about crimes which could not otherwise be disclosed. We want none of that today, I am sure. For a very similar reason, we do not make even the most hardened criminal sign his own death warrant, or dig his grave, or pull the lever that springs the trap on which he stands. We have through the course of history developed a considerable feeling of the dignity and intrinsic importance of the individual man. Even the evil man is a human being.

If a man has done wrong, he should be punished. But the evidence against him should be produced, and evaluated by a proper court in a fair trial. Neither torture nor an oath nor the threat of punishment such as imprisonment for contempt should be used to compel him to provide the evidence to accuse or to convict himself. If his crime is a serious one careful and often laborious police work may be required to prove it by other evidence. Sometimes no other evidence can be found. But for about three centuries in the Anglo-American legal system, we have accepted the standard that even then we do not compel the accused to provide that evidence. I believe that is a good standard, and that it is an expression of one of the fundamental decencies in the relation we have developed between government and man.

As said by that old tartar, Mr. Justice Stephen J. Field, who was reared in western Massachusetts, "The essential and inherent cruelty of compelling a man to expose his own guilt is obvious to every one, and needs no illustration." And in words which he approved, it is the "result of the long struggle between the opposing forces of the spirit of individual liberty on the one hand and the collective power of the State on the other." *Brown v. Walker*, 161 U. S. 591, 637 (1896).

Where matters of a man's belief, or opinions or political views are essential elements in the charge, it may be most difficult to get evidence from sources other than the suspected or accused person himself. Hence, the significance of the privilege over the years has perhaps been greatest in connection with resistance to prosecution for such offences as heresy or political crimes. In these areas the privilege against self-incrimination has been a protection for freedom of thought, and a hindrance to any government which might wish to prosecute for thoughts and opinions alone.

But the privilege is broader than that. It is applicable to any sort of crime, even the most sordid. Don't we go too far in giving this protection to criminals? Isn't the claim of the privilege the clearest sort of proof that the person who claims it is guilty of a crime? This has been asserted by high authority, but I do not believe it is true.

Apart from its expression of our view of civilized governmental conduct, another purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to protect the innocent. But how can a man claim the privilege if he is innocent? How can a man fear he will incriminate himself if he knows he has committed no crime? Judge Magruder of our own First Circuit Court of Appeals has recently given some illustrations of this in his illuminating opinion in the *Maffie* case, decided last month.

There is, for example, the case of the man who has killed another in self defense, or by accident, without design or fault. He has committed no crime, yet his answer to the question whether he killed the man may well incriminate him. At the very least it will in effect shift the burden of proof to him so that he will have to prove his own innocence. Indeed, the privilege against self-incrimination may well be thought of as a companion of our established rule that a man is innocent until he has been proven guilty.

In this connection let me quote from a Supreme Court decision written long before our present troubles. In *Burdick v. United States*, 236 U. S. 79 (1915, Mr. Justice McKenna wrote, "If it be objected that [Burdick's] refusal to answer was an implication of crime, we answer, not necessarily in fact, not at all in theory of law."

Now let us turn to an area which is closer to that which has recently been of concern. I am going to ask you to assume two sets of facts. You may think that both of the sets of facts are unlikely, and that they do not correspond with any case you have ever heard of. All I ask is that you assume the facts. I am simply putting a hypothetical case; and the facts are not the facts of any specific case.

Here is Case 1. A man is a college teacher. He is an idealist and perhaps slow to recognize realities as idealists sometimes are. He has a great urge for what he regards as social reform. He is native born, went to American schools, and loves his country despite what he regards as its imperfections. You may not agree with his ideas but you would respect his honesty and sincerity. He believes himself thoroughly attached to the country and the Constitution, and he abhors anything involving force and violence. He is a good teacher and works hard on his subjects. He has always believed that as a good citizen he should be interested in politics. Neither of the established political parties provided what he wanted. In the relatively calm period of the past middle 1930's, on the solicitation of a friend, he went to a communist meeting and soon joined the Communist Party. At that time the Communist Party was perfectly legal, and regularly appeared on our ballot. He thought he was simply joining a political party. One of the reasons that led him to join was because he regarded fascism as highly immoral and a great danger to the world, and he felt that the communists were fighting fascism in Spain at this time. His interest was not merely in protecting Spain, but because he thought that fighting fascism there was an important means of guarding against such a danger here.

Now you may say that this is all very unlikely. To this I reply that I am, for the moment, only assuming a hypothetical case, and I should be able to assume any hypothetical case I want. So these are the facts I put before you. You may feel that such a man must have been very naive or lacking in intelligence. To that I would make two replies: First, to say that involves the use of a large amount of hindsight. A man's actions at any time should be evaluated on the basis of the facts then available to him, and the state of his own mind on the basis of what he actually knew, and not by facts we learn later that were not known to him. And my second reply would be that the man may have been naive or obtuse. I would say that he was at least misguided and unwise. But I would point out that being obtuse or naive is a very different thing from being a traitor or a spy.

Let me add a few more facts, assumed by me as before. Our teacher was in a communist cell, with other teachers. The communists had great plans for this group. They wanted to use it to infiltrate American education. However, the communist command was canny. They knew that many or all of the members of this cell of teachers were politically innocent, and that they would recoil quickly from any proposals for sabotage or the use of force and violence. So they treated this group with great care. The group was never subjected to the rigors of communist discipline. It was a study group, and its discussions were kept on a high intellectual plane. The more sordid features of the Marxist doctrine were kept thoroughly in the background. Our teacher never engaged in espionage or sabotage or anything like that, and never saw or heard of any such activities by any member of his group. He would have been horrified by any such actions.

Nevertheless, there were things from time to time which he did not like. He rationalized them in various ways–nothing can be perfect; the thing to do is to stay inside and work against excesses; and so on. Besides he was a stubborn fellow. Once having started out on something he thought was good, he did not lightly give it up. But he became troubled; and after the war he slowly drifted away from the group. He never formally resigned. He just turned away. By the time of the Korean invasion in 1950, he was thoroughly disgusted and saw that he had been used as a dupe. But he was also convinced in his own heart of the rectitude of his actions, if not of their wisdom; and he did not doubt that many of the people who had been associated with him in the venture were just as innocent of wrong-doing as he was sure he was.

Remember I am doing the assuming. You may feel that these facts do not fit an actual case. But I am not trying to state an actual case. I am just assuming a hypothetical case, which is one of the ancient rights of any law teacher.

Now let me turn to Case 2. This man is also a college teacher. He never joined the Communist Party. He never thought of joining the Communist Party. He knew a good deal about the realities of communism, and he was thoroughly opposed to it. He was, however, a man who was interested in causes. His father had been a minister, who had dedicated his life to helping people. He himself had a great urge to participate in activities which he felt would help to alleviate suffering or contribute to social progress. In fact he was a sucker for almost any kind of an appeal. He contributed modest amounts to China Relief. He had always had a warm feeling for the Chinese. Sometimes he found himself on some of the letterheads of some of these organizations as a sponsor. He was not sure that he remembered giving permission to use his name this way; but the cause, as indicated by the attractive name of the organization, was one that appealed to him, and he did not bother himself much about it. After a while he heard some rumblings that there might be some communist influence in these organizations, but he was slow to believe that that could true. In some of the organizations, he had been on committees with thoroughly respectable fellow citizens. He did not want to pull out, because he felt that this would let his friends down. Eventually he heard that some of these organizations had been ruled to be subversive by the Attorney General. But he, too, was a stubborn fellow. He believed in the stated objectives of these organizations. He was also a freeborn American, proud of his country's great traditions, and he allowed his name to be used by some of these organizations, as has been said in a recent article, "as a gesture of opposition to the procedure of proscribing organizations without giving them the right to be heard."

Well, that is the end of my assuming. Let us see what happens to these two individuals. Remember that both of these individuals feel that they are innocent of any wrongdoing. Each one is pure in heart, and perhaps a little too certain of his own rectitude. Each one may now regret some of the things he did, but he does not think that they were wrong. Each one is certain that he is morally innocent of any crime.

We can consider Case 1 first. He is the man who was a member of the Communist Party. He is summoned to appear before a Congressional committee, and is asked whether he is a communist. He answers truthfully: "No." Then he is asked whether he ever was a communist. He is now surely subjected to a substantial risk, even though he honestly believes that he has committed no crime. He knows that a number of communists have been convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, and more have been indicted. Our teacher perhaps magnifies his own predicament. He sees the jail doors opening up if he gives himself the evidence that he was once a communist. Interestingly enough, Section 4(f) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (commonly known as the McCarran Act) provides specifically that "Neither the holding of office nor membership in any communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of . . . this section or of any other criminal statute." But this was enacted

after his period of Party membership. It has been declared to be a crime to be a communist in Massachusetts since 1951, but there may be some possible room to question the effectiveness of this statute in view of the provision of the Federal Act. That the Federal statutes may displace State action is indicated by a decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania just last week.

After much internal torment, the witness finally decides to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment with respect to the question of his past membership in the Communist Party. Putting aside the question of his wisdom in doing this, can there be any doubt that the claim is legally proper? Past membership in the Communist Party is not a crime in itself; but admitting such membership may well be a link in a chain of proof of a criminal charge against him. Persons have been prosecuted under the Smith Act for membership in the Communist Party plus something else. If he supplies the proof of his own membership in the Party, he does not know what other evidence may then be brought against him to show that he has committed a crime. Thus, an answer to the question will definitely incriminate him, that is, provide evidence which could be used in a prosecution against him. Yet, remember that he thoroughly believes that he is not guilty of any crime; and on the facts I have given he is not guilty of a crime.

There are other factors that influence his conclusion. His own experience is an ordeal. He does not want his friends to be subjected to it. He believes in their innocence of any crime. If he thought that they had committed crimes, he would promptly tell the proper officers of the government. By claiming the privilege against self-incrimination, he can refrain from naming any of his associates. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to them. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to his country, too; but since he is convinced that neither he nor his associates have in fact done anything wrong, his desire to protect them from having to experience his own predicament seems to him to have prevailing weight in the actual circumstances.

He claims the privilege. He cannot be prosecuted on the basis of any evidence he has provided. There can be no doubt, I believe, that his claim of privilege is legally justified. Yet, note that on the facts I have assumed he is not guilty of any crime. Of course his claim of privilege as to his membership in the Communist Party means that he must also claim the privilege as to all other questions which relate in any way to what he did, or to his associates in the activity. For if he answers any of those questions, it will clearly connote his own communist activity.

There is one small point which might be brought in here. It is sometimes said that the privilege may only be rightly claimed if the answer to the incriminating question would be "yes." I do not believe that is true. Our man in Case 1 has testified that he is not now a communist. He claims the privilege as to a question which asks him if he ever was a member of the Communist Party. He is then asked: "When did you cease to be a member?" He must claim the privilege as to this, or else his answer will disclose that he once was a member, as to which he has legitimately claimed the privilege. Then the examiner starts a new line. He says: "Were you a member of the Communist Party yesterday?" Now the answer is "No." But the witness who has taken this line cannot answer that question. For if he does, the questions will be continued: "Were you a member of the Party last year?—two years ago?—three years ago?" If he answers any of these accurately with a "no," he will come to the place where he must claim the privilege if he is to maintain his basic position. In this way, the date of his withdrawal could be pinpointed, thus giving valuable information for a possible prosecution. Moreover, he may not be sure just when he withdrew; it was a gradual process. And he may have legitimate fears that an honest answer he might give to a question relating to the transitional period might get him involved in a prosecution for perjury. At any rate, it seems clear that questions of this sort are an illustration of a type of question as to which the privilege may be legitimately claimed, as far as the law is concerned, even though the answer to the question would be "no."

Let us turn to Case 2, which we can dispose of briefly. You will remember that that was the man who had lent his name to causes, and had contributed money; and the causes have now turned out to be communist fronts, although they were attractively named, and many good Americans were, at one time or another, associated with them. But he was never a member of the Communist Party.

This man likewise is summoned before a Congressional investigating committee. The mere fact that he is summoned shows that he is suspected of something rather serious, and he is badly worried. He is asked whether he is now a member of the Communist Party; and he answers "No." Then he is asked whether he ever was in the past. The answer is in fact "no," as we have seen. But he is now in great fear. If he says "No," then he may be subjecting himself to a real risk of a prosecution for perjury. He may rightly fear that proof of the fact of his joining and contributing to so many agencies which have turned out to be front organizations might lead a jury to believe that he actually was a communist.

Now it is probably true that fear of a prosecution for perjury for an answer given to a question is not a proper basis for a claim of the privilege. If it was, almost any witness could claim the privilege as to any question. But our man is in a somewhat different situation. If he says "No," to the question of communist membership, then in his own interest he may have to undertake to state and explain his membership and activities in the various front organizations. The net result may be that he will have to give much evidence which could be used against him in an attempt to prove that he was a member of the communist conspiracy. It would appear, therefore, that he can properly claim the privilege even though his answer to the question as to Communist Party membership at any time would honestly and rightly be "No."

In both of the cases I have put, the privilege may be claimed although the individual was guilty of no crime. In the second case it may be claimed although the person was never a member of the Communist Party. In each case, the inference which would be taken from the claim of the privilege would in fact be unwarranted. The claim of the privilege is surely a serious business, but it is equally surely not the equivalent of an admission of criminal conduct.

There are other reasons why a person may claim the privilege in a particular case. He might get bad advice; but I do not want to press that, as I think that in many of these cases the individual's troubles are caused in part by the fact that he chooses to make his own decisions and does not accept sound advice. But we should not forget that a person on the witness stand may be badly frightened, even though he is wholly innocent. For example, the Supreme Court of the United States has said, in *Wilson v. United States*, 149 U.S. 60, 66 (1893):

"It is not every one who can safely venture on the witness stand though entirely innocent of the charge against him. Excessive timidity, nervousness when facing others and attempting to explain transactions of a suspicious character, and offences charged against him, will often confuse and embarrass him to such a degree as to increase rather than remove prejudices against him. It is not every one, however honest, who would, therefore, willingly be placed on the witness stand."

A witness lost in fear and confusion might turn to the privilege as a means of sanctuary from a situation which he feels himself incompetent to handle. Consider also how much the chance of a witness losing his calm and collected demeanor is enhanced by such things as television, radio microphones, movie cameras, flashing flash bulbs, and procedures which may not seem to him to be based upon the finest spirit of fairness. In connection with this I might mention the recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in *Aiuppa v. United States*, 201 F.2d 287, 300 (1952), where we find the following language in the opinion:

"But, in concluding, we think it may not be amiss to say that, notwithstanding the pronouncements of the committee chairman as to intended fairness, the courts of the United States could not emulate the committee's example and maintain even a semblance of fair and dispassionate conduct of trials in criminal cases.

"Despite the enjoyment by millions of spectators and auditors of the exhibition by television of the confusion and writhings of widely known malefactors and criminals, when sharply questioned as to their nefarious activities, we are unable to give judicial sanction, in the teeth of the Fifth Amendment, to the employment by a committee of the United States Senate of methods of examination of witnesses constituting a triple threat: answer truly and you have given evidence leading to your conviction for a violation of federal law; answer falsely and you will be convicted of perjury; refuse to answer and you will be found guilty of criminal contempt and punished by fine and imprisonment. In our humble judgment, to place a person not even on trial for a specified crime in such predicament is not only not a manifestation of fair play, but is in direct violation of the Fifth Amendment to our national Constitution."

Ordinarily when the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is exercised, it is in a criminal trial. There a specific charge has been made, and the prosecution has by evidence established a prima facie case of guilt of the particular crime charged in the complaint or indictment. Under such circumstances there is much more than the mere claim of the privilege on which to rest an inference of guilt.

In investigations, however, there are no carefully formulated charges. Evidence to support such charges has not been introduced and made known to the witness before he is called upon to answer. He has no opportunity for cross-examination of other witnesses, and often little or no opportunity to make explanations which might have a material bearing on the whole situation. In the setting of an investigation, therefore, the basis for the inference from a claim of privilege against self incrimination is much less than it is when the privilege is exercised in an ordinary criminal trial.

There are two more matters to which I should like to make brief reference. The first of these is the rather technical legal doctrine known as waiver of the privilege. A clear instance of waiver occurs when a defendant in a criminal case voluntarily takes the stand. He then becomes subject to cross-examination, and must answer relevant questions. So far as witnesses at investigations are concerned, our current learning on this is based largely on the Supreme Court's decision in *Rogers v. United States*, 340 U.S. 367 (1951). In that case, a witness testified that she had been treasurer of a local communist party, had had possession of the records, and had turned them over to another person. She then declined to name the person to whom she had given them, claiming the privilege under the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court held that by giving the testimony she did she had waived the privilege, and that she was guilty of contempt for refusing to answer the further questions. There was a dissenting opinion by Justices Black, Frankfurter, and Douglas.

My own view is that this decision was not soundly reasoned, and that it has led to unfortunate results. To me the analogy of an adversary proceeding is not apt when applied to an investigation. As a consequence of this case, witnesses who have legitimate fears of prosecution, but who might be willing to cooperate as far as they could, are induced (if not actually compelled) to refuse to answer any questions at all. For if they do answer a single question, it may be contended that they have waived the privilege so that thereafter they may be compelled to testify against themselves. This threat of waiver is not an imaginary matter. It may be found frequently in the transcripts of the proceedings of Congressional committees.

My guess as to the law is that the *Rogers* case applies only where the witness has given an incriminating answer to a prior question. I do not think it would apply if a witness was asked if he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1945, and he said "No." By the latter answer he has not opened up anything which he refuses to explain. Nevertheless, it will take a Supreme Court decision to provide this clarification of the *Rogers* case; and counsel advising a client may well hesitate to make his client bear the risk and expense of taking a case all the way to the Supreme Court. With the *Rogers* case on the books, the only safe advice may be to claim the privilege at the earliest possible moment, so as to be sure to avoid a charge of waiver.

This doctrine of waiver is, I believe, the true explanation of the refusal of some witnesses to answer such questions as "Have you ever taught communist doctrine in your classroom?" or "Have you ever solicited students to join the Communist Party? These refusals have been deeply disturbing to the public. Yet, answers to these questions may be "No;" but the witness nevertheless fears that he cannot give that answer without its being said that he has waived the privilege as to questions about other sorts of communist activity. Here again we have a situation where the obvious inference from the refusal to answer the question may be completely unwarranted.

Finally, I would like to make reference to one more problem which is collateral to that of the Fifth Amendment. Suppose a witness is summoned before an investigating committee. He does not claim a privilege against self-incrimination, and talks freely about himself, answering all questions about his own activity. He takes the position, however, that he will not answer questions about others. Or suppose a person first refuses to answer virtually all questions, claiming the Fifth Amendment privilege, but he later decides to waive the privilege as to himself. However, he refuses as a matter which he regards as one of principle to identify other people. What should be the situation with respect to such a person?

There have been a number of people who have been summoned before investigating committees and taken this position from the outset. They have answered all questions about themselves, and have refused to identify others. As far as I know, no academic person who has done this has been cited for contempt; nor has any such person lost his job. Should it be any different where the witness has first relied on the Fifth Amendment, but has later changed his position, waiving the privilege as to himself, but still refusing to answer as to others?

The problem is undeniably a difficult one. So long as the witness was claiming the privilege, it could be argued that he had done no wrong. If he had committed any crime, the evidence should be brought forth in the proper way and tried out in court. His refusal to answer was not evidence of any crime. This argument, however, is not available where he waives the privilege by refusing to answer questions relating to other persons. Then his Fifth Amendment privilege is wholly gone, and his situation presents new and rather different problems.

Whether he has committed a crime by his refusal to testify may be extremely difficult to tell. Even if he is cited by the legislative body, it will still be for the grand jury to decide whether to indict; it will remain to the courts to decide such questions as whether the committee was properly constituted, and whether the question asked was relevant to the inquiry. We should not forget that a prosecution for contempt was set aside within the past year by the Supreme Court on the ground that the questions asked the witness—as to the identity of his contributors—were not relevant to the particular inquiry. *United States v. Rumeley*, 345 U.S. 41 (1953).

However such questions go, though, would it not seem that such a person is at least in no worse a position morally than he was when he stood on the Fifth Amendment? He should not be worse off for being willing to speak fully and frankly about himself than he was when he would not talk at all. His refusal to tell on his friends may be both contrary to valid law and unwise. Nevertheless, it may be based on strong grounds of conscience.

Let me do a little more assuming: Let us assume that the witness feels positive in his own mind that the persons with whom he was associated did no wrong to our country. They did not engage in espionage or sabotage or anything like that. They were merely hopeful but misguided people, as he was. Let us assume, too, that this is all far in the past. The persons in question are in other work. They have families to support. If their names are disclosed, they will surely lose their jobs. He must then resolve for himself the question whether he will give their names and subject them to the same sort of ordeal he has been through in order to save himself from further difficulty and possible prosecution. He may be wrong if he decides that he should not protect himself by sacrificing them. I recognize the legal obligation to testify as to others, and the general importance of this both in trials and in investigations. But can it be said clearly that his action is always immoral?

Of course he may be wrong in his judgment of these other people. They may be worse than he thinks they are. But we all have to use judgment on such things. A man may honestly feel that he cannot bring suffering to others in order to save himself. To a considerable extent such questions can only be resolved in a man's own conscience. We are a society which has long depended on and applauded the virtues of the rugged individualist.

I do not justify the past or present conduct of anyone. I seek only to explain. Because of claims of privilege under the Fifth Amendment, and refusal to answer questions, many members of the general public have come to have fear of our educational institutions, and general mistrust of academic people. I firmly believe that these fears are unwarranted. I have tried tonight to show how some of the things that have happened could have happened without there being anything rotten in the universities. It may be a serious error of judgment for an academic person to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, or to refuse to answer questions; but the conduct, regrettable as it is, does not show the existence of treason, espionage, sabotage, or any other serious crime.

The great misfortune from all this, I believe, is that charges are made against our universities and other educational institutions, and more or less believed by some segments of our people. I think myself that it is easy to overestimate the extent of that belief, but it cannot be denied that there is disagreement, uneasiness and even fear in some quarters. As I have said, I think these fears are not soundly based. This is my twentieth year as a Faculty member at Harvard University, and I am thoroughly convinced that the University has acquitted itself well, and that it has been of great value to the country during that time. It is an injustice not only to the faculty members but to the country to allow any conclusion to stand that they are not good Americans or that they do not serve their country well. I think that the Harvard Law School with which I am intimately connected, is a great asset to the country and to the Commonwealth, and, in essence, one of the great conservative influences in our land. If there are any who think otherwise, let them examine the facts, carefully and thoughtfully.

As conservative a judge as Pierce Butler once wrote (*Sinclair v. United States*, 279 U.S. 135, 178 (1927)):

> "It has always been recognized in this country, and it is well to remember, that few if any of the rights of the people guarded by fundamental law are of greater importance to their happiness and safety than the right to be exempt from all unauthorized, arbitrary or unreasonable inquiries and disclosures in respect of their personal and private affairs."

On this matter some final observations may be in order, based on our traditional practices and rules. In our criminal courts, we would never think of requiring an accused person to answer questions. He doesn't have to take the stand at all, and if he does do so, he has the protection of an impartial judge, and the right to have his counsel speak in court in his behalf.

Why should it be so different in a legislative inquiry, when the information that is sought relates to the witness' own conduct? I recognize fully the power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the lineal descendants of the Houses of Parliament. These are deliberative bodies, and all points of view are usually represented among their members. Their actions are taken after debate, and represent the judgment of many people from all parts of the country.

I recognize also that these bodies have to operate through committees. A committee in the common acceptance of the term is a group of persons, usually appointed to represent various points of view. Its actions reflect collective judgment taken after consideration and deliberation. In this light, I ask a question: Should these broad investigative powers ever be held by a single person, even though he is formally clothed with the title of a sub-committee?

The more I think about this, the more it seems to me to be an unsound practice. There is nothing about the nature of membership in the Senate or the House of Representatives which should give each member a general commission to go through the length and breadth of the land, far from his own state or district, far from the seat of the general government, making inquiry about any subject, even on formal delegation to him from his House or one of its committees. Committees I am willing to accept. Sub-committees of one give me pause. It may well be that only the Houses of Congress can effectively deal with this problem, but I respectfully commend it to them for their consideration.

And so I come back where I started. The privilege against self incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment and in the Commonwealth's Bill of Rights has been a long time with us. It is, I believe, a good friend as well as an old friend. It embodies a sound value which we should preserve. As we increase our understanding of it, and the part it has long played in protecting the individual against the collective power of the state, we will have better appreciation of some of the basic problems of our time.

Used on 7:45 show March 26/1954

Speech by Erwin N. Griswold,
Dean of the Harvard Law School, at the
Initiation of New Members of Phi Beta Kappa,
at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts,
on Wednesday, March 24, 1954 at 8:00 p.m.

PER LEGEM TERRAE

This is one of the few sorts of gatherings where I could appropriately use a Latin title for a speech. "Per Legem Terrae" means, of course, "By the Law of the Land." I will come back in a moment to an explanation of why I have used the Latin phrase.

We are met tonight to welcome to an old but very informal society a new group of students who have shown a capacity for scholarship and an interest in learning. Within some definitions of the word, this is an intellectual group; and it is through such groups as this, multiplied throughout the country and the world, that the lamp of learning is kept lighted, and passed from hand to hand down the long course of time.

It is appropriate that we should gather together in the interests of scholarship. We have been recently passing through what may be regarded as a period of anti-intellectualism in this country. In such times, it is fitting for scholars to meet and to consider their relation to the rest of the world. It is well for us now to remember that these periods of anti-intellectualism are recurrent in the history of our country and probably of the world. And it is well to remember, too, that they are not without a cause. Intellectualism is not the only useful or constructive factor in a society. Scholars are sometimes arrogant, and sometimes too withdrawn and aloof from the world to be useful, or at least to be understood. There are some lines from Mr. T. S. Eliot's current play, "The Confidential Clerk," which may be appropriate here:

"What's surprising, well-bred people
Are sometimes far from intellectual;
And--what's less surprising--intellectual people
Are often ill-bred."

Within wide limits, the capacity for scholarship may well be thought of as a public trust. Many scholars, in one way or another, devote their efforts to the common good, and contribute to the progress of mankind. And the scholar, beside being a servant of his fellows, should be a humble man, for he is in a position to know how little he knows, and how much more there is to be done just to hold our own -- to say nothing of moving ahead.

Now I return to my title: "Per Legem Terrae." What is the significance of those words tonight? A few weeks ago, in a city not far from here, I spoke on the subject of the Fifth Amendment, and said that its embodiment of the privilege against self incrimination was one of the great landmarks in man's long struggle to

make himself civilized. It is my plan tonight to talk about another fundamental idea which has its roots in the distant past and which has become a vital and pervading part of our Anglo-American legal heritage.

These words which I have chosen as the title of my speech go back to Magna Carta, the Great Charter of 1215, wrested from King John by his barons, and the source of ideas far more potent than they could have realized. For the barons were interested in protecting themselves against an overbearing King, and had little interest in the basic rights of common men. In the thirty-ninth article of Magna Carta, apparently taken from an earlier Continental source, they included the provision that "No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." "By the law of the land" -- these are the words with which we now render the Latin of the original, "per legem terrae." The phrase has had an almost unexampled persistence and power. Professor McIlwain has said that "Chapter thirty-nine was in 1215 the most important chapter in the charter, as it is today." "Due Process of Law in Magna Carta," 14 Columbia L. Rev. 41 (1914).

Thus there was planted in the stream of English law and English history -- a stream of which we are now the largest branch -- the seed of a great idea, an idea which has made an incalculable contribution to the development of our institutions. Just a few words, but they have time and again arisen at critical moments of our history, and in one way or another have contributed to that long course of events through which we have sought to make ourselves civilized.

Do I not exaggerate? "By the law of the land" -- can these words have such great significance? Are they not merely procedural at best? Historians have long debated the exact meaning of the various clauses in Magna Carta. A leading author has said that what the barons "wished to secure was justice and legality in all of the king's actions affecting private rights." Mott, Due Process of Law (1926) 36.

We have seen how and when the idea was planted. How did it grow? In the next century, Edward III, who has been called the "English Justinian," made it clear that the protection of the article applied to all men without limitation -- "of what estate or condition that he be." 28 Edward III, c. 3 (1354). And it was this same statute of Edward III that first used the phrase which has become commonplace in our own history, for he said that no man should be harmed in any way except "by due process of law."

Over the next three hundred years, many men, at many times, appealed to the Great Charter and the conceptions which it embodied. For our purposes, we may move on to Lord Coke, the great figure of the first part of the seventeenth century.

In an outstanding event of the history of our liberties, Coke advanced "the law of the land" against the king. This was in 1608 when James the First asserted that he had power to take such cases as he might be pleased to determine and decide them as if he were himself a judge. Coke denied this, and the king was greatly offended, saying that this meant that he was "under the law, which was treason to affirm." To this Coke replied in words which he took from Bracton, that the king "ought not to be under men but under God and the law." Prohibitions del Roy, 12 Rep. 63b, 65a (1608). This was a crucial application of the basic idea which we are considering tonight. These words, I am proud to say, are inscribed in their original Latin -- "Non sub Homine sed sub Deo et Lege" -- over the portal of the Harvard Law School.

In 1628, Coke wrote a Commentary on Magna Carta, as a part of the work that is known as his Institutes. He showed the identity in meaning between the two phrases, "the law of the land," and "due process of law," and that the purpose of these provisions was to protect the subject from oppressive uses of authority. In his words: "Every oppression against law, by colour of any usurped authority is a kinde of destruction, . . . : and it is the worst oppression that is done by the colour of justice." Coke, Second Institutes (1656) 48. In this and other passages from his Institutes, Coke interpreted Magna Carta not so much in the light of its own historical setting as in the light and for the purposes of his own time.

Coke was a member of the committee that drew up the Petition of Right, in 1628, and was probably its principal author. In this the House of Commons asserted itself against King Charles by condemning arbitrary taxation and imprisonment, and the billeting of soldiers, all as being contrary to the law of the land.

Out of all of these events there grew a great revival of the idea of protection of the citizen inherent in the phrases "law of the land" and "due process of law." This is perhaps most strikingly shown in the fact that the Act of Parliament which finally abolished the Star Chamber in 1640 recited that the actions of that body had not been in accordance with "due process of law," and were contrary to the "law of the land." Much of Locke's political writing was based on the ideas embodied in these two phrases. Both Coke and Locke had great influence on the development of the ideas of the colonists in this country a hundred years later.

These ideas came to America as a part of the heritage of our early English settlers, and we had here a soil on which they could flourish. When James Otis made his great argument in the "writs of assistance" case in 1761, he included an argument based on Magna Carta, with specific reference to the "law of the land" provision. Quincy 51 (1761). This argument had great influence on the colonial pamphleteers who had so much to do with the mobilization of public opinion in the period. John Adams was one of those who took up this idea. The argument that "Taxation without representation is tyranny" was simply an application of the basic idea of due process of law, thought by the colonists to be established by Magna Carta, and thus to be their birthright.

When, after the revolution, and the successful adoption of a federal constitution, it was decided to add a Bill of Rights to that Constitution, it was natural that this traditional right should be included. The Fifth Amendment, largely drafted by James Madison, includes a provision that "No person shall . . . be deprived of life liberty or property without due process of law." Thus has the great provision of Magna Carta been carried forward to our own fundamental law. As Dr. Mott has said, "This portion of the Fifth Amendment may thus be regarded as containing phraseology of purest gold mined under the stress of heated constitutional crises, refined by the fire of violent revolutions, proved by the acid test of centuries of struggle, and molded by the hand of one of America's greatest constitutional draftsmen." Mott, Due Process of Law (1926) 18.

And thus we have this ancient doctrine included in our Constitution -- now in both the Fifth and the Fourteenth Amendments. What the barons did in 1215, what Coke and his associates did in the seventeenth century, what the American patriots did in the eighteenth century -- all of this and much more provides a clear continuity, linking our present institutions closely with all the struggles for liberty in the past three-quarters of a millennium.

But is not the due process clause technical lawyers' stuff? Was it not on the basis of the due process clause that the Supreme Court held that New York could not fix the length of hours that bakers might work, and that Congress could not fix a minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia? What do such decisions have to do with the struggle to obtain and to maintain liberty? The answer I would give is: Very little. They are only eddies in the stream which carries on the great idea. For the idea of due process, of "the law of the land" is a great idea, and one of our greatest heritages from the past. It is something of the spirit, something that gives life to our political institutions. In very large part we take it for granted in our day to day relations with our fellow men and with the several governments with which we deal. It is so deeply ingrained in us all that it is rarely violated; and many of the violations which do occur are naturally of the more or less technical sort with which courts deal.

In the long run, ideas are more powerful than more tangible weapons. And the idea of due process has been a very fruitful and pervading one in our history. What does it mean? Can it be defined? Many people feel the need for a rather precise sort of a definition of concepts with which they deal -- but this is not that sort of an idea. This is an idea born out of the hearts of men. It has great capacity for development and growth, and yet a rather clear basic content. Perhaps it can be put by saying that it has some application wherever men feel a sense of injustice. Thus it becomes a chief source of support for individual liberties. What is liberty? Is it not freedom or protection of the individual against arbitrary or improper exercise of the organized power of the state? What is a tyrant? Is it not a man who exercises the collective power of the state in an arbitrary, capricious, or purely selfish manner? Such words as "arbitrary" and "capricious" are difficult words. They may not in fact mean much more than "unreasonable," and that in turn may mean in substance "customary," or what we are accustomed to. Perhaps it may be said that we are accustomed to decent treatment from our public officers, and that our hearts and minds recoil when that custom is broken. It is with this sort of thing that the idea of due process, of "the law of the land" is concerned.

Violations of cherished ideals and aspirations have often been overcome in our history by arguments based on the general idea of due process, of the law of the land. In recent times, the due process clause has been the basis of decisions on such questions as these: (1) That a judge cannot properly try a case if he is directly interested in the outcome (Tumey v. Ohio, 273 U.S. 10 (1927)); and (2) That a person cannot be subjected to a secret trial, with no chance to defend himself, In re Oliver, 333 U.S. 257 (1948).

Now let us turn to the question which has been constantly recurring in recent days. Does this basic idea have any application to legislative investigations? Do these investigations always measure up to our ideal of due process of law? I think it fair to say that a large section of the public has from time to time felt "a sense of injustice" with respect to some of these hearings; and if they have, then there is a situation where the ancient ideal of due process is involved. A failure to appreciate the intimate relation between sound procedure and the preservation of liberty is implicit, may I say, in that saddest and most short-sighted remark of our times: "I don't like the methods, but . . ." For methods and procedures are of the essence of due process, and are of vital importance to liberty. As Mr. Justice Brandeis wrote some thirty years ago, " . . . in the development of our liberty insistence on procedural regularity has been a large factor." Burdeau v. McDowell, 256 U.S. 465, 477 (1921). More recently Mr. Justice Frankfurter has put the same truth in these words: "The history of liberty has largely been the history of observance of procedural safeguards." McNabb v. United States, 318 U.S. 332, 347 (1943).

The complaint against the Star Chamber was chiefly one of bad procedures. Torture is a procedure, and inquisition without charge, forcing a witness to testify against himself, and the other things which were standard practice in the infamous Star Chamber would all fall into the category of procedure. Liberty is established and preserved by the development and maintenance of proper procedures. It is, in last analysis, only through procedural rules that the individual is protected against arbitrary governmental action. And, as we have seen, the very essence of liberty is the protection of the individual against arbitrary application of the collective power of the state.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not opposed to legislative investigations. They clearly have a proper place in our governmental structure. The fact, though, that they can be useful and necessary, does not mean that they should not be properly conducted, and under proper safeguards and procedures. Nor does it mean that when not properly conducted they may not violate our basic and fundamental conceptions of due process, rooted so firmly in Magna Carta. In my opinion, for what it is worth, some recent legislative investigations have been clear violations of due process. If so, why have the courts not so held? The answer is easy. The courts do not have the sole responsibility for the proper conduct of our government. As Mr. Justice Stone once said: "Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern." United States v. Butler, 297 U.S. 1, 87 (1936). At this point another important governmental doctrine comes into play -- the separation of powers. The courts have their responsibilities, but so do the executive and the legislative branches of the government. All are sworn to uphold the Constitution, including the due process clause of so ancient and vital origin.

The responsibility for the proper conduct of legislative investigations is clearly in the legislature. In the case of investigations by the Federal legislature, the responsibility is clearly in Congress, and its two Houses. Has this responsibility been fully met? It seems to me quite clear that the answer to that question is: No. Why has it not been met? What can be done about it?

Before turning to an answer to those questions, I would like to pause to make one important observation. It is wholly clear, I believe, that no Senator or Representative has any power whatever to make an investigation, to require the presence of witnesses and their answers to questions, or to do anything of this sort, merely because he is a Congressman or Senator. An election to the House of Representatives or to the Senate does not make a man any sort of a magistrate, nor does it vest him with any power at all over his fellow citizens except to cast his vote in the body to which he has been elected. The power of investigation is a power which is solely attributable to the collective body, the House of Representatives or the Senate.

Where there is an investigation being conducted, the power that is being exercised is that of the House or the Senate. No Committee of either body has any power to conduct any investigation except as a result of a delegation from its House of Congress. No sub-committee of a Committee has any power to investigate except on a delegation of the power delegated by the House or Senate to the Committee. If there is a sub-committee of one, the power exercised by that one is not any power that is his by virtue merely of his being a member of the legislative body. If he has any power, it is only because there has been a proper delegation or sub-delegation to him of the basic power of the House or Senate.

I mention this because it is important in the consideration of the questions which I have posed, and to which I want to suggest some answers. Since the power exercised by a Committee or a sub-committee, or a sub-committee of one, is the power of the House or Senate itself, responsibility for that power and its exercise rests not on the Committee or the sub-committee of one or more, but upon the House or Senate itself, acting, of course, by a majority vote of its members. One of the important steps which must be taken if we are to find a solution for problems in this area is, I believe, to focus attention on the fact that these hearings which are the occasion of concern are not merely private frolics of an individual member, but are an exercise of the power of a House of Congress for which every member of that House has a full and equal responsibility.

Clearly there is a problem here. Why has it not been dealt with long before this time? It is a difficult problem, and it would be too much to expect it to be completely solved in a short time. But the fact is that virtually nothing at all has been done about it. There has been some talk, and some indication in the past few weeks that something might be done. But the actual results so far are not impressive. Why is that? One reason, I think, is that only recently has it become a serious problem. It is clear that our legislative bodies include a very large number of able, high-minded men, who are just as much interested in the ideal of due process as you and I. Why have they not taken action to establish proper procedures in legislative investigations?

The answer is not simple, but there is one aspect of it which is, I think, perhaps insufficiently understood by the average citizen. The fact is that, for practical purposes, the House of Representatives and the Senate are regarded by their members as clubs -- of which the Senate is, of course, the more exclusive. Each member of the House or Senate has his own standards. And in a great many cases these standards are very high. But with almost no exception, no member seeks to impose his standards on any other member. Once you are in the club, how you act is up to you, and no member wants to undertake to interfere in the conduct of any other member -- partly, I suppose, because he does not want anyone else to interfere with him. This is unfortunate, I think, though perhaps natural and understandable.

There is an important distinction here, which has, I fear, been overlooked, in the consideration of this matter of legislative investigations. For a Senator or Congressman who is conducting an investigation, either as a sub-committee of one, or in association with other members, is not acting as an individual. Everything he does directly involves the other members of his House, and they should share responsibility for the exercise of the power they have delegated, power which inheres only in the body as a whole. The problem can be solved by establishing by law, or by rule of each House, a proper standard of procedure for the conduct of legislative investigations, which will keep them wholly consistent with our basic and deeply felt notions of due process of law.

In the concluding portion of this talk, I would like to outline some provisions which, it seems to me, should be included in an established regulation of procedure of legislative investigations. I have in mind primarily the Federal scene. Before turning to that, though, I would like to point out that we are not wholly without precedents. This is, interestingly enough, an area in which the states have, on the whole, done a much better job than has the Federal legislature. In New York a Commission has recently made a promising report on this whole matter. Here in Massachusetts, the legislature, in establishing two recent recess commissions, one to investigate crime, and the other to investigate communism, has included substantial provisions designed to protect the rights of witnesses and to insure the proper conduct of these investigations. As a result, there have been no complaints about the activities of these commissions, and we have not been subjected to the spectacles which have so frequently been produced on the Federal stage. For these wise provisions we should give respect and thanks to the Massachusetts legislature and to its Committee on the Judiciary which was undoubtedly responsible for their first formulation. I am glad to pay this tribute to our local legislators. But why cannot the Federal Congress do as well?

Much work has been done over the past several years towards formulating a suitable and proper code of conduct for Federal legislative investigations. A number of members of Congress have devoted much thought and effort to this task, and a number of bills have been introduced. Recently President Eisenhower announced that he understood that Congress was going to establish such standards -- and it is clearly the responsibility of Congress. Legislative leadership on this question is still not impressive, but it should come. Probably it would be more accurate to say that there has been leadership and good leadership, but it has been hard so far for the leaders to get an effective following. The matter is too important, too closely connected with our basic liberties, to be longer neglected.

These are some of the things, as I see it, which should be included in a proper Code of Practice for legislative investigations. Of first importance is the elimination of the one-man sub-committee in any proceding involving a witness who appears involuntarily. In our concern

over recent events, we should not forget that there is much of the business of Congress which is not controversial, and there are many situations where a witness wants to appear. As long as he appears voluntarily, there may be little objection, as far as the witness is concerned, to his appearing before any sort of body, including a sub-committee of one. Even then there may be a public interest in having a member of the other party present so that more than one point of view may be represented. When a witness appears under subpoena, when he is compelled to testify against his will, the situation is wholly different. Then I say that the power of Congress against him should not be asserted by a sub-committee of a single member.

Closely related to this is the matter of the issuance of subpoenas. The practice with respect to subpoenas has come to be very loose; indeed it might be called lax. It is the standard practice, I believe, in many Committees, for the Chairman of the Committee to sign up a batch of subpoenas in blank, and hand them to the staff of the Committee. Then the staff fills in the name of a witness whose testimony is wanted, and the subpoena is served upon him. Such a practice seems to me to be highly improper.

There is here a close analogy with a search warrant which can only be issued by a judge. With respect to such warrants, Mr. Justice Jackson has said (McDonald v. United States, 335 U.S. 451, 455-456 (1948)), that the requirement of a search warrant is made "so that an objective mind might weigh the need . . . . The right of privacy was deemed too precious to entrust to the discretion of those whose job is the detection of crime and the arrest of criminals. Power is a heady thing; . . ."

No subpoena should be issued to compel testimony except as a result of the action of the Committee itself, not the Chairman alone, or its staff. There are few ways in which the organized power of the state is brought to bear on a citizen more sharply than through a subpoena to compel testimony. Such a power should not be exercised on the judgment or discretion or whim of a single man.

When a witness is summoned, he should be given several protections which have not heretofore been made available. He should be told in advance the subject and the scope of the inquiry. He should have the right to counsel, and counsel should be entitled to speak on his behalf as well as to advise him as to his rights.

In many Committees now, the right to counsel is formally recognized. But counsel, though present, is restricted to giving advice when called upon. He cannot address the Committee; and counsel who have sought to do so have been ejected from hearing rooms. The right should be a right to effective counsel, and not the mere shadow of that right that has been recently allowed.

If testimony is taken in executive session (which should never be done unless the witness is willing) no member of the Committee or of its staff should make available selected portions of the testimony, or summaries or incomplete versions of it. The Committee should not be allowed to say, through its Chairman or otherwise, that "We have evidence of" so and so, unless that evidence is produced in an open hearing.

Of very great importance, I believe, is a rule protecting the witness from having to submit to broadcasting, television, newsreel cameras, or any other form of recording or reproduction, except the ordinary stenographic transcript. Even flashing flash bulbs can be an indignity and a source of strain to a witness. It is high time that we recognized and accepted the fact that legislative investigations are not a part of show business. Witnesses should not be required to testify in order to provide a spectacle for the public. Requiring testimony under such conditions is not compatible with any sound notion of due process of law, and I would expect our courts, as some have already done, to uphold a witness who refuses to testify for broadcast of any sort. We have even had Congressional investigations put on with sponsors, with advertising during the intervals. Can anyone possibly defend such a practice?

In this connection I would like to state my own view that a legislative investigation is improper when its sole or basic purpose is to "expose" people or to develop evidence for use in criminal prosecutions. We have had Chairmen of legislative Committees who have announced that that was the purpose of the hearings they were conducting. In my opinion, they have thus demonstrated the impropriety of the exercise of power which they are seeking to carry out, and I would hope that the courts, when properly invoked, would decide that there was no legislative power for such a purpose.

There are many other rights and refinements which should be established and recognized in connection with legislative investigations. For example, a person summoned should have due notice of the nature of the evidence that is wanted from him. A witness should surely be entitled to explain his answers, and he should have an opportunity to answer any charges made against him or any evidence against him produced by other witnesses.

Many Congressmen and Senators are aware of these problems and are trying to get them worked out. Reference may be made in particular to the work of Congressman Keating, the Chairman of a sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee, and to Congressman Scott who has recently introduced House Resolution 447, which, if adopted, would go far towards resolving the problems as far as the House is concerned. The Senate should also go ahead with similar action.

Before leaving this matter it should be observed that it is of first importance not only to have proper procedures established but also that there should be appropriate sanctions to make these procedures effective. This is not easy. Probably the most effective sanction in the long run would be a provision which would relieve a witness from any obligation to testify, and thus from any punishment for refusal to testify, when the procedures are not followed. A sanction against the Committee or its members is doubtless unrealistic. But the Committee should lose its compulsory powers when it does not conduct itself properly.

Finally, it should be emphasized again that responsibility for working out proper procedures for legislative investigations rests upon Congress and its two Houses. Complaints against the President or others outside of Congress are misdirected. Congress has the power to provide proper procedures for legislative investigations, and it should meet its clear responsibility.

The spirit of due process of law, the law of the land, our ancient heritage of liberty, requires that we bring order and fairness into this field which has recently become so chaotic. We have been through struggles of this sort in the past, and justice and liberty have always eventually won out. Indeed we have been strengthened in our liberties by each such struggle. In this connection, I think of a phrase which was used by our late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. He referred to "the sober second thought of the community, which is the firm base on which all law must ultimately rest." Stone, "The Common Law in the United States," 50 Harv. L. Rev. 4, 25 (1936). For myself, I have great faith in the sober second judgment of the people. The immediate reaction of the people, like that of any individual, may be hasty, emotional, irrational, or unsound. But when that phase is past, when we have had a real chance to think through our problems, I have confidence that the people will demand a better standard of conduct in legislative investigations than has been evidenced in the recent past. In making this statement, I want to pay due and deserved respect to the many members of both Houses who have not abused their powers, and have been scrupulous in the exercise of their authority.

Though we live in stirring times, we should not forget that many generations of our ancestors have lived through times which were for them more trying than ours. It was Aenaeas who heartened his men by saying to them: "O passi graviora" -- "Oh you who have lived through worse days . . .". It is not surprising that now, as in earlier times, there have been those who seek to exploit our fears. Nor should it be surprising that many people, at first, at least, respond to such exploitation. But it is the way of life to have to meet new problems; and, while doing so, we should not give up old values.

In protecting ourselves from the threat of communism, we should not adopt methods of oppression here which the communists themselves would use. After all, the essence of communism is the subordination of the individual to the state. And the essence of liberty, for which our ancestors fought, on both sides of the Atlantic, is the freedom of the individual from the arbitrary power of governmental authorities. When we see more clearly that our present problem is simply one of due process of law in its pervasive sense, so fundamental throughout more than seven centuries of history, we will have no difficulty in finding a satisfactory solution which will recognize and preserve the basic rights of individuals while providing ample protection for the state.

The problems of our day may be useful problems. It is good, I think, that we should have to bestir ourselves from time to time to protect our liberties, as our ancestors did on many occasions in the past. If we take these rights for granted, if we accept them as a matter of course, we may simply fritter them away, and end by losing them, and possibly deserve to lose them. And so I would suggest that you not be discouraged, nor even be unduly concerned if basic human rights are under attack. These are rights which thrive in vindication, and each generation better understands them and their significance if it has to think them through for itself. We are given a great opportunity today, to which I think we will measure up, if the past is any guide. Like the barons at Runnymeade, like Coke and Locke and Otis and Adams and Madison, and many others whose names are lost to fame, we may be able to make our own contribution to that ancient concept which has rallied the spirits of free Englishmen and Americans for many centuries -- the law of the land.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

April 27, 1954

TO: John Slawson

FROM: Marc Vosk

Just prior to the Army-McCarthy hearings, Gallup completed a survey on public opinion about this question.

77% of all respondents knew about the forthcoming Congressional investigation of the quarrel between the Senator and the Secretary of the Army. 23% had not heard or read about this event. Those who had heard were then asked:

"Judging from what you have heard or read up till now, whose side are you inclined to agree with — Senator McCarthy's or Army Secretary Stevens?"

Senretary Stevens.....	46%
Senator McCarthy.....	23
Neutral.....	5
No opinion.....	26

If the above percentages are applied to the population as a whole the table will read as follows:

Secretary Stevens.....	35%
Senator McCarthy.....	18
Neutral.....	4
No opinion.....	20
Have not heard of the controversy..	23

The vote by party affiliation of those who have heard or read anything about the investigation is as follows:

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.
Stevens.....	34%	58%	42%
McCarthy.....	33	15	26
Neutral.....	6	3	7
No opinion.....	27	24	25
	100%	100%	100%

Interesting too is the fact that while the vote among Catholics is about evenly divided, Protestants favor Secretary Stevens by better than two to one.

MV:mr
cc: Alfred Bernheim
David Danzig
Edwin Lukas

Dear Jess,

Surine, on the phone again; long discussion. I had vivid memory of interviewing Kay Campbell, Larry Leseur, Ward Wheelock; reading Paul White's book on newscasting; searching World-Telegram files. Surine, leaving no stone unturned, will probly follow up these leads. From remark he dropped I guessed he's already seeking IWW archives, if any.

He insisted on having a collect telegram from me, saying so-and-so, and so-and-so, "for the record." Implication he needed it to show the boss how active he was. But past performance suggests he wants a "damning document" which the boss can wave in the air, and misquote. Consequently, FYI, and your use if needed, here's a verbatim copy of my telegram to him.

If I have to testify, I hope I can get into the record that my people were Tories in the US Revolution! Can Murrow beat that?

Yours, Wes

COPY OF TELEGRAM PHONED TO WESTERN UNION, (COLLECT)

DOYLESTOWN, PA. 130 PM APRIL 13, 1954

MR DON SURINE

ROOM 160

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON D. C.

ACCORDING TO YOUR TELEPHONED REQUEST, I HAVE SEARCHED MY BACK FILES BUT FIND NOTHING ON MR. MURROW. ORIGINAL NOTES FROM WHICH 1949 ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN WERE JUNKED BY 1952 BECAUSE I DON'T SAVE SUCH MATERIAL LONGER THAN TWO YEARS AFTER PUBLICATION. I CAN'T REMEMBER THE SOURCE OF MY IWW REFERENCE, WHICH MIGHT HAVE STEMMED FROM RESEARCH IN PERIODICAL FILES ETCETERA OR FROM ONE OF SEVERAL INTERVIEWS WITH VARIOUS PEOPLE, INCLUDING MR. MURROW. IF MR. MURROW HAD PROTESTED TO ME ABOUT THE ARTICLE I WOULD HAVE SAVED THE LETTER: I'M REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT HE DIDN'T.

WESLEY PRICE

4/17/54

ED:

Talked with Wes Price this morning. Don Surine has been around.

BACKGROUND: Wes is definitely anti-Mc. didn't send you telegram cause thot it wud be lost in the bags. He playing Sat Eve Post piece straight: "Where I got it God knows..I got it from somewhere..I didn't pull it out of hat.. may have come from friends, clips, speeches etc that I researched. Also: Ed didn't protest article..don't remember if I sent it to him.. normally send stuff to guys who don't trust in principle..and want them to o.k. it so that they can't put me on hook later..didn't have that attitude towards Ed so don't recall if ever sent it to him.. only corresponde nce with Ed concerned error on Col. Du Puy.. remember that because the Colonel protested. D n't recall that I even got a note from Ed after the article..did talk to him phone once.. said he was going to Korea.. maybe I8d get out that way.

SURINE called Wes couple days ago.. wanted know source of the reference.. Wes doesn't keep files for more than two years.. said maybe he had zomething in attic.. Surine said please go get it "sounded like a very nice guy" says Price.

Wes kidded and said get my clothes awfully dirty searching the attic. Surine said I'll pay for it. Wes says:"The kid didn't know I was kidding so out of embarrassment I said 'Maybe I'll break a leg up in that dark dirty place.' Surine said:"Don't worry..we'll take care of any emergencies." ..all expenses. Wes said he thot maybe had letter from you on Du Puy in attaic. Surine wanted that. Wes since decided he has nothing on paper.. will tell so to Surine this afternoon when he calls.

Wes says there is nothing in his attaci..he has no notes on piece on you.

Surine wanted wire saying ERM never protested his piece and that Price got background facts on ERM from ERM. Price says he offered tell him what he could on phone.

Price says can't recall where got reference..explained he went over whole Murrow clip file at World Telegram. Surine said they never consulted any such files..just happened have Sat Eve piece on hand. Surine wanted know if Wes went west to talk early-day friends ERM. Wes explained did all research in east consulted M's friends(Larry, collingwood, jz, ja, etc..read scripts,, speeches not aired, etc.)

Only corr spoendence Wes remembers is on De Puy where you told him he was wrong on who voiced first flash..this, apparently, because he was seeking answer to Du Puys beef to Post

Wes says you might have told him reference as a joke.. he can't remember..doesn't have that kind of memory.. He also concludes he probably did not send you advance text. If he did neither you or anyone else who read it complained about anything.. he fully understands you not type of guy who can devote hours to complaining all printed references that erroneous.

He has no memory at all where he got reference..or who told it to him.

jZousmer

p.s. and I said: you have no memory seeing piece.. you might have said you were at times tempted to carry reference.

Mr. M.
Attached FYI.
Dm.

* have since discovered our files Sept 20, 1949 you said article produced enormous amount favorable comment including Janet "I know everything in the piece but he writes it so well."

ALSO you say in same letter:(re dupuy story)

> "I suppose I should have caught this detail in reading the proof, but I didn't"

Price, Wesley

December 20, 1949

Mr. Wesley Price
R. D. #3
Doylestown, Pa.

Dear Wes:

First of all, I must tell you that the SEP piece has produced an enormous amount of favorable comment, including one from Janet, who said: "I know everything in the piece but he writes it so well".

About my old friend Ernie Dupuy, I am afraid we all missed out. Paul White's book has it all straight, beginning on Page 334 where he notes that Dupuy "tells the story", and again:"Under the command of General Eisenhower, etc."

Then White continues: "I find out what's coming next. It's to be Ed Murrow reading General Eisenhower's Order of the Day".

I think we get credit for a near miss. On examining your piece and the facts, it is clear that Dupuy did read the original flash, and that Murrow's text was the Order of the Day, the beginning of which you quote accurately.

I suppose I should have caught this detail in reading the proof, but I didn't.

For your own amusement, I recall now that the broadcasters made a strong pitch to SHAEF to have me read both the communique and the Order of the Day, but dear old Ernie Dupuy had contracted (maybe from me) an acute case of "mike mouth", and insisted that he do it. He's an old pal of mine and I'll be glad to drop him a note on my own and tell him that neither one of us consciously denied him his small place in history.

The only complaint I have received was a rather petulant note from the North American manager of Reuters, saying surely I didn't say what I was quoted as saying about Reuters when informed of the attack upon Pearl Harbor. I told him I did.

When come you again to this city of steam, scurry and scamper?

As ever yours,

Dear Wes:

I'm afraid we all missed out on Dupuy.

White's book has it straight, beginning on page 334 where he notes that Dupuy "tells the story:' Under the command of General Eisenhower etc.'"

Then he notes:"I find out what's coming next. IT's to be Ed Murrow reading General Eisenhower's order of the day etc."

I think we get credit for a near miss. On examining your piece and the facts: Dupuy read the original flash. Murrow's text WAS the order of the day.

EDITORIAL ROOMS

THE SATURDAY EVENING
POST
FOUNDED BY

BEN HIBBS
EDITOR

THE CURTIS
PUBLISHING COMPANY

Dec. 17, 1949
R.D. #3
Doylestown, Pa.

Ed Murrow
CBS

Dear Ed:

Can Murrow, Campbell, Aaron & Co. lend me a hand? I need information to answer a letter complaining of an inaccuracy in my SEP article about you.

The offending portion: "In 1944 he was chosen to give the official flash, on all networks, that D-Day had come. The text, assigned him by SHAEF, was General Eisenhower's Order of the Day--"Soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Allied Expeditionary Forces---" "

The objector: Col. R. Ernest Dupuy,USA, Retd. He writes--

". . .the official flash announcing the Normandy invasion ....was given by the undersigned in his capacity as acting Chief, Public Relations Division, SHAEF, at 7:32 AM GMT (3:32 EST) 6/6/44, in a worldwide official broadcast put on the air as follows:

"This is Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force. The text of Communique #1 will be released to the press and radio of the United Nations in ten seconds". And ten seconds later:-

"Under the command of General Eisenhower, Allied naval forces, supported by strong air forces, began landing ....."

End of exceppted quote from letter.

LOS Book
FROM D-DAY
Thru Vol 2 p.
p 18

more

I have no reason to doubt Dupuy, and I find in a file copy of TIME that he was then credited as the official first announcer of D-Day.

But where did you come in? I took my version from Paul White's book "News On The Air". Beginning about page 330 he told of this sequence:

1237 AM ,New York, AP flashes that German Trans-Ocean agency says invasion has begun. Ned Calmer puts it on the air.

3:37 AM you come on as scheduled.with Order of Day

3:47 Eisenhower's voice, "~~Soldiers, sailors~~
"People of Western Europe etc".

W hite didn't mention Dupuy at all, and I incautiously adopted his sequence---a convincing one, full of circumstantial detail. His book is no longer in my posession.

Can CBS' library give me -- naming sources -- an accurate rundown on who broadcast what when? I've exhausted my own morgue.

Regards,

Wesley Price

Our best information comes from "From D-Day Through Victory in Europe" published by CBS, Ny, 1945. It was written by our promotion department based on all available Columbia records, and best memory of New York office participants.

It agrees that DuPuy made first official announcement.. read first official communique

Five minutes later (3;32;05 to 3; 37;40 in our listing) Murrow read Ike's order of the day, the first civilian voice from Europe "now the die is cast."

Price's piece is seemingly in partial error. Although he miscredits Murrow with "the official flash that D-Day had come" he is correct is describing Murrow's text as the Eisenhower Order of the Day.

Price assumes that the order of the day was the official flash.

-0-

Price evidently misread White's book:

P. 334 says at 3;32;05 Dupuy begins to speak. "In 26 words he tells the story: 'Under the command of General etc.'"

(later) "I find out what's coming next. It's to be Ed Murrow reading General Eisenhower's order of the day etc."

--Price missed White's mention of Dupuy at bottom page 334
(price says White didn't mention dupuy)

5-C5

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 553C

To Mr. William S. Paley cc: Mr. Davidson Taylor

From Edward R. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Consultation

September 29, 1948

Subject: Communism

I have been greatly impressed in the last couple of weeks with the number of officials, both military and civilian, in Washington and in Europe, who are studying the classical literature of Communism. They are doing so in an effort to assess both Russian policy and Russian motivation. They have concluded (belatedly) that there is no better way of informing themselves as to the real wellsprings from which Communist propaganda, policy and action flow.

American radio has made only sporadic and rather superficial efforts to explain what Communist doctrine is--the nature of the basic philosophy. Most of those efforts (the one by NBC about a year ago and the recent documentary by ABC) have been second-hand and synthetic and dealt with what others have said, written or thought on the subject.

I would like to suggest that we give serious consideration to a series on Communism which would be confined primarily to an examination of the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, supplemented by excerpts from current Russian text-books and periodicals. I am persuaded that somehow such a series could be done without producing unfavorable listener reaction, and that if done with great care based upon impeccable research, (which could be done without difficulty) would render a real public service in the field of adult education and would be recognized as such.

E.R.M.

THE NEW
COUNTERATTACK
REGISTERED IN THE UNITED STATES PATENT OFFICE

FACTS TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

55 WEST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y. LONGACRE 3-4608

March 19, 1954
Vol. 8, No. 12

Dear Subscriber:

WHY DOES THE COMMUNIST PRESS PRAISE EDWARD R MURROW SO HIGHLY?

No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist Party (CP) press during the last few months as has EDWARD R MURROW. The Daily Worker runs an item on the "Best Bets" on radio and TV each day. MURROW's CBS-TV shows "See It Now" and "Person to Person" have been consistently plugged in this feature, which mentions only a few of the many programs presented each day. His radio news commentary on CBS has recently been getting the same favored treatment.

What is the reason for this? A few examples of what MURROW says and does on his broadcasts and telecasts provide the answer:

MURROW rapped the State Dept last May for not embracing CHURCHILL's proposal of direct talks between MALENKOV, Pres EISENHOWER and himself. MURROW made it clear that he believed "new tides" were running in Russia after Stalin's death (a belief since exploded) and that the President should not let the "hatred and hysteria" of the American people prevent a meeting.

The U S "had better find a better answer" than the one it had given for rejecting a talk with MALENKOV, MURROW said. Actually, the State Dept's answer was an excellent one: Moscow had broken scores of promises; MALENKOV had given no evidence of good faith - so it was foolish to talk with him.

Communists in all parts of the world were screaming for such a meeting. In fairness to them, it should be pointed out that their reasons for wanting one were much more intelligent than MURROW's - although they, naturally, would not reveal what those reasons really were.

MURROW attacked Attorney General BROWNELL on the HARRY DEXTER WHITE case. He said it had been pointed out that "in 1947 a Federal grand jury had studied the matter of Mr White — all the evidence — and had failed to return an indictment because it felt there was insufficient evidence to warrant such action". (Note the emphasis on "all the evidence".)

This statement was not true on Nov 9, 1953 when MURROW made it. In 1948 WHITTAKER CHAMBERS produced his "pumpkin papers", among which were notes in HARRY DEXTER WHITE's own handwriting. The grand jury never saw this evidence. MURROW knows that...but for some strange reason neglected to mention it. He repeatedly pooh-poohed the evidence against WHITE.

MURROW accused Pres EISENHOWER and BROWNELL of asserting that a dead man was a spy "without producing evidence". He said this practice, if pursued, may "be applied to you or to me" and would endanger our heritage.

The MURROW program that the CP has praised most highly was his "See It Now" telecast on the case of Lt MILO RADULOVICH, an Air Force Reserve officer who refused to resign his commission when asked to do so because it was decided he was not a good security risk (his loyalty was not questioned).

A 10th Air Force Security Board reviewed RADULOVICH's case. It recommended discharge. The Commanding General of the 10th Air Force concurred.

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MURROW plugged the New Yorker on his radio broadcast of last May 13 by quoting extensively from verse written for it by staff member E B WHITE. This verse was an attack on loyalty investigations.

MURROW always winds up his radio program with a quotation, usually from some famous person, which helps to drive home his point and gives a tone of wisdom and nobility to his words. One of his recent quotations sheds light on how acute and well-informed MURROW actually is.

He ended his broadcast of last October 27 this way: "Bertold Brecht, German poet — and an exile himself — once put it this way: 'A man can be free even within prison walls. Freedom is something spiritual. And whoever once had it, can never lose it. For while the body can be bound with chains, the spirit can never!'"

Worth noting about this quotation are these points:

1. BERTOLD BRECHT is a leading "cultural light" in the Communist world. As a refugee in this country he supported CP fronts, swore before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947 that he was not and had never been a Communist - and then went to East Germany and became an active supporter of Moscow's puppet régime (which has given him awards). He wrote the CP song "United Front"...with his long-time colleague, HANNS EISLER.

2. The above quotation is utter nonsense in the context of today's problems...in spite of the pomposity with which MURROW quoted it (do the millions in Soviet labor camps, who once had freedom, have freedom today?)

3. The very idea of quoting a Communist on "freedom" is ridiculous.

It is not at all difficult to see why the CP has praised quite a number of MURROW programs. He has often handled issues involving Communism in a way that helps the party line and makes anti-Communists appear evil.

COUNTERATTACK stated of EDWARD R MURROW on Feb 22, 1952:

"He has defended OWEN LATTIMORE on the air and also those who have joined fronts, taking position that nobody should be blamed for that. Though not pro-Communist, he is confused on Communist issues and defends those involved in Communist causes."

MURROW talks on the side of the angels. He is for the highest democratic and humanitarian ideals. But in actual practice he is not above using slick devices he would denounce if used by others. He is a master at slanting his programs while imparting an aura of great objectivity to them.

MURROW preaches dangerous doctrine. He vastly underrates the domestic Communist Party menace. To do this is as dangerous as to misjudge the menace of Communism abroad. U S will be sunk if it loses to Communism in either place. Even on foreign issues, MURROW advocates a policy of dangerous softness in the face of Soviet intrigue...and he has become hysterical about the issue of Communism vs civil liberties here in the United States.

The great acclaim given to MURROW in many quarters in spite of his unsoundness on vital issues concerning Communism deserves serious thought. It points up the major weakness of the U S on all fronts in the battle against Communism. That weakness is lack of real understanding of Moscow's conspiracy. It is the greatest threat to U S survival.

EDWARD R MURROW, unfortunately, represents the dominant voice in all media of communications. Too few Americans are getting the unbiased news and the intelligent commentary on it they need so badly.

Yours faithfully,

March 19, 1954 COUNTERATTACK

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Single Copies: 50¢

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This was another underhanded attempt to put the Senator in a bad light. Sen McCARTHY had not named any one else on the advisory council. MURROW was the one who brought their names into the controversy.

MURROW says the project was cancelled by Russian authorities...but that does not change the fact he worked for its success.

MURROW didn't tell all about his promotion of study and travel in the Soviet Union. In 1933 he was on the Advisory Committee of the Bureau of University Travel which was then promoting "The First Russian Seminar". This was a more-than-two-month travel and study tour of the Soviet Union and the Near East, with most of the time spent in Russia — "under the management of Intourist...the official travel agency of the USSR".

The following are quotes from the brochure for this study trip:

"The Seminar is planned for those who wish 'not only to see but to understand'....Russia today offers to the world a new challenge....

"Those for whom the Seminar will be a success...those who will come away heavily laden with thought provoking experiences and unforgettable memories, will be those...who have entered into the spirit of the Seminar. This may be tersely worded as follows: 'We are interested in seeing and understanding. We desire something more lasting than the memory of deluxe accomodations. For these we do not even need to leave our American homes... but Russia has something to show us. Let us try to comprehend.'"

The obvious pro-Soviet tone here provides all the comment that is needed on MURROW's explanation that he served the Moscow State University in 1935 because he believed then, as he does now, that American students and professors can engage in "the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted".

COUNTERATTACK asks this question: When HITLER rose to power did MURROW promote sympathetic study and travel tours in Germany on the basis that Der Fuehrer offered a new challenge to the world, that he had something to show Americans and that we should try to "see and understand"?

OWEN LATTIMORE, a "conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" according to the U S Senate Judiciary Committee, wrote as follows of MURROW in his whitewash book, "Ordeal By Slander":

"I also owe a very special debt to men I have never met, or had never met before....I must mention at least Edward R Murrow. Even when the hysteria was at its height...he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique of using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself...."

Despite the obvious slant in MURROW's programs, he has been the subject of favorable articles in many magazines (Newsweek, Look, McCall's, etc).

CHARLES WERTENBAKER wrote a complimentary profile of MURROW that was published in "The New Yorker" magazine of Dec 26, 1953.

WERTENBAKER tried to have WHITTAKER CHAMBERS fired as foreign news editor of "Time" magazine - because CHAMBERS put anti-Communist material into the news he edited and kept pro-Communist material out.

WERTENBAKER's recently published book "The Death of Kings" is a fictionalized account of happenings at "Time" when WERTENBAKER was there. It is also a slick rehash of the HISS case in a "Time" setting and with "Time" personnel. There are many parallels to actual HISS-CHAMBEERS events in WERTENBAKER's account...which portrays the "HISS" of the story as an innocent man who is framed by the sinister villain (CHAMBERS).

Then MURROW went to bat for RADULOVICH in a very cleverly slanted program that produced no evidence that RADULOVICH had been judged wrongly.

A flood of letters descended on the Defense Dept in Washington. A short while later Air Force Sec'y HAROLD E TALBOTT said he did not think RADULOVICH was a security risk...and reversed the Air Force's earlier decision.

The organ of the CP-led Teachers Union hailed MURROW's program on RADULOVICH as "a signal service to our country". The party's organ on the motion picture industry, "Film Sense" (published by the Nat'l Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions), praised it as "an interesting example of TV's new awareness" and as proof that "the best of current television" is superior to the finest productions turned out by Hollywood.

The Daily Worker and its West Coast counterpart, the Daily People's World, joined in the hallelujahs. Two party writers, DAVID PLATT and MILTON HOWARD, turned out articles for the CP press praising the MURROW program.

MURROW's recent "See It Now" program on Sen McCARTHY offers examples of some of the devious techniques he uses to slant his presentations, while appearing to be very objective and fair. MURROW showed a hearing at which Sen McCARTHY asked a witness (REED HARRIS) these two questions:

"You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?"...."Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?"

The Senator's statement about the ACLU was correct. But MURROW wanted to make the Senator look bad. How could he do this? Simple. Just change the Senator's words. MURROW commented:

"Twice he (McCARTHY) said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front."

This was a completely false statement. Sen McCARTHY had not once used the word "subversive". But that word connotes listing by the Dept of Justice...and the phony insertion of it by MURROW paved the way for his next sentence, which was designed to (and actually helped) discredit the Senator:

"The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any government agency."

A neat implication that Sen McCARTHY had lied...by the use of a MURROW lie. The Truth: The ACLU was described as a Communist front in House Report #2290 of the 71st Congress, published in 1931...a year before the ACLU provided defense counsel for REED HARRIS. It was also listed as a front in Massachusetts House Report #2100 (1938), NY State Legislative Report #90 (1939) and in the 1943 and 1948 California Committee reports (on which Sen McCARTHY based his statements). CP leader EARL BROWDER testified in 1939 that the ACLU was a "transmission belt" of the Communist Party.

MURROW deplores "guilt by association". But he used "innocence by association" to try to explain away the fact that he was on the Advisory Council of the Moscow State University for its 1935 summer session and urged students to go there. A Pittsburgh newspaper on Feb 18, 1935, said the university taught "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order".

MURROW's reply: He was only one of twenty-five members of the Advisory Council of the Moscow State University summer session that year and most of the others were "distinguished" people. He then named some of them, using their "innocence" to prove his own.

MURROW failed to state that a number of well known fellow travelers were also on the advisory council. Also: He added that some of these persons "are now dead but presumably not yet immune from the Senator's attentions".

MUTUAL NETWORK

FULTON LEWIS, JR.

Thursday, March 11, 1954
7:00-7:15 P.M.

LEWIS: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Fulton Lewis, Jr., speaking from the Mutual studios in Washington, D. C. I'll have the news in just a moment.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

And now, here is your Washington correspondent, Fulton Lewis, Jr.

LEWIS: As promised tonite, ladies and gentlemen, I have Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin here in the studios with me. It so happens that he is appearing on my coast-to-coast television program this week end also, about his committee's new investigation of scandals in Alaska. Now, on this broadcast, however, we want to get Senator McCarthy's side of several attacks that have been made against him in the last week or so. And, to begin with, Senator, I'd like to ask you whether you have any general comments to say about Governor Stevenson's speech in Miami last Saturday nite.

MC CARTHY: Fulton, I listened to Adlai's speech from Miami. As I listened to it, I was carried back about twenty-five years, to some days I spent back on the farm. We lived across the road from an old gentleman; he was a bacheler, he was very aged. As he grew older, he became ill; finally he went to the hospital. When he went to the hospital, my older brother, Bill, had to go over and take care of the cattle and the hogs. He had a very sizeable herd of both. When he got there he found that Wynne Stuffle (?) hadn't cleaned out the barn for a couple of years. He called me over to help him. I went over. It was the most awful mess, Fulton, I've ever found up to the time I came to Washington. Well, Bill and I argued a bit about how we could best do the job, whether you should use a wheel barrow, whether we should get a team of horses, whether we string a cable, how we could clean out that tremendous mess we found there. Now, as I listened to Adlai I thought that if Stevenson were standing back there watching us, he would feel that because we couldn't agree on the best

way to clean out the mess, that there was nothing in the barn, it was perfectly clean.

LEWIS: Now, out of ... He said, specifically mentioning you, that out of more than two million Federal employes, only one alleged active Communist has been found. What is your comment on that?

MC CARTHY: Well, that, of course, is strictly untrue - and either Adlai knew that or should know it, that it was untrue. Just take for example ... Now, we can't give you a list of all of them. Just take those that were exposed before our committee and Communists gotten rid of by the Eisenhower Administration. There was a Fifth Amendment Communist from the Government Printing Office, who's been there for twenty years, despite ~~fxm~~ some forty FBI reports labelling him very clearly. He was named as a Communist before the committee; he was given the right to come before our committee and tell us whether or not he was a Communist, tell us whether or not he was an espionage agent. He refused, invoking the privilege against self-incrimination; he was promptly gotten rid of by Mr. Blattenberg (?), who is Mr. Eisenhower's appointee to the Government Printing Office. I think I mentioned that Rothchild had access to secret material from almost every agency in the Government. That's one. Then, No. 2 -- let's see, running down the line, there's a person (?) named Powell in the Army, named as a Communist, named as a secretary for one of the top Communists in the country. Powell was before the committee, finally admitted receiving a card in the Communist party. The Army got rid of her very quickly, the minute she was exposed. Then there's another individual by the name of Levine, who has been handling not merely confidential and secret material but top-secret material. Levine was called before the committee on the 13th of December last, refused to tell whether or not she had been giving secret material -- she was handling top-secret material -- to people known as espionage agents. She was gotten rid of. Now, we could go down the line, Fulton, indefinitely, but here are three. I think that shows how false Mr. Stevenson's statements were.

LEWIS: And there are others, you say.

MC CARTHY: Oh, a long list.

LEWIS: Now, he also said (and I quote): "Some of these orators even suggested that they ... that these subversives, spies// and so forth, had been planted in the Government." What would your comment be to that statement by Governor Stevenson?

MC CARTHY: I think, rather than to answer him in my own words, Fulton, if you don't mind, I would like to read one short paragraph from the presentment of the grand jury. The grand jury was investigating Communist activities in the U.N. Of necessity, the investigation included the same Communists before they got to the U.N. May I read this paragraph, Fulton?

LEWIS: Yes.

MC CARTHY: Now, they're talking about the Communists in the U.N. (I quote) "Almost without exception, these same subversive elements ...." no, "these same subversive employes with the U.N. were formerly employed in various departments of our own Federal Government. They were transferred from one Federal department to another, finally ending up in key positions in the United Nations." (still quoting) "The evidence shows that this is not coincidental but part of a definite planned pattern. It appears to result from the contrivance of highly-placed officials who have surrounded themselves in each Government agency and then in the U.N. with personnel who share their disloyal convictions." And if I may go back to this, Fulton, I again call your attention to the statement of the grand jury presentment: "The evidence shows that this is not coincidental but part of a definite planned pattern", in other words, the promotion of Communists in the Government.

LEWIS: All right, sir: Now, he also said of you, "A political party divided against itself, half-McCarthy, half-Eisenhower, cannot produce national unity or govern with confidence and purpose." What is your comment on that last one?

MC CARTHY: Well, Fulton, one of the critisisms I had of some of my friends

in the Democrat Party over the past number of years was that they felt that they had to go along with their own Party regardless of what the Party stood for,regardless of whether it was good or bad. I don't think a nation can survive if our two great political Parties say we must have conformity, we must have unity above everything else. Now, I have disagreed with people in the Republican Party before, I will disagree with them again. I just sincerely hope that we never adopt the Trum ... Truman-Stevenson theory, that you must ... you must at all cost place Party above country, go along with your Party, even with making mistakes, and I think we should realize that no matter how good a Party is they can't bat ... cannot ... a thousand batting average. It's going to make mistakes from time to time.

LEWIS: Now, finally, Mr. Stevenson in effect accused you of making war against the Army.

McCARTHY: Completely false, again, of course, in line with the speech; as I've said time and time again, I think that 99% of the people in ourmilitary services are good, honest, loyal Americans. However, we have a disturbing situation, one that has been growing up for twenty years, Fulton, as you know, spurred on considerably by the order in 1944, an order which we have here incidentally, an order of McCloy, General McCloy, and which he signs ... it's an order signed, allowing the commissioning of Communists, and about the same time there's an order for the destruction of the files, as you know, on anyone who is alleged to be Communist, and what we are doing, - we are helping the Army to painfully dig out the Communists who were allowed to infiltrate during the past twenty years and keep in mind that the Army naturally is the prime target of the Communist Party. Let me make this clear, Fulton. This is no contest against the U. S. Army. I thinkwe've got a great Army, but there have been Communists in it. We've had them before our Committee in the last two weeks; we'll have them before our Committee again in the next couple of weeks, but that will not be ... should not be considered a battle against the Army.

LEWIS: Now, Mr. Edward R. Murrow, on another television network, made an attack on you, a half-hour attack, I believe it was, night before last. Would you care to comment on that attack by Mr. Murrow against you?

McCARTHY: If I may say, Fulton, that I have alittle difficulty answering the specific attacks that he made because I never listen to the extreme Left-wing bleeding-heart elements of radio or television. However, after you invited me to come over here and appear on your program, I checked into Mr. Murrow's background a bit and you'll note I have in my hand a copy of the "Pittsburgh Sun-Telegram." It's dated February 18, 1935, - the headline: "American advisors ... American advisors to Communist Propaganda School." You see there's reproduced the front of a booklet entitled "Moscow University Summer Session, then the National Advisory Council, Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education." The story goes on to tell what the Moscow University taught, if I may quote from it, "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order. " This may explain why Edward R. Murrow, week after week, feels that he must smear McCarthy. Now, just what disturbs him ... disturbed him so much the other night I don't ... I don't know. Maybe he is worried about the fact that he having been on the National Advisory Council of Moscow University and having advised people to attend that school, which, according to this, teaches, again I quote, "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order," maybe Mr. Murrow was worried about the exposure of some of his friends, - I don't know.

LEWIS: Now, the American Civil Liberties Union, he said, he quoted you as having said something about the American Civil Liberties Union as ...,as being ... as having been listed as a subversive organization, and said that that was not so. Do you care to comment on that?

McCARTHY: Yes, I don't mind. I say that there are some individuals in the ACLU who are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not ... had not been listed. I have, as you see

here, Fulton, the fourth report of the Un-American Activities Committee in California and I quote from Page 107, and this is a quotation in regard to the organization which Murrow said had not been listed ... quote: "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or transmission belt organization. At least 90% of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law," so that again Mr. Murrow was not telling the truth.

LEWIS: Now, one ... we only have about a half-minute left here, Senator. Would you care to say anything about Senator Flanders' remarks about you on the floor yesterday?

McCARTHY: Well, Senator Flanders on the floor yesterday said that I was diverting attention from the danger of Communists abroad by calling attention to Communists at home. He said the danger was from within, not from without. I would like to in answer to that quote Abraham Lincoln, when he was asked where the danger would come, and I can't quote him verbatim but roughly here's what he said. He said all thearmies of Europe and Asia combined with a Bonaparte for a commander, with all the wealth of the world in their military chests, in a trial of a thousand years, could not make one track upon the Blue Ridge, could not take one drink from the Ohio. He said if this nation is ever destroyed it will be from within. I prefer to agree with Lincoln rather than Flanders.

LEWIS: Thank you, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

That's the top of the news as it looks from here.

Ed.trans.-E.Scheiner
A.A.Cardiff

(30)

72.2
WM

Dear Mr. Murrow:

If at any time it becomes important to you to establish that the Moscow Summer School was in fact discontinued during the summer of 1935, you may establish this through the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York (Albany, New York). The following is a decision made by the Commissioner in a case where this matter was at issue:

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Before the Commissioner of Education

In the Matter of the
Appeal of HELEN F. BREGER from the
acts of the Board of ~~Education~~ Examiners
of the Board of Education of the City of
New York, in refusing to grant her an
extension of time to meet certain eligibility
requirements.

In a notice of November, 1934, as revised on February 1, 1935, the board of examiners of the city of New York announced that an examination for a license to teach English would be conducted, from which an eligible list would be promulgated, and specified that all persons taking said examination must meet the necessary preliminary eligibility qualifications by Sept. 15, 1935. Helen F. Breger, the appellant herein, alleges that she needed certain additional hours of graduate study in order to meet these preliminary eligibility requirements. She states that after due inquiry she was assured that upon duly authenticated proof of the completion of certain courses which she proposed to take at the University of Moscow Summer School during the summer of 1935, she would receive credit necessary to meet them. Having received such assurance, appellant then proceeded during the summer of 1935 to the University of Moscow, but upon her arrival she was advised that the authorities of the University of Moscow Summer School had determined not to hold sessions of the said summer school and not to give any courses whatsoever. Such decision, she says, was made only a day or two before the arrival of the students scheduled to attend the said school.

Having in good faith proceeded to Moscow to meet the eligibility requirements, which she then found physically impossible to meet by September 15, 1935, she besought the board of examiners to give her further time to meet the requirements. This the board of examiners has refused to do and she now appeals to me from the board's refusal. .....Having fixed a deadline which all candidates must meet, it is my opinion that the board of examiners is without power to extend the deadline for individual cases. Any extension would need to be upon a broad basis and be applicable to all candidates affected.

THE APPEAL IS DISMISSED.
(Signed) Ernest E. Cole
Acting Commissioner, August 14, 1937.

This decision was published in the State Department Reports and is readily available for reference. The citation is 57 SDR 415 (Matter of Breger).

Sincerely yours,

Ruth A. Stevenson

Ruth Adlaide Stevenson

Cold Spring-on-Hudson
New York

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

April 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

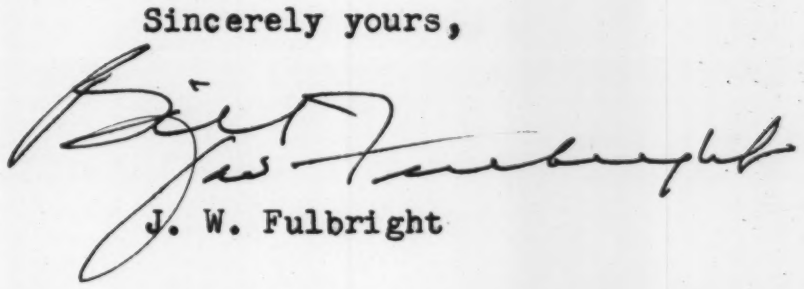
I enclose a copy of a communication which I have recently received.

The writer, who does not wish to be identified, is a former intelligence agent and presently a lawyer. He has two brothers who, he fears, may be subject to retaliation and therefore he has asked that his name not be used. I felt that you might find his approach of interest.

You have been doing a fine job and many of your friends are applauding you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



J. W. Fulbright

JWF:ve

Encl.

Internal Security Committee
Senate of the United States
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Knowing that in these times the source of any request is of especial importance, I shall preface mine by a brief description of myself. I am an ordinary citizen, an attorney occupying a responsible position, with no extreme political leanings or associations, past or present. In 1941 I became, and for some years thereafter was, a special agent of the Counter Intelligence Corps of the United States Army and was cleared for the handling of top secret information. During that time I investigated, among other things, Communist infiltration of the Army.

I have this to say about Communism: Although the communist apparatus is complex and vigilance is necessary, I do not believe that the American people, now alert and generally hostile to Communism, are likely to be overcome by espionage or subversion from a foreign source which is looked upon as unfriendly. I believe the responsible executive departments, with ordinary attention from the Congress, are competent to deal with that menace at the present time. In my view, it was at the time that the American political climate veered sharply to the left, that serious Communist penetration was most likely to (and in fact did) occur.

It seems to me that subversion of the ideals, institutions, way of life and ultimately the constitution of the United States, is more likely to occur from a source less suspect by the mass of the people. I wish to suggest that such a source may possibly exist. Consequently I respectfully request that the Internal Security Committee of the Senate make a study, investigation and report for the purpose of exposing a possible resemblance between the pattern of recent spectacular political events and the means employed in recent times to subvert the governments of other countries.

The pattern which I find outlined in recent events (with certain of my own comments) is set forth below. So far as my recollection goes, it resembles the pattern of developments which subverted other governments, but my recollection may be at fault, in which case your study will so disclose.

1. Exaggeration of the danger of internal communism, employing distortion for that purpose. Reference is made to a recent television broadcast of Edward R. Murrow for instances of this.

2. Brutalizing and coarsening of the public mind by employment of tactics violating accepted standards of decency and fair play, relying on the fear created to gain their acceptance or partial acceptance and creating an atmosphere favorable to more extreme activities. In this connection, physical brutality cannot yet be expected and may not be required: verbal "roughing up" of witnesses, ruining of reputations by unproved assertions, and similar actions may suffice.

3. Substantial paralysis of the government by spectacular charges and accusations, requiring that much time be devoted by officials to defense against them and resulting in those in responsible positions being unable to act with necessary freedom.

In this connection, it should be noted that shifts or suggested shifts of target may be used to spread the paralysis.

4. Defense against the reaction:

a) The above operation being carried on under the guise of patriotism, criticism, particularly strong criticism, tends to become socially unacceptable except among known liberals and intellectuals, toward whom increasing public distrust is created. "Extreme left wing", "bleeding heart", and similar labels assist in this and are extended to include critics not ordinarily so characterized.

b) The social difficulty of criticism is increased by the operator's assumption of the role of martyr. Phrases such as the following could be effective: "Those of us who are engaged in this very unpleasant business of weeding out communists . . ."

5. Exploitation of the Reaction.

The employment of tactics Nos. 1 and 2 produces an adverse reaction from a portion of the public. However, the fear and coarsening of the public mind which has been brought about permit assumption of a slightly more extreme position in the making of subsequent assaults and revelations and the public protests and attempts of officials to defend themselves create additional targets.

In this connection, it may be noted that a more serious charge such as "blackmail" may, in the minds of the inattentive, seem an additional justification for the previous charges. Furthermore, the havoc wrought in the executive departments reduces efficiency and thus creates more occasions for spectacular accusations.

The ability to assume a more advanced position with each move, as explained above, allows repetition of tactics 1,2,3 and 4 and thus produces a chain reaction, designed to create mass hysteria or something approaching mass hysteria, leading to solidarity in support of the operator as leader in a police sta te.

6. Throughout, the operator employs means calculated to implant in the public mind the idea that he is the only one really capable of handling the mess which he claims to have uncovered but really has created.

Belittling of men in high office may help attain this end. Phrases such as "stupid, arrogant and witless" or "abject surrender" might assist in attaining this end. Comments such as that which I heard and believe was on Fulton Lewis' program, substantially as follows, would help: "If anyone except me comes near to being the indispensible man, it is Roy Cohn."

7. Reliance upon overconfidence of the public:

Overconfidence that the operator has "honorable intentions" develops for three reasons:

a) The public fear and disquiet is diverted to communism, unsatisfactory government etc., This is the more easily accomplished because the activities of the operator do not parallel in detail those which took place in other countries where conditions were different - the resemblance is in principles of operation.

b) It is difficult to believe that the many who frequently acts genial and expresses lofty motives, is really bent on subverting the traditions and even the form of government of the country.

This reason for trust is invalid because:

(1) A man who follows such a course thereby demonstrates his lack of trustworthyness, and (2) even assuming his motives to be what they propose to, he could not stop the chain reaction mentioned in "5", above, without discrediting himself.

c) Ordinary people are confident that they would not tolerate anything like Fascism. This reason for confidence is unwarranted because the people themselves will change after sufficient exposure to tactics 1 through 6, above, including the intensification of the struggle accompanying the chain reaction mentioned in 5. The case of Colonel Schwable has demonstrated that Americans are not immune to psychological pressure.

Naturally, all of the foregoing operations are interrelated and may to a large extent take place simultaneously.

I am fully cognizant of the fact that I risk being characterized as a "Screwball" for writing this. I assume that risk willingly, as many ordinary people thought one was a "screwball" for concerning oneself about Communism when Russia was our ally and the political trend was in the other direction.

In view of all of the above, I respectfully reiterate my request for a full investigation study and report, to be conducted, presumably by your committee, and the results thereof made public. Your committee could, conceivably and perhaps most effectively, commence such study by assuming jurisdiction of the current or proposed investigation by the Subcommittee on Investigations of its own operations, such report to determine the precise pattern of recent events you determine to be relevant as related to Fascist subversion in other countries.

In conclusion I suggest to you that the present position of the United States as one of two major antagonists in a continuing global cold war is novel and the extent to which the psychological effects thereof are open to subversive political exploitation can only be surmised; moreover, there is no certain guarantee against a recession, which could alter conditions so as to make them more open to exploitation. The techniques and mechanics of the Fascist ride to power, threatening the catastrophic consequences which they do, have no more place in American political life than does the apparatus of the Communist Party, and both should be fully exposed.

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

PERSONAL

to: Messrs. Paley and Stanton

from: Edward R. Murrow

March 30, 1954

This is the final paragraph from a letter received yesterday from Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Filed under Warren

"I am sure I need not say that I have been enjoying your recent telecasts, but I certainly have."

E.R.M.

rh

565

5-C-5

McCarthyism - Related Materials

MUTUAL NETWORK

FULTON LEWIS, JR.

Thursday, March 11, 1954
7:00-7:15 P.M.

LEWIS: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. This is Fulton Lewis, Jr., speaking from the Mutual studios in Washington, D. C. I'll have the news in just a moment.

(C O M M E R C I A L)

And now, here is your Washington correspondent, Fulton Lewis, Jr.

LEWIS: As promised tonite, ladies and gentlemen, I have Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin here in the studios with me. It so happens that he is appearing on my coast-to-coast television program this week end also, about his committee's new investigation of scandals in Alaska. Now, on this broadcast, however, we want to get Senator McCarthy's side of several attacks that have been made against him in the last week or so. And, to begin with, Senator, I'd like to ask you whether you have any general comments to say about Governor Stevenson's speech in Miami last Saturday nite.

MC CARTHY: Fulton, I listened to Adlai's speech from Miami. As I listened to it, I was carried back about twenty-five years, to some days I spent back on the farm. We lived across the road from an old gentleman; he was a bachelor, he was very aged. As he grew older, he became ill; finally he went to the hospital. When he went to the hospital, my older brother, Bill, had to go over and take care of the cattle and the hogs. He had a very sizeable herd of both. When he got there he found that Wynne Stuffle (?) hadn't cleaned out the barn for a couple of years. He called me over to help him. I went over. It was the most awful mess, Fulton, I've ever found up to the time I came to Washington. Well, Bill and I argued a bit about how we could best do the job, whether you should use a wheel barrow, whether we should get a team of horses, whether we string a cable, how we could clean out that tremendous mess we found there. Now, as I listened to Adlai I thought that if Stevenson were standing back there watching us, he would feel that because we couldn't agree on the best

way to clean out the mess, that there was nothing in the barn, it was perfectly clean.

LEWIS: Now, out of ... He said, specifically mentioning you, that out of more than two million Federal employes, only one alleged active Communist has been found. What is your comment on that?

MC CARTHY: Well, that, of course, is strictly untrue - and either Adlai knew that or should know it, that it was untrue. Just take for example ... Now, we can't give you a list of all of them. Just take those that were exposed before our committee and Communists gotten rid of by the Eisenhower Administration. There was a Fifth Amendment Communist from the Government Printing Office, who's been there for twenty years, despite ~~fmm~~ some forty FBI reports labelling him very clearly. He was named as a Communist before the committee; he was given the right to come before our committee and tell us whether or not he was a Communist, tell us whether or not he was an espionage agent. He refused, invoking the privilege against self-incrimination; he was promptly gotten rid of by Mr. Blattenberg (?), who is Mr. Eisenhower's appointee to the Government Printing Office. I think I mentioned that Rothchild had access to secret material from almost every agency in the Government. That's one. Then, No. 2 -- let's see, running down the line, there's a person (?) named Powell in the Army, named as a Communist, named as a secretary for one of the top Communists in the country. Powell was before the committee, finally admitted receiving a card in the Communist party. The Army got rid of her very quickly, the minute she was exposed. Then there's another individual by the name of Levine, who has been handling not merely confidential and secret material but top-secret material. Levine was called before the committee on the 13th of December last, refused to tell whether or not she had been giving secret material -- she was handling top-secret material -- to people known as espionage agents. She was gotten rid of. Now, we could go down the line, Fulton, indefinitely, but here are three. I think that shows how false Mr. Stevenson's statements were.

LEWIS: And there are others, you say.

MC CARTHY: Oh, a long list.

LEWIS: Now, he also said (and I quote): "Some of these orators even suggested that they ... that these subversives, spies// and so forth, had been planted in the Government." What would your comment be to that statement by Governor Stevenson?

MC CARTHY: I think, rather than to answer him in my own words, Fulton, if you don't mind, I would like to read one short paragraph from the presentment of the grand jury. The grand jury was investigating Communist activities in the U.N. Of necessity, the investigation included the same Communists before they got to the U.N. May I read this paragraph, Fulton?

LEWIS: Yes.

MC CARTHY: Now, they're talking about the Communists in the U.N. (I quote) "Almost without exception, these same subversive elements ...." no, "these same subversive employes with the U.N. were formerly employed in various departments of our own Federal Government. They were transferred from one Federal department to another, finally ending up in key positions in the United Nations." (still quoting) "The evidence shows that this is not coincidental but part of a definite planned pattern. It appears to result from the contrivance of highly-placed officials who have surrounded themselves in each Government agency and then in the U.N. with personnel who share their disloyal convictions." And if I may go back to this, Fulton, I again call your attention to the statement of the grand jury presentment: "The evidence shows that this is not coincidental but part of a definite planned pattern", in other words, the promotion of Communists in the Government.

LEWIS: All right, sir: Now, he also said of you, "A political party divided against itself, half-McCarthy, half-Eisenhower, cannot produce national unity or govern with confidence and purpose." What is your comment on that last one?

MC CARTHY: Well, Fulton, one of the criticisms I had of some of my friends

in the Democrat Party over the past number of years was that they felt that they had to go along with their own Party regardless of what the Party stood for,regardless of whether it was good or bad. I don't think a nation can survive if our two great political Parties say we must have conformity, we must have unity above everything else. Now, I have disagreed with people in the Republican Party before, I will disagree with them again. I just sincerely hope that we never adopt the Trum ... Truman-Stevenson theory, that you must ... you must at all cost place Party above country, go along with your Party, even with making mistakes, and I think we should realize that no matter how good a Party is they can't bat ... cannot ... a thousand batting average. It's going to make mistakes from time to time.

LEWIS: Now, finally, Mr. Stevenson in effect accused you of making war against the Army.

McCARTHY: Completely false, again, of course, in line with the speech; as I've said time and time again, I think that 99% of the people in ourmilitary services are good, honest, loyal Americans. However, we have a disturbing situation, one that has been growing up for twenty years, Fulton, as you know, spurred on considerably by the order in 1944, an order which we have here incidentally, an order of McCloy, General McCloy, and which he signs ... it's an order signed, allowing the commissioning of Communists, and about the same time there's an order for the destruction of the files, as you know, on anyone who is alleged to be Communist, and what we are doing, - we are helping the Army to painfully dig out the Communists who were allowed to infiltrate during the past twenty years and keep in mind that the Army naturally is the prime target of the Communist Party. Let me make this clear, Fulton. This is no contest against the U. S. Army. I thinkwe've got a great Army, but there have been Communists in it. We've had them before our Committee in the last two weeks; we'll have them before our Committee again in the next couple of weeks, but that will not be ... should not be considered a battle against the Army.

LEWIS: Now, Mr. Edward R. Murrow, on another television network, made an attack on you, a half-hour attack, I believe it was, night before last. Would you care to comment on that attack by Mr. Murrow against you?

McCARTHY: If I may say, Fulton, that I have alittle difficulty answering the specific attacks that he made because I never listen to the extreme Left-wing bleeding-heart elements of radio or television. However, after you invited me to come over here and appear on your program, I checked into Mr. Murrow's background a bit and you'll note I have in my hand a copy of the "Pittsburgh Sun-Telegram." It's dated February 18, 1935, - the headline: "American advisors ... American advisors, to Communist Propaganda School." You see there's reproduced the front of a booklet entitled "Moscow University Summer Session, then the National Advisory Council, Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education." The story goes on to tell what the Moscow University taught, if I may quote from it, "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order. " This may explain why Edward R. Murrow, week after week, feels that he must smear McCarthy. Now, just what disturbs him ... disturbed him so much the other night I don't ... I don't know. Maybe he is worried about the fact that he having been on the National Advisory Council of Moscow University and having advised people to attend that school, which, according to this, teaches, again I quote, "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order," maybe Mr. Murrow was worried about the exposure of some of his friends, - I don't know.

LEWIS: Now, the American Civil Liberties Union, he said, he quoted you as having said something about the American Civil Liberties Union as ...,as being ... as having been listed as a subversive organization, and said that that was not so. Do you care to comment on that?

McCARTHY: Yes, I don't mind. I say that there are some individuals in the ACLU who are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not ... had not been listed. I have, as you see

here, Fulton, the fourth report of the Un-American Activities Committee in California and I quote from Page 107, and this is a quotation in regard to the organization which Murrow said had not been listed ... quote: "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or transmission belt organization. At least 90% of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law," so that again Mr. Murrow was not telling the truth.

LEWIS: Now, one ... we only have about a half-minute left here, Senator, Would you care to say anything about Senator Flanders' remarks about you on the floor yesterday?

McCARTHY: Well, Senator Flanders on the floor yesterday said that I was diverting attention from the danger of Communists abroad by calling attention to Communists at home. He said the danger was from within, not from without. I would like to in answer to that quote Abraham Lincoln, when he was asked where the danger would come, and I can't quote him verbatim but roughly here's what he said. He said all thearmies of Europe and Asia combined with a Bonaparte for a commander, with all the wealth of the world in their military chests, in a trial of a thousand years, could not make one track upon the Blue Ridge, could not take one drink from the Ohio. He said if this nation is ever destroyed it will be from within. I prefer to agree with Lincoln xxx rather than Flanders.

LEWIS: Thank you, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

That's the top of the news as it looks from here.

Ed.trans.-E.Scheiner
A.A.Cardiff

(30)

August 16, 1954

Dear Mr. Shute:

I thought this might interest you or soil your files.

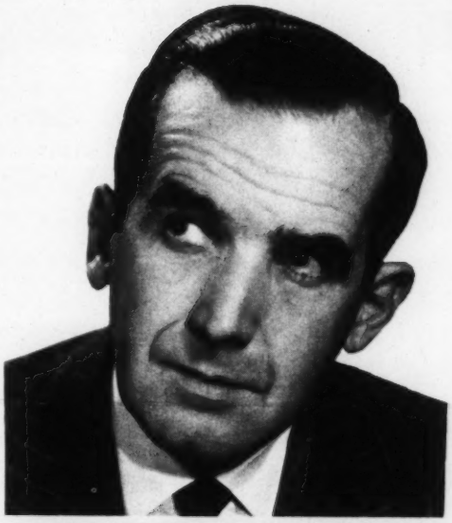
Sincerely yours,

Jesse Zousmer

Mr. Ben Shute
Cravath, Swaine & Moore
15 Broad Street
New York 5, New York

Article from fan press
Chicago re Jews at CBS &
Joe Cathy

THE MURROW-McCARTHY DEBATE



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CBS Commentator

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Dr. Harry D. Gideonse

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
Senator from Wisconsin

EVERYBODY IS TALKING ABOUT THE CLASH BETWEEN MURROW AND McCARTHY BUT MANY MISSED ONE OR ALL OF THE TV PROGRAMS FEATURING THIS CONTROVERSY.

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2. Excerpts from the Annie Lee Moss hearings before the McCarthy Committee as shown on SEE IT NOW, March 16, 1954.
3. Senator McCarthy's charges against Murrow as shown on SEE IT NOW, April 6, 1954.
4. Mr. Murrow's reply including highlights from an address by Bishop Sheil, SEE IT NOW, April 13, 1954.

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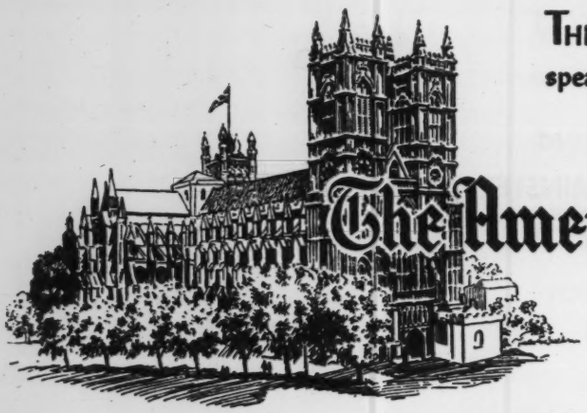

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April 8, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have a few minutes at the Fund office and I hasten to write one suggestion about meeting McCarthy's program. I wonder if you could brush aside the single point that he made—that if you are against McCarthy you are a Communist—and then develop your own new sound approach for handling domestic Communism. On this I might be of some help and in confidence I can tell you of a conversation which I had with the President's staff before his recent speech in the hope that he would outline a sound, aggresive program for handling American Communism. Maybe the best way to beat McCarthy's horse is to put your own horse in the race!

I am off to England Friday and if you want me before then, give me a ring.

Yours,

Morris L. Ernst

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WASHINGTON 6. D. C.

Washington --- 7 June 1954

315 NEAL AVENUE
•
DAYTON 5. OHIO

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Brother:

I am sending on the attached clipping from the Saturday "News" in case it has not already reached your attention.

Like always,

Lacy -

Attachment

Washington Daily News
Sat. June 6, 1954

Carlos Garcia Takes on McCarthy

He Speaks Out in Sign Language

"Newspapers aren't enough. Private individuals and businessmen have to speak out about Sen. McCarthy. Then the public will be able to see thru him and find out what kind of a guy he really is."

Grocer Carlos Garcia, speaking out in a semi-artistic manner with signs in his store window, was watching the Army-McCarthy hearings on TV. His store at 1828 Columbia Road nw is probably the only grocery in town offering television.

Mr. Garcia has a weakness for signs. In February his signs chided the Administration for the high price of coffee. His present feature is a drawing, which he traced, showing a matador named Murrow and a bull with a face strongly resembling the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Above the drawing is a slogan, "I Am the Law" with Joe McCarthy's name under it.

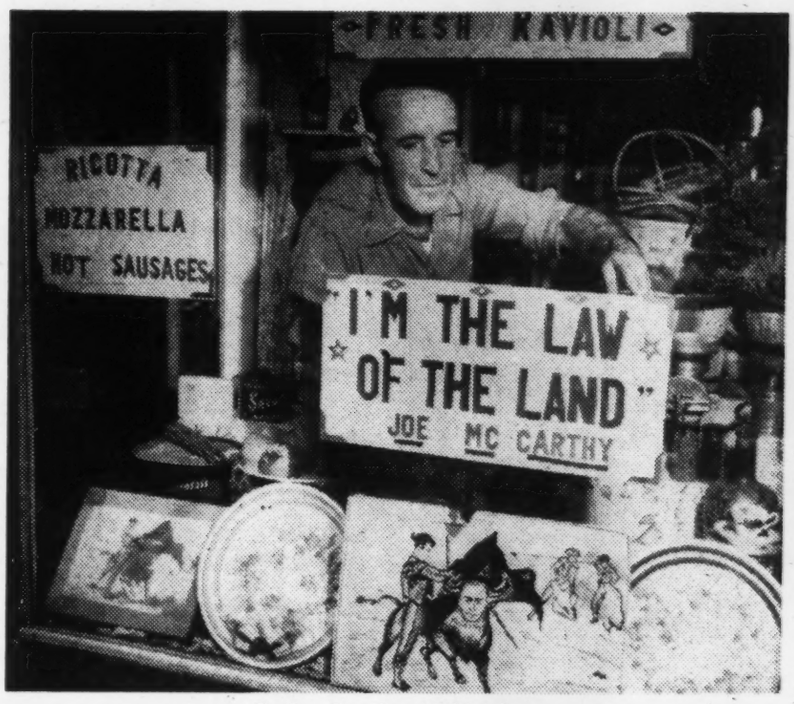
"I've found that about 95 per cent of the people agree with me. Of course I've had a few phone calls from people who call me a commie and tell me they will report me to Sen. McCarthy. I told them to go ahead. They can investigate me any darn time they want to," he said.

His business hasn't been affected by his strong stand against what he terms "a fellow who wants to be a one-man government." He says he things more merchants would like to speak out but "they are afraid of losing business."

He said he doesn't think anything should be done about Sen. McCarthy.

"Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Let him keep talking. Pretty soon everyone will catch on to him and he'll be thru," he said.

"But one thing I'd like to find out that I haven't seen written anywhere. I'd like to find out what kind of a life McCarthy had as a child. What he did and how he was treated. I think if we know that we could find the whole answer to the way he acts and thinks."



Carlos Garcia and his signs.

HOYT A. MOORE
DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT
CARL W. PAINTER
LEONARD D. ADKINS
MAURICE T. MOORE
DONALD C. SWATLAND
BRUCE BROMLEY
ROSWELL MAGILL
A. I. HENDERSON
Wm DWIGHT WHITNEY
ALFRED McCORMACK
CARLYLE E. MAW
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NEW YORK

June 2, 1954

Dear Miss McDonough:

Mr. Shute passed on to me your note of May 27 with the scripts which you enclosed. I return them herewith, having retained ozalid copies of the April 13, 1954, Oppenheimer and October 27, 1947, programs. The December 21, 1948, Hollywood Ten program is already in our files. The fourth item of L. Duggan enclosure, a note from Dixie Love Dean to Mr. Murrow, to which is attached two typewritten sheets captioned "World Passport", do not ring any bell with me. Unless they were enclosed in error, perhaps you will let me know what significance in them may have eluded me.

Sincerely yours,

Edward Kirkland

Miss Dorothy McDonough,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Encls.

35

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COLUMBIA

NYK

CHURCH FOR MURROW LATEST SIN RESHOWN BBC LAST NIGHT
WITH GREAT EFFECT STOP COOKE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN TODAY WRITES ON
MCCARTHY CASE GENERALLY QUOTE IT MAY BE THAT SPARKS WHICH SET OFF
FIERY AND SO RIGHTEOUS EXPLOSION OF POPULAR INDIGNATION
WAS LAID WITH DELIBERATE COURAGE BY MURROW ASTERISKS
MURROW MAY YET MAKE BRAVERY FASHIONABLE UNQUOTE REGARDS

SMITH.

UPWA33

NIGHT

1ST LEAD FOUNDATIONS

BY VINCENT J. BURKE

UNITED PRESS STAFF CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, MAY 25.--(UP)--REP. WAYNE L. HAYS ACCUSED A COMMITTEE WITNESS TODAY OF "MALIGNING" COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW WITH "THE SAME OLD TRIPE" THAT SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY HAD USED IN A TELEVISION EXCHANGE WITH MURROW.

THE OHIO DEMOCRAT VIGOROUSLY OBJECTED WHEN AARON M. SARGENT, A SAN FRANCISCO ATTORNEY, NAMED MURROW AND SEVERAL PROMINENT EDUCATORS IN A LIST OF 25 PERSONS ALLEGEDLY CONNECTED WITH PLANS FOR A 1935 SUMMER SESSION AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY.

SARGENT APPEARED BEFORE A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS. EARLIER, HAYS HAD LOST A FIGHT TO HAVE THE COMMITTEE SCREEN THE TESTIMONY IN CLOSED MEETINGS TO PREVENT PUBLIC "NAME-DROPPING."

HAYS, WHO WALKED OUT OF THE HEARING DURING SARGENT'S TESTIMONY MONDAY, ACCUSED THE WITNESS OF TRYING TO PICTURE MURROW AND THE EDUCATORS AS "COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS."

HE SAID MURROW HAD REPUDIATED THE CHARGE WHEN MCCARTHY MADE IT. HE DEMANDED ANEW THAT THE COMMITTEE STOP WHAT HE CALLED "CHARACTER ASSASSINATION BY INFERENCE."

MOREJR508P

UPWA34

ADD 1ST LEAD FOUNDATIONS WASHINGTON XXX BY INFERENCE."

BESIDES MURROW, SARGENT LISTED SUCH NAMES AS JOHN DEWEY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PHILOSOPHY PROFESSOR; FRANK P. GRAHAM, THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, AND ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

HAYS SAID AN "OBSCURE PERSON" LIKE SARGENT OUGHT NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR BEFORE A COMMITTEE AND "MALIGN PEOPLE LIKE THIS."

IN AN EARLIER NOSE-TO-NOSE HARANGUE WITH CHAIRMAN B. CARROLL REECE (R-TENN.), HAYS SHOUTED THAT HE HAD BEEN "DOUBLE-CROSSED" AND CHALLENGED REECE TO MAKE HIM KEEP QUIET.

(PICKUP 3RD PGH: THE HAYS-REECE, ETC.)

JR510P..

UP66

URGENT

May 14, 1954

Dear Mr. Durham:

I have your telegram of May 13 and suggest that perhaps you have confused my associate, Fred W. Friendly, with Alfred W. Friendly of the WASHINGTON POST who was mentioned by Mr. Adams in the hearings yesterday.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Edward L. Durham
2701 Avenue N
Brooklyn 17, New York

dm

RECEIVED

1954 MAY 13 PM 8:56

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 045 PD

BROOKLYN NY 13 625P

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

PLEASE EXPLAIN SOMETIME SOON HOW FRED W FRIENDLY INITIALLY RECEIVED DEROGATORY REPORTS ANENT MCCARTHY AND HIS STAFF. YOU OWE THIS IN JUSTICE TO A HERETOFORE ADMIRING CONSTITUTENT

EDWARD L DURHAM 2701 AVENUE N BROOKLYN 17 NY

700P

TN

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C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 046 PD

BROOKLYN NY 13 637P

EDWIN R MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING CO

RE ARMY MCCARTHY HEARING EVIDENCE TODAY
EXPLAIN FRIENDLY MURROW TIE-UP AGAINST
MCCARTHY AND COMMUNISTS

E L DURHAM 2701 AVENUE N BROOKLYN 17 NEW
YORK

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Mr. Mr. FYI

FACTS *about* BLACKLIST

Number 2
MAY, 1954

EDITORS: WALTER BERNSTEIN • SAM MOORE

This is the second issue of FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST. In the year and a half since the first issue, the blacklist in entertainment has increased in scope and virulence. At the same time, its aims have been more completely exposed.

Ostensibly, the blacklist seeks only to banish from the air those artists whom certain self-appointed patriots consider "subversive."

Actually – and inevitably – its aims go far beyond this simple goal. They are:

To suppress, through intimidation, any opinion or organization opposed in any way to those who blacklist;

And, ultimately, to control mass communications in the interest of that combination of venality and vicious ignorance called McCarthyism.

These twin aims of the blacklist have been increasingly successful. In particular, the giant radio and television networks have beat a steady and degrading retreat – not before an aroused American public favoring these aims, but before a handful of small-minded, profit-seeking bigots who represent no one but themselves.

But this success has also been met with a growing opposition, most recently expressed by the forthright and courageous television program, "See It Now," produced over the Columbia Broadcasting System by Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly.

This program articulated a vast American disgust with the performance of Senator Joseph McCarthy. The public response was overwhelmingly favorable, expressed in a deluge of telephone calls, letters and telegrams unprecedented in CBS history.

And yet, in direct contradiction to what this program meant, the Columbia Broadcasting System, of which Mr. Murrow is a vice-president, maintains the most rigid blacklist in the entertainment industry, under the personal supervision of another vice-president, Daniel O'Shea.

If the effect of this blacklist were only, as the blacklisters claim, to keep a few hundred actors, writers and directors out of work, then it would be of small importance to the country. But the effect is actually to paralyze any concerted action through radio and television against the sweeping evil of McCarthyism.

So long as CBS maintains a blacklist, the example of "See It Now" must be an isolated one, important but insufficient. It is not possible to fight evil with one hand, while helping it with another. Nor is it possible to appease McCarthyism by pointing to a blacklist as an example of proper anti-Communism. What McCarthyism represents – the extolling of indecency above reason – cannot be appeased short of complete capitulation.

The networks are the custodians in the public interest of our most important channels of information. The public interest of our country requires a constant extension of democracy on every level. A network that uses a blacklist betrays this interest.

Men such as Murrow and Friendly must be supported for their attempts to serve the public interest. For the same reason, the blacklist must be exposed as an instrument designed to *harm* the public interest by strangling such an expression as Murrow's.

Once the blacklist is exposed, it can be defeated. Once defeated, an overdue victory has been won for decency and freedom.

Who runs the blacklist?

The blacklist in the entertainment industry does not flow from a single source. It is the promotion of a handful of individuals and organizations, acting separately, together or even competitively. Their success is possible only in a national climate of fear and suspicion.

Their power lies in the ability to perform two functions: they can blacklist and they can "clear."

For example: Counterattack is a fortnightly paper published by American Business Consultants of New York City. It claims to tell "the facts" about Communism, particularly in the entertainment and literary fields.

Most of Counterattack's four pages are devoted to the names of alleged Communists or "fronters," with listings of their "subversive" activity. Occasionally, Counterattack will also discuss the philosophical aspects of subversion. *For example:* When Corliss Lamont complained that his book, "Soviet Civilization," had been burned on the streets of Chicago by hoodlums who had broken into a rally of the Chicago Council of Soviet-American Friendship, Counterattack took the opportunity to give its views on book-burning in general.

After stating that "burning his book did not cancel out his freedom of opinion," Counterattack went on to warn its readers not to fall for the line that anyone who burns a book is necessarily demonstrating his fear of the contents. After all, the paper asked, what is to be done with those books found to be "subversive?" The ideal solution would be to sell or give them away for pulp to anti-Communist publishers or governments. But failing that, says Counterattack, the simplest and most practical thing to do is burn them.

This attitude is matched by the list of people and organizations attacked in recent years by Counterattack, for aiding the Communist cause.

They include, among many others of similar standing, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Harold Stassen, Trygve Lie, Dean Acheson, General George C. Marshall, The New York Times, The New Yorker, and the publishing firms of Doubleday Doran and Little, Brown and Company.

In the case of Little, Brown, one of the country's oldest and most respected publishing houses, Counterattack was mainly responsible for the firing of the firm's executive editor. One of their accusations was that the editor had helped to publish books by authors of whom Counterattack disapproved.

For an artist to be listed unfavorably in Counterattack means certain blacklist. This fact is accepted without question throughout the radio and television industry. The only chance for continued employment is to be "cleared," either by Counterattack or a party acceptable to Counterattack.

Clearance: the professionals

The dean of blacklist firms today is American Business Consultants. As such, their "clearing" service deserves primary mention. Like many good business ideas, it is both simple and audacious.

For example: Counterattack will publish an item about an artist who has appeared on radio or television. Inspired by this item, letters will be written to the sponsor or network, complaining of the artist. There are never many of these letters; often they come from places where the particular program is not seen or heard.

Shortly thereafter, a representative of Counterattack may call upon the sponsor or his advertising agency with the advice that future troubles of this kind can be avoided by hiring American Business

The Editors wish to express their appreciation of the wide and generous response to the first issue of this publication. We take this space to acknowledge with real gratitude the many letters and contributions of money we have received—far too many to be acknowledged personally by two people.

This second issue tells more about the methods of the blacklist. Some may wonder why we do not print the names of the victims; it is our belief that this could possibly, in the wrong hands, become an extension of the blacklist itself.

Finally, we regret the delay between our first issue and this second one. Since we do not charge for the paper and it is put out in the Editor's spare time, there are many difficulties. We hope to issue a third more promptly, since the response of our readers has confirmed our belief that most Americans are against the use of a political blacklist and will say so when they learn the facts of its existence.

Consultants to check and certify those hired to work on the program.

As the networks and agencies have knuckled under, the attitude of American Business Consultants toward those wishing clearance has become more lordly. They are no longer satisfied with simple apologies for having belonged to allegedly left-wing organizations. They are not even satisfied with denials of their allegations, even in those cases where the allegations have been definitely disproved. In one case where Counterattack accused the wrong man, the paper made no retraction and the accused actor was too frightened to demand one.

What Counterattack requires now, before it grants total absolution, is active denunciation of any previous liberal or progressive point of view, plus complete acceptance of Counterattack's brand of anti-Communism. And even this becomes only the beginning. In certain cases, they have made it plain that a statement of religious principle would help. In another case, Counterattack demanded to know a director's future policy on hiring actors, along with the director's guarantee that he would not hire those whom Counterattack considered "undesirable."

It is also possible to obtain virtual, or we-can't-clear-you-but, "clearance" from individuals in the business.

One of these is Vincent Hartnett, a writer and lecturer who claims credit for having compiled Red Channels, the collection of 151 entertainment names that is the basic manual of the blacklist movement.

Because of his foresight, Hartnett today bears roughly the same relation to the blacklist movement as did Sutter to the discovery of gold in California. He is at once beneficiary, seer and promoter.

For example: Hartnett has written several articles for the American Legion magazine. In one of them, he named an actor as a past supporter of Loyalist Spain. Fearful of the consequences, the actor's agent arranged a meeting between his client, Hartnett and Victor Lasky, a former newspaper reporter who has become a self-styled expert on the subversive penetration of American culture.

At this meeting, the actor was told by Hartnett and Lasky that Spain was not the only suspect item in his dossier. He was also known to have appeared some years before in a Broadway play that contained alleged Communists.

And while insisting that they could not "clear" anyone, Hartnett and Lasky told the actor that it would be best for his own welfare if he were to submit to "experts" the names of other cast members of other Broadway shows in which he might appear. In this way, he could avoid even those involuntary associations that could get him in further trouble.

Clearance: the amateurs

One of the ways to get blacklisted is to denounce blacklisting on the floor of a union. Since the powerful craft unions in the entertainment field can end the blacklist by declaring unfair any program that uses it, the blacklisters have a special stake in minimizing or aborting any union action against the blacklist.

In this area, the amateurs carry the blacklist ball. They are those artists who aid Laurence Johnson, Counterattack, networks, movie studios and advertising agencies by helping provide names for the blacklist.

So far as is known, they are not paid in money for this work. Many of them, however, have recently enjoyed professional employment to a greater degree than ever before.

For example: Franklin Pulaski is a former radio announcer who has claimed that he was not working because of his outspoken views as an anti-Communist. The New York Journal-American took up Pulaski's cause editorially, and his fortunes rapidly improved. He acted on several television programs and most recently in the Twentieth-Century Fox movie, "The Robe."

During this period, one of Pulaski's extra-thespic activities was to give Twentieth-Century Fox in New York his opinion on which performers were "pure" enough to be employed by them.

For example: Paul Milton is a radio and television writer, who testified as a friendly witness before the Senate Internal Security Committee. He did not claim ever to have been a Communist, but named several other writers as "pro-Communists."

Two of the writers named by Milton were fired from programs they had been writing regularly up to that time. A short while later, Milton became a writer on one of these programs.

Blacklist and unemployment

Jobs in the entertainment industry are scarce. Fewer than half the members of AFTRA, the federation of radio and television actors, can make a living in their field. The incomes of at least a third

of the members of the Radio Writers Guild are less than two thousand dollars a year. To be a member of Equity, the union for actors in the theatre, an actor must have performed in at least one class-A production—and yet Equity estimates that only half of one per cent of its membership earns enough in the theatre to pay income tax.

In such a situation, the economic pressure on artists makes them particularly vulnerable to threats of blacklist. These threats are used without conscience by the blacklisters.

For example: a year and a half ago, an actor active in the fight against blacklist was approached by Vincent Hartnett, who asked him to reverse his anti-blacklist stand. The actor refused. Until that moment, he had worked regularly in radio and television. After that moment, he could not get a job.

A month ago, the actor reversed his position and wrote a letter attacking his own past and those presently fighting the blacklist. The letter was read at an AFTRA meeting. Immediately thereafter, the actor began to work again on radio and television.

For the artist then, the price of a job has become not even simple conformity, but the active display of a required point of view. The artist must insure his job by speaking up to show where he stands, by voting the proper way at union meetings and making his vote known, and by joining such organizations as the newly-created "Aware."

Beware "Aware"

"Aware" is a dues-paying, membership organization whose members have to be proposed, endorsed and approved before admission. Its purpose is "to combat the Communist conspiracy in the entertainment world." Its head is a lawyer and Fordham University teacher named Godfrey P. Schmidt, now considered the top man to see when "clearance" is desired. On its board of directors are the ubiquitous Vincent Hartnett, Paul Milton and Vinton Hayworth, president of the New York local of AFTRA.

The ostensible program of "Aware" is to counter the Communist menace by monitoring, investigating, studying and publishing material about its manifestations behind the footlights.

Its real program is to become that organization in the entertainment industry which an artist must join as proof of his "loyalty."

For example: an actor who found himself blacklisted at a major network, although he had been previously cleared by the FBI in another capacity, went to Vinton Hayworth for assistance. Hayworth told him that, despite the FBI clearance, the actor was possibly being blacklisted for having run for union office on an anti-blacklist ticket.

Hayworth then advised three steps for becoming employable again: the public renunciation of the anti-blacklist ticket, preferably on the floor of the union; a letter from the actor to Godfrey P. Schmidt, attesting his loyalty; and an application for admission to membership in "Aware."

The actor took none of these steps. He remains blacklisted.

Blacklist: a new disgrace

The Negro performer has always been blacklisted, in the sense of being discriminated against. The appearance on WOR-TV of a dramatic show called "Harlem Detective" was therefore a considerable democratic achievement. In addition, the show received excellent reviews, with special reference to its Negro star, William Marshall.

Shortly after a particularly good review appeared in The New York Times, Marshall was attacked by Counterattack and fired from the show.

Shortly after that, the show itself was dropped by the station.

We urge our readers to protest this action.

Write to:

Program Director
WOR-TV
1440 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Ask the station to reinstate the program, "Harlem Detective." Tell them you believe that only the audience should be the judge of whether or not a show stays on the air.

Acting together, we can stop the blacklist *now.*

FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST
542 Fifth Ave., New York 36, N. Y.

Please send me FACTS ABOUT BLACKLIST. *I am interested in helping the fight against blacklist in the entertainment industry.*

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

I enclose a contribution of $..... *to help the paper.*

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WORLD INFORMATION

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING

NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

April 30, 1954

STATEMENT

Expenses incurred re: research

April 4	Call to Sylvia Sugarman Croton, N.Y.	2.64
April 4	Milwaukee call for data	7.15
April 7	Washington, D.C.	4.40
	Total expenses	$14.19

Paid
May 10, 1954
Wmcd.

WORLD INFORMATION
Research Consultants
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING • NEW YORK 1, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-8663

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
HERBERT HARRIS

April 30, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Ssystem
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Please find enclosed a STATEMENT covering 3 long distance calls in addition to the expenses submitted in the previous month's statement. I believe that this constitutes all the expenses incurred.

Thanks for your check covering the previous Statement. I hope that the issue covered by the reports I made available to Ben Shute for you never plagues you. If the matter is brought up later there are a few points worth further checking as indicated in the summary.

I hope you will find time to see the film which I supervised in behalf of FREEDOM HOUSE. Besides the preview at 4 PM Tuesday, May 4, public showings will be scheduled twice daily during the week of May 10 at 12:30 noon and 5:30 P.M. at FREEDOM HOUSE, 20 West 40.

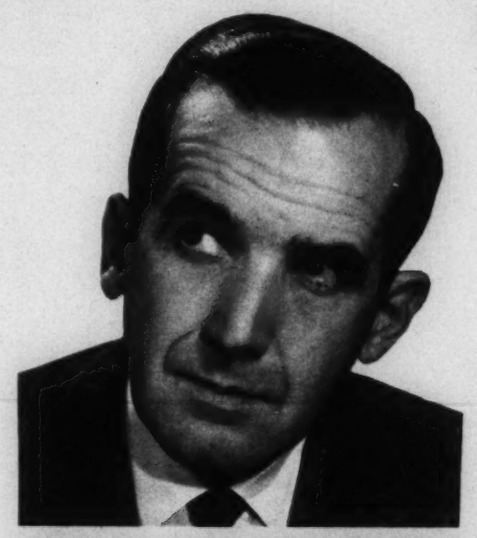
Best wishes,

Very sincerely,

Chet

CSW:def

THE MURROW-McCARTHY DEBATE



EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS Commentator

FREEDOM HOUSE

presents

A DOCUMENTARY FILM

FROM THE TV RECORD

16 mm.—45 Minutes

★

Commentary by

Father George B. Ford

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
Senator from Wisconsin

EVERYBODY IS TALKING ABOUT THE CLASH BETWEEN MURROW AND McCARTHY BUT MANY MISSED ONE OR ALL OF THE TV PROGRAMS FEATURING THIS CONTROVERSY.

Americans Want to See the Complete Film Record and Discuss the Issues.

★

YOUR ORGANIZATION

Can Now Present A Documentary Film Summary Of This Debate Containing:

1. Important sequences from the original CBS-TV Program SEE IT NOW of March 9, 1954—Murrow's first report on McCarthy.
2. Excerpts from the Annie Lee Moss hearings before the McCarthy Committee as shown on SEE IT NOW, March 16, 1954.
3. Senator McCarthy's charges against Murrow as shown on SEE IT NOW, April 6, 1954.
4. Mr. Murrow's reply including highlights from an address by Bishop Sheil, SEE IT NOW, April 13, 1954.

This film is released as a public service by Freedom House, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The use of this film is subject to the following restrictions: The use must be non-commercial and not before an audience which is charged an admission fee. There must be no broadcast via radio or television facilities.

Prints shall not be made available to any organization listed by the U. S. Attorney General as subversive.

A Message from President Eisenhower . . . *Not* an Endorsement of this Film:

"Freedom House is a symbol of an effective force for liberty. It has repeatedly demonstrated its awareness of the axiom that the price of freedom for the individual—even in our republican form of government—is eternal vigilance." (Nov. 5, 1953)—*Dwight D. Eisenhower*

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Rental Fee $7.50 per day

ASSOCIATION FILMS, INC.

RIDGEFIELD, N. J.
(Broad at Elm)
CHICAGO
(79 E. Adams Street)

SAN FRANCISCO
(351 Turk Street)
DALLAS
(1108 Jackson Street)

TO Jesse Zousmer

FROM Bill Ackerman 4.19.54

Here it is, though a long time after the fact.

I'd like to have it back, when you've finished with it up there.

Bill

FILE 13
Special Supplement
Program Bulletin
March 13, 1954

[redacted]

"See It Now" (EDWARD R. MURROW show, CBS-TV, Tuesdays, 10:30-11 PM EST, sponsored by ALCOA, Aluminum Corp. of America). March 9 show was entirely devoted to a bitter and one-sided attack on Sen. Joe McCarthy. (Murrow "covered" that by saying that "if the Senator thinks we do violence to him, he can come on this program and answer" - hardly responsible journalism for a program which parades as TV journalism at its best.) This analysis of March 9 show will (lacking a copy of Murrow's script) be based on friendly reportage of the show: JACK GOULD's ecstatic review in N.Y. Times, March 11, p. 38, and JOHN CROSBY's ecstatic review in N.Y. Herald Tribune, March 12, p. 19.

According to Gould, "The Senator's most useful tools, Mr. Murrow suggested, were Congressional immunity and the 'half-truth.'" This analysis is not a blanket defense of McCarthy. The writer believes citzens should be able freely to criticize anyone, without thereby being accused of pro-Communism, disloyalty, etc. The writer personally believes McCarthy was wrong in pillorying Gen. Zwicker (McCarthy in the Peress case should have gone after the Adjutant General of the Army, not after ComGen Ft. Monmouth).

But the fact is that Ed Murrow's tactics on the March 9 show were not far removed from those he alleged against McCarthy. Murrow's production crew cleverly used fragments of film and tape recording to build a composite picture of McCarthy which was (at best) half-true. Yet Murrow cleverly kept himself immune from prosecution for libel or slander, in all probability, since each fragment was in itself factual.

E.g., Gould reported: "Similarly, the irrelevancy and prejudice of much of the Senator's questioning of Reed Harris were detailed." Murrow on March 9 show demonstrated some of the questioning of Harris, but kept from his TV audience the whole truth. The whole truth was that McCarthy's Senate Subcommittee on Investigations was exploring charges of gross mismanagement and pro-Communism in the State Department Information Program, including Voice of America. Harris was Deputy Administrator, International Information Administration, Department of State. In testimony covering more than 50 pages of the printed record, Harris himself, under persistent questioning by McCarthy and associates, admitted past pro-communist (in the sense of Marxist generally) sympathy and writings, though he stated his outlook had changed. Far from being irrelevant, the questioning of Harris (a man in a highly strategic and responsible position) was most relevant. If McCarthy's questioning was prejudiced, it was prejudiced against Communism and Communists, Marxism and Marxists. If some McCarthy critics don't like that type of prejudice, most Americans do.

Crosby reported: "McCarthy was shown as a liar, telling a witness that the American Civil Liberties Union is a Communist-front organization, which it certainly is not." Crosby added rhetorically: "I heard the original broadcast of that statement, and I thought I wasn't hearing right." Crosby apparently is also referring to the questioning of Reed Harris. Here is the record of the pertinent portion of that questioning, as printed on p. 333, Part 5, of the Hearings:

(MORE)

"The Chairman (McCarthy). You resigned from the university. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time? Mr. Harris. I had many offers of attorneys, and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union; yes. The Chairman. The question is: Did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney? Mr. Harris. They did supply me with an attorney. The Chairman. The answer is 'Yes'? Mr. Harris. The answer is 'Yes.' The Chairman. You know that the American Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front of the Communist Party? Mr. Harris. Mr. Chairman, this was 1932. The Chairman. I know this was 1932. Do you know that they have since been listed as a front doing the work of the Communist Party? Mr. Harris. I do not know that they have been listed so. I have heard that mentioned, or read that mentioned."

Crosby, if a responsible writer, presumably checked the record before publishing that "McCarthy was shown as a liar," etc. On the record, the liar is not McCarthy. The record shows that McCarthy did not tell Harris the ACLU is a Communist-front organization. McCarthy told Harris that the ACLU has been listed "as a front of (a front doing the work of) the Communist Party." McCarthy was telling the truth. The ACLU has been listed as a Communist "front." It was so listed in the published Hearings of the Dies Committee in the late 1930s. It was so listed by the California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in its Reports of 1943 and 1948. And these "listings" were not arbitrary or capricious. They were supported by copious and detailed documentation.

Thus, what McCarthy actually said was falsified by his critic, and on the basis of a falsified record, McCarthy was depicted as a liar. It was not McCarthy who was the liar.

Murrow parades as a crusading civil libertarian, courageously dashing in to defend the person he felt "was being pushed around by government or big industry with no opportunity to answer charges against him" (quoted from first of two-part "build-up" on Murrow, McCall's Magazine, Feb. 1954, p. 86). But many have concluded that Murrow's solicitude has been recently reserved for individuals and groups involved in one way or another in the Communist conspiracy in this country.

This writer has little doubt about Murrow's practically expressed opposition to Communist aggression as it exists abroad and today. On "See It Now," for example, Murrow has used the same clever camera work to discredit a representative of Red Poland as he has used against militant opponents of the Communist conspiracy in this country.

When it comes to the question of the Communist threat to the internal security of this country, this writer has grave doubts as to the rectitude of Murrow's actions.

On Oct. 20, 1953, Murrow lent "See It Now" as a forum for Lt. Milo Radulovich, his wife, his father and his sister. Lt. Radulovich had

been asked by the Air Force to resign his reserve commission, because of his close and continuing relationship with his father and his sister. His father was charged with reading "radical papers." His married sister, Mrs. Margaret Fishman, was charged with being "on picket lines" for "communist causes." The family was close-knit. The Air Force in no way impugned Lt. Radulovich's personal loyalty. The question was whether he was a good security risk. The Air Force did not ask Lt. Radulovich to turn against members of his family. The Air Force, with reason, questioned the wisdom of ever using Lt. Radulovich in a position of security, while he was still exposed to the family influences noted.

Murrow, or anyone else, had the right to form his own opinion about the Air Force's action in the Radulovich case, and freely to express that opinion. But "See It Now" went beyond freedom of opinion and expression. Lt. Radulovich's own case was presented in terms of the suffering which might come to him and his family if his reserve commission were revoked on "security risk" grounds. The question of the nation's security was passed over. So was the fact that a commission in the armed services is a privilege, not a right. Mrs. Radulovich was asked: "Wouldn't it have been better if your husband had bowed to the Air Force and disavowed his kin?" This was not reporting. It was "stacking" the case. Who would say "Yes" to a question phrased in that prejudiced manner? John Radulovich, the Lieutenant's elderly father, was presented as a toil-worn emigre who asked only "justice for my boy." The Lieutenant's married sister had these lines: "I think it's terrible that my brother has to go through this. I don't want to discuss my political beliefs. They're my own personal property. No one has any business inquiring about my beliefs. I don't think my brother needs to suffer because of my opinions." If the sister was referring to Communism, she was distorting the issue, as Murrow must have known. Communism is not just a matter of beliefs and opinions. It is "the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States..." (Peters' CP Manual on Organization).

From the Communist viewpoint, the Oct. 20 "See It Now" show was "A TV Evening Long to Be Remembered" (from headline of two-column rave review in the Daily Worker, Oct. 23, 1953, p. 7). The Daily Worker devoted a half-column editorial (p. 5) to the show, seeking to link the Radulovich case to the defense of Communists. The weekend edition of The Worker (Oct. 25, 1953, pp. 2, 6) was even more jubilant about the show.

A non-Communist may find himself on the same side as the Communists profess to be on, on a particular issue. The Pope forwarded to the U.S. appeals for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Murrow may have sincerely believed he was defending Lt. Radulovich against a grave injustice. But the manner in which "See It Now" handled the Radulovich case served to give aid and comfort to Communist defensive efforts.

(MORE)

It lent the impression that certain elementary security measures constituted a deprivation of civil rights. While panning the Air Force in this instance, it glorified John Radulovich and Mrs. Fishman.

No one can deny the influence of Murrow and "See It Now." In a "See It Now" not long afterward, Murrow was able to announce that the program had influenced the Air Force to change its mind and let Lt. Radulovich keep his reserve commission. This particular program then launched out on a vicious attack upon Indiana American Legionnaires who had successfully protested the use of a public building as a forum for the American Civil Liberties Union. (This writer knows of no instance where Murrow has similarly attacked individuals and groups who have prevented Nazi, Fascist, racist, etc., organizations from using public buildings - or even private property.) The Legionnaires were neither capricious nor fanatic, though Murrow's clever camera work depicted them as badly as possible. In the words of the 1943 California Un-American Activities Committee Report: "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or 'transmission belt' organization. At least 90 percent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law. While it professes to stand for free speech, a free press and free assembly, it is quite obvious that its main function is to protect Communists in their activities of force and violence in their program to overthrow the government."

The ACLU, as noted above, figured prominently in the March 9 "See It Now." To quote the N.Y. World-Telegram (March 13, p. 2), "Mr. Murrow on the Tuesday TV show had declared that, Sen. McCarthy notwithstanding, the ACLU was not on the Attorney General's subversive list." But McCarthy in questioning Harris had not said the ACLU was on the AG's list. McCarthy had said the ACLU was listed as a Communist front, which it was (see above). As Murrow himself must know, literally scores of Communist fronts have never been placed on the AG's list, which is always highly conservative and years behind the times. By introducing the "red herring" of the AG's list, Murrow was telling a half-truth which left the impression McCarthy was a liar.

Raymond Gram Swing, assistant to Murrow, was formerly a member of the National Committee of the ACLU. Swing has been publicly reported in affiliation with the following listed Communist fronts and causes: Associated Magazine Contributors, Inc.; Committee of One Thousand; wrote letter to Sec. of State Cordell Hull, asking for an extension of the visa of Hanns Eisler and wife; Greek-American Council; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Russian War Relief; Soviet Russia Today (sponsor of dinner celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, 1943). Swing's former "girl Friday," Alice Jayson, became "girl Friday" to Johannes Steel, a notorious promoter of Communist causes.

Over Fulton Lewis's radio program on March 11, McCarthy proved he had correctly stated the ACLU had been listed as a Communist front. The

Senator went on to reveal that in 1935 Edward R. Murrow had been on the National Advisory Council for a Summer Session of Moscow State University. McCarthy was correct, as proven by a photostat copy of an official Soviet pamphlet.

In addition to "See It Now," Murrow operates another weekly TV show, "Person To Person" (CBS-TV, Fridays, 10:30-11 PM EST, sponsored by American Oil Co. - Amoco - and Hamm Brewing) and a radio "news" program heard nightly, Monday through Friday, CBS, 7:45-8 PM EST (also sponsored by Amoco and Hamm Brewing).

On his March 12 radio program, Murrow answered the Moscow State University charge by saying that at the age of 27 he was an assistant director of the Institute for International Education, whose advisory council included the late John Dewey, Robert M. Hutchins, Frank P. Graham, and one of whose trustees was John Foster Dulles. This was a "red herring" on Murrow's part. McCarthy's charge did not center on the Institute of International Education (though if he had, he might have noted that Murrow's boss there was the late Stephen Duggan, and he might have mentioned Dr. Graham's past long Communist-front record). The Institute, Murrow said, dealt with the exchange of students and professors between the United States and foreign countries. In 1935, there was a proposed summer session at Moscow University, but the Soviet Government called it off, and the U.S. delegation spent the summer touring the Soviet Union, though without Murrow. Murrow in a rhetorical flight defended this exchange program in terms of "conversation and controversy, the clash of ideas...." But the Soviet Travel Dept. did not promote the exchange for that idealistic purpose. The course, "Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society" was prerequisite for admission to all other courses.

To complete the whole truth, be it noted that after Murrow graduated from Washington State in 1930, "his first job was president of the National Student Federation, with headquarters in New York. It paid him $25 a week, but it gave him a chance to travel, as one of his main jobs was running inexpensive student tours. He had been doing that for about two years when...." (McCall's, Feb. 1954, p. 95). The NSU background is relevant. "John Rothschild, executive director of Open Road (Ed.-Communist front for Soviet Travel Dept.), first organized a tour for American students in Russia in 1927, with the help of the National Student Federation and the Soviet Society for Improvement of Cultural Relations With Foreigners. *** The National Student Federation was closely interlocked with the American Student Union (Ed.-later officially cited as a Communist front), of which it was a predecessor" (Dies Committee, Report, 1944, Appendix 9, p. 471). The NSU itself has never to this writer's knowledge been cited as a Communist front. But it is significant that Murrow was not merely a member, but over a period of time the paid head of an organization with a record as noted. This writer neither states nor implies that Murrow is or was a Communist, pro-Communist, etc. But Murrow's background would obviously disqualify him from sitting in judgment on anyone who, like McCarthy, is opening the lid on Communists and other radicals.

FILE 13
Special Supplement
March 13, 1954
Page 5A

Addendum:

On line 4 from bottom of page 5, after "as noted." and before "This writer....", add:

Edward R. Murrow (Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, Inc., New York City) was a member of the Advisory Committee for "The First Russian Seminar and Near East Cruise," 1933, arranged by the Bureau of University Travel, Newton, Massachusetts, in cooperation with Intourist, New York City, the official travel agency of the U.S.S.R. The "spirit of the Seminar," according to the official circular, concluded with this cryptic declaration: "...Russia has something to show us. Let us try to comprehend." Murrow did not tell the whole truth when he pooh-poohed his 1935 relationship with the Summer Session of Moscow State University. From 1930 through 1933, Murrow had been intimately related to organizations which promoted, with Soviet cooperation, tours on which students and professors were exposed to indoctrination in the Soviet Union.

REMARKS OF HON. MELVIN PRICE (D. ILLINOIS) IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON MARCH 10, 1954.

CBS

HONEST, COURAGEOUS REPORTING

MR. SPEAKER, it is indeed a rare thing when a television network will stick its neck out by initiating or permitting to go out over its facilities a really hard-hitting, honest, unvarnished report on a highly charged, completely controversial issue. We have learned to expect television to pull its punches in a situation like that in order not to offend any articulate section of the population, or the sponsor, or some network vice president with a bad case of timidity.

Last night, however, the Aluminum Company of America again sponsored and the Columbia Broadcasting System again carried over its facilities the kind of objective analysis of a hot -- really hot -- issue which, to my mind, redeems television journalism and puts it into the journalistic big-time. I am referring, of course, to the Edward R. Murrow-Fred W. Friendly "See it Now" program. Last night it was devoted to the much-publicized probes.

I trust many of my colleagues saw the Murrow program. I trust they were impressed by the facts brought out in that telecast. It was a devastatingly effective program -- accompanied, it might be noted, by an offer to the subject of the program for an opportunity to answer it if he cares to.

In any event, Mr. Speaker, I did not want the occasion to go by without rising here in the House to express my thanks, as a newspaperman by occupation, as one who learned professionally to seek out the truth and be satisfied with nothing less than the accurate facts -- for the really excellent job done last night in behalf of accuracy in political discussion by the Murrow-Friendly team over CBS.

And I should like to express my thanks to the Aluminum Company of America for having demonstrated an enlightened faith in the American system of free discussion of controversial issues by sponsoring the Murrow program and by giving it the complete editorial freedom last night's program again proved it enjoys.

It was an outstanding example of honest, courageous reporting.

Around the Dial:

CBS' Hollywood Theory On Leader of Koreans

By Bob Lauter

WHAT WON'T THEY think of next! Radio's mystery and detective story mentality carries right over into the field of reporting. When the Korean war began, the newscasters made a specialty of offering inside news on mysterious troop movements in China and Manchuria, ferreting out alleged "Russians" in the Korean Army, or giving sinister interpretations to the ability of some North Koreans to talk Russian.

To Allan Jackson of CBS, however, goes the laurel wreath for carrying the detective story mentality to one of its most absurd conclusions.

• • •

"KUM IL SUNG," said Allan Jackson, "was a legendary hero of Korea, respected and revered by all of his countrymen. During 15 long years of Japanese occupation, Kim Il Sung had led his band of guerillas in continuous raids against the hated Japanese (Jackson used the term 'Japs), and killed between thirty and forty thousand of them."

This seems to be a rather glowing picture of the North Korean leader. What is Jackson getting at? He continued by saying that the Kim Il Sung who is now a leader in Korea, is not the original Kim Il Sung, but an imposter placed in this position by the Communists who saw "much to be gained in having a name like that at the head of the Communist government."

Sherlock Jackson develops this bizarre point by remarking that the original Kim would be a man in his fifties, while "the North Korean Kim is in his mid-thirties." He bolsters this fantasy by remarking that "while the Communists have given their Kim Il Sung worldwide publicity, they have used only his name. Rarely has his picture been seen." The last issue of The Worker carried, in its magazine section, **three pictures of Kim.**

• • •

WHAT PROMPTS THIS absurdity? Why does a grown man get on the air and deliver himself of such nonsense? The reason is obvious. It must be a little embarrassing to those Administration officials who talk of "liberating" Korea to know that the Koreans are following the leadership of a national hero who led his people in struggle against the Japanese invaders for 15 years. And it would be very revealing to millions to discover that the Truman Administration has put us in such a position that the Korean people look upon our military forces just as they looked upon the Japanese imperilaists who attempts to enslave Korea.

Inventing another "Kim Il Sung" will not change this fact.

TV Views

By Joan Martin

"WHAT'S Wrong With Godfrey?" is the title of a featured article in the February issue of the Negro magazine. Managing Editor, James M. Reid, writes that the day after the public firing of LaRosa and the walking papers served without notice on orchestra leader Archie Bleyer, Godfrey called in the press—the white press, Mr. Reid points out —and issued a veiled threat of more heads to roll if the Mariners (the interracial quartet) did not toe the mark.

Godfrey charged them with laxity and missing rehearsals. And pray tell, Mr. Reid remarks, what were they missing? Ballet and tap dancing sessions. "A little hard to believe but it's true. These singers were not missing harmony sessions but Lord Godfrey had ordered them to take up the art of dancing. Seems that would eliminate awkwardness in their feet and improve their voices. Now, "asks Mr. Reid," what do you think is wrong with that man Godfrey?

★

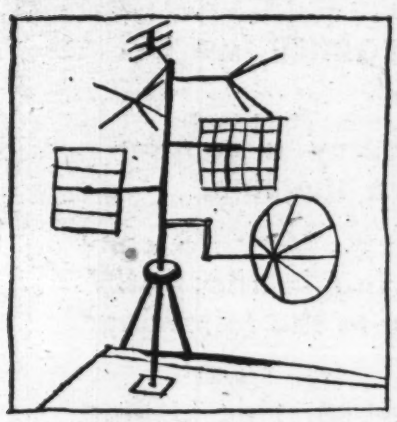
"WE OF THE Negro press," the editor continues, "have had our bad times with the great Mr. Godfrey. We have been ignored, shunted aside, barred from seeing His Highness. Well, I guess we are not important. But last winter we had a good beef. Arthur took his entire crew on a Roman holiday to the sunny shores of Miami Beach. That is, his entire radio and TV show except the Mariners. . . It seemed that this group would not fit in Arthur's scheme of things at the Southern playground. Too many problems and complications, you know.

"Well, the Negro press tried to reach the Godfrey, the amiable homebody, but to no avail. He refused to see us or to give us, second hand, any reason for this discrimination of the Mariners. And to show how well the doors were barred to us, none of the seven CBS vice presidents in charge of Arthur Godfrey could get us by the door. . . . I'm beginning to wonder if all the trouble in the Godfrey organization did not stem from this unpleasant incident. . . ."

★

"ARE MOVIES WORSE THAN TV?"

THE ABOVE IS the title of an interesting article in the January issue of Film Sense, a publication of the Film Division of the New York Council of the



Arts, Sciences and Professions, Inc., by Jay Starr.

Here, speaking for himself, is Mr. Starr:

"It used to be that when people said movies are bad, you could answer: TV is worse. That's still true. Bad TV seems to be much worse than Hollywood's poorest product. This is made more emphatic by the fact that TV programs, both filmed and live, outnumber the combined productions of the major and miner film companies by at least five to one. Thus the impact of brutality and sadism, gangster stories, idiotic situation comedies, quiz games, childish dramas and melodramas, 'loaded' news forums, is overwhelming by sheer weight of numbers.

"However, despite the disproportion of TV junk to the Hollywood variety, it must be admitted that the best of current television is topically superior to the finest products from the movie mills. Television, in some of its programs, both documentary and fictional, is speaking out with a boldness that the screen has seldom known in the past and by now is too terrified to consider.

★

"ED MURROW's presentation of the case of Lt. Radulovich on See It Now is an interesting example of TV's new awareness —all without benefit of wide-screen or stereophonic sound. . . .

"But where was Fox Movietone News? Or Paramount News? Continuing on their merry way with bathing beauty contests, water sports in Florida, and cold war clips from Korea, already seen days before by TV audiences.

"The Radulovich story is not just a TV flash-in-the pan. During the run of **The Crucible** on Broadway, the often-excellent **You Are There** did a special reenactment of the Salem Witchcraft trials, which had particular significance for today's witch-hunts.

"And when the Rosenbreg Case was reaching its climax, You Are There presented a dramatization of The Dreyfus Case, showing how seemingly irrefutable evidence was based on lies and deceit in an engineered frameup. At the same period the execution of Joan of Arc was presented, showing the pressure put on her to confess.

"Many more fictional plays than one would expect are concerned with real problems and not with how to marry a millionaire. In Paddy Chayevsky's The Bachelor Party, the institution of marriage tosses away Hollywood's halo, and makes possible a real identification of television audiences with the young white-collar couple of small income.

"The Kraft program, for instance often deals with real problems and makes some interesting observations on life and society. In Keep Our Honor Bright, a large group of students cheats on an examination in a school where the honor system operates. Among the cheaters is the hero's fiancee. When the smug businessmen on the board of directors uncompromisingly vote expulsion for the offenders, the Dean carefully points out how each one of these righteous citizens cheats in some way in his business. The implication is that cheating is an accepted procedure in our type of society. The play does not compromise with this thesis and there are no happy endings in the Hollywood sense.

"There are other serious dramas of this kind of TV (together with the gangster, sadism, cowboy and situation comedy trash), and it becomes clear that if Hollywood producers keep their attention focused on big screens and other gadgets while neglecting big ideas and three-dimensional thoughts, they won't notice until it's too late that their entire audience has slipped away to the small rectangular window in the living room, where the thoughts are sometimes unexpectedly gratifying."

And that is Mr. Starr's opinion.

Of course, the TV programs he cites are way in the minority, a tiny fraction of the great mass of tripe, and worse. In our opinion, Mr. Starr is asking which, of two evils, is preferable. Let's hear from you. On this program you're the sponsor.

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A Negro Actor Looks for Employment in Hollywood

Negro actor Irvin Moseley writes of his search for employment in the film and radio industries, in the first issue of the progressive new journal 'Hollywood Review,' sponsored by the Arts, Sciences and Professional Council, (7410 Sunset B'lvd., Hollywood).

Moseley's shocking account of his trek to a film studio and a radio studio in quest of work in the craft in which he is highly skilled (he recently starred in the Los Angeles production of Herb Tank's 'Longitude 49) is told in a factual, almost dispassionate manner which heightens its effectiveness.

We are printing parts of his story below in order to acquaint a wider audience with what he went through and what all Negroes seeking work in films and radio are compelled to go through, and to emphasize the responsibility of white artists in the fight against discrimination in these fields. As Moseley points out in the conclusion of his article, this problem is "certainly the immediate concern of the white artist, the white professionals whose prestige and standing can only rise with each victory for equal rights and fall with each defeat."

• • •

By IRVIN MOSELEY

Less than .001 percent of 15,000 weekly film workers in Hollywood are colored employes. Almost all of them are employed in menial or janitorial positions.

There are more colored women judges in America, in proportion to the white population, than there are colored actors working in films.

My first trip to a Hollywood film studio is vivid in my mind and will always remain so. On a certain day last year I came to the gate of a major studio and looked with interest at the beautiful, long buildings set on handsome grounds.

I was excited. I had had a good deal of stage experience but I was anxious to act and to speak before the cameras of Hollywood.

• • •

A guard directed me to a building on the "lot." I went in full of confidence. A man appeared before me and asked, "What do you want?"

"An audition," I replied.

"Take off everything but your trousers," the man said.

I stared at the man, blushing. Then I began to undress, but I was angry, I had expected an interview, an audition, or to be handed a script to read. I—

"Sorry, We can't use you."

I looked up at the man, "Can I read to you?"

His voice rose. "I said we can't use you."

• • •

I buttoned my shirt carefully. I put on my coat and walked out. Once more I looked at the long buildings with their sound stages. But this time my face was burning and anger rose inside me. This time the buildings seemed shadowed with evil.

I waited a long time for the bus back to town.

Then I heard that the radio studios were changing their attitudes towards colored.

• • •

I called CBS. The [illegible] phone said "—well—yes. But I don't think much will come of it. I'm afraid you'll be wasting your time—"

I said quickly, "I'd like to have the audition anyway."

He made an appointment for the following day and looked over the material I brought. He seemed surprised. "I thought you people did not like doing colored roles."

I explained that we objected to stereotyped parts and degrading roles. He seemed to half understand and told me to go ahead. When I had finished, another man had joined the first one. They were both silent, looking me over intently. The second man with emphasis, "You're an actor, You sure are." Then he shook his head. "Well, we'll see. I'm afraid that—"

I'm still waiting.

I buy the trade papers in Hollywood. I call casting directors. I go out to the studios. I check up on every opening, real or rumored that I hear about—"Keep in touch—No colored this picture—call us next week—come around next month—"

So much for one man's story. I'm sure it can be duplicated over and over again by almost any colored person seeking employment in the film industry.

And it's no accident that racial discrimination in the film industry shares the limelight with blacklising, censorship, and political persecutions. All these practices have the same authors, producers and financial backers. And these same people have the temerity to mouth overseas phrases about America's "democracy" while refusing to practice it at home.

I would like to emphasize one point. The fight against these practices is everybody's business. And it is certainly the immediate concern of the white artist, the white professionals, whose prestige and standing can only rise with each victory for equal rights and fall with each defeat.

The fight against discrimination in the film industry today is the immediate concern and obligation of all.

Around the Dial:

Hutchins Answers Ratner In BBC Article on Radio

By Bob Lauter

RECENTLY Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, wrote a blistering attack on American radio for the BBC Quarterly, organ of the British Broadcasting Company. One section of this article is especially worth repeating, the section in which he answers an article written by Victor Ratner, former vice-president of CBS, in 1947.

Ratner had written: "Radio is made in the image of the American people. To lambast it is itself un-American. The critics hit at it because they claim to be shocked at the programs. Actually, they are shocked at what the U.S. people are. Radio fits the people. The masses like comic books, Betty Grable, broad comedy, simple drama—it's vulgar, fast, simple, fundamental. Critics of radio often speak about the people's fare; yet they seem to refuse to face the facts about the people's taste. Such criticisms are really criticism of the American educational system for not raising the cultural level of Americans; for not getting them interested in the better things when they are young. Radio then gets the blame for this failure."

IN ANSWERING this snobbish and distorted attack on Americans, Hutchins wrote: "In 1946 the FCC reported that 76.8 percent of the available audience during the soap opera hours reported that they had their radios turned off altogether." He also pointed out that of those whose radios were on, many did not listen but simply let the noise go on to help fill the loneliness of American life.

His second point was that an audience cannot be expected to demand something it knows nothing of. "But," wrote Hutchins, "since the advertiser aims at the mass, since the safest way to aim at the mass is to aim low and since the overwhelming proportion of radio shows are produced by advertisers, the American audience has had little experience . . . on which to base a demand for improvement of a specific kind.

"IN THE THIRD PLACE," he wrote, "American education is waging an unequal struggle against the vulgarity of what are called the media of mass communication." He pointed out that an educational system, which is far from perfect anyway, is in no position to combat the flood of Milton Berles, Lone Rangers and Comic Books.

And finally, he pointed out in the answer to Ratner's article, that "the radio industry disclaims any obligation to improve the people's taste. Actually, they know very well that they are degrading it."

Throughout the article, Chancellor Hutchins emphasized that this state of affairs results from a situation in which "profits come first."

April 15, 1954

Dear Chet:

Enclosed is my check in payment of your April 2 statement.

Thanks again for your able assistance.

As ever yours,

Mr. Chester Williams
World Information
Empire State Building
New York 1, New York

dm

Thanks

WORLD INFORMATION

Research Consultants

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING · NEW YORK 1, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-8663

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
HERBERT HARRIS

April 3, 1954

Dear Ed:

In accordance with your instructions, I have conducted the research requested and have delivered the summary of my findings to Mr. Ben Shute. I believe that this concentrated effort has yielded about as much information as is useful at this time. In order to check on this data as rapidly as possible, I used the long distance services as agreed. Please find attached a statementoof out-of-pocket expenses incurred and paid by my firm to date. I do not anticipate additional expemses in this connection aside from perhaps one or two reverse toll charges in case one or another of my informats calls to add to the information in hand.

I have added a nominal .15% for misc. expenses and overhead in view of the fact that I do not intend to submit a statement for my own fee in this connection. I hope this has been of some service to you. If my services may be helpful to you in this or some other connection in the future, I'll be glad to be called upon and, in such a case, to state a personal fee.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Chet

Chester S. Williams

CSW:mea

WORLD INFORMATION

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING

NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK

April 2, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y.

STATEMENT

Expenses connected with special research:

Check # 1789
April 15

3/21	Secretarial service	$3.00
3/22	Taxi	1.00
3/23	Photostats of documents	22.82
3/23	Long distance toll- Washington,DC	1.31
3/23	" " " - Phila.	2.76
3/24	" " " Los Angeles	12.31
3/24	" " " Washington	2.65
3/25	" " " "	1.35
3/28	" " " PARIS	45.00
3/28	" " " Washington	1.40
3/28	Taxis	2.60
3/30	Long distance toll from Wash.	1.60
3/31	Taxis	1.70
4/2	Fee to M.E. Allen on time sheet	72.00
4/2	Travel to Washington per itemized expense voucher	32.86

Total expenses	$204.36
Overhead misc. expenses, localx calls, etc. .15%	30.65
TOTAL	$235.01

Chester S. Williams

Chester S. Williams

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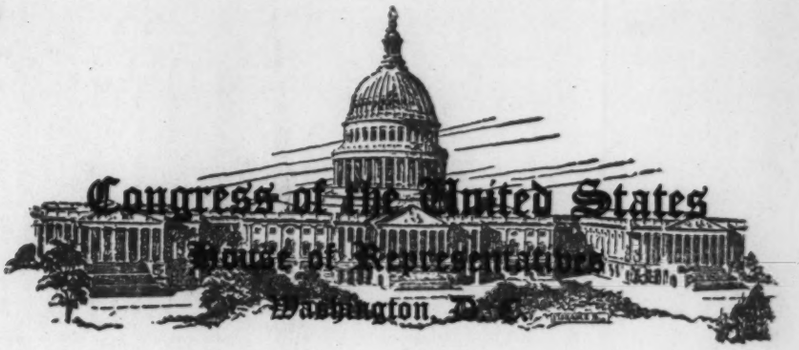

April 10, 1954

Ed Zenke request follow?
JR

Mr. Jesse Zousmer
CBS Radio News
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Zousmer:

Perhaps you and Mr. Murrow may be interested in this. It's yours for what it is worth, so long as you keep the source confidential.

The junior senator from Wisconsin in his recent film shown over "See it now" quoted some Czech exile to show how that unhappy country had been sold down the river to the Reds. Some time ago a Matus Cernak, Chairman of the Slovak National Council Abroad, former Czech Minister now residing in Munich, Germany, circulated members of Congress with a request that they address the House on March 14, Slovak National Independence Day. Early in March, the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, 12 East 72nd Street, New York, sent a roundrobin letter to all Congressmen, saying this fellow Cernak was a stooge of the Germans during the war and, all in all, was a pretty terrible fellow. Now, if the Senator quotes from a Fascist and ex-Nazi, he can be tarred with the same brush he is using on Murrow: Laski dedicated a book to Murrow, Laski is a Socialist (says Murrow) or a Communist (says McCarthy), therefore Murrow is a Communist. Carrying this illogic to the usual McCarthy conclusion: Cernak is a fascist, McCarthy quotes him in a praiseworthy fashion, therefore McCarthy is a fascist. If you can furnish me with the exact McCarthy quotes from the film, perhaps they can be tagged directly to Cernak.

Cordially,

Cliff Gaucher

Clifford O. Gaucher

420 House Office Building
Washington, 25, D. C.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Florence Crissan

April 9

Dr. Zenkl called to say that he got the text of the speech of Senator McCarthy who is quoting a high official in the anti-communist government of Czechoslovakia and he compared the situation of the United States with the situation in Czechoslovakia. To compare a situation of such a country as the United States in 1954 with a small and unhappy Czechoslovakia in 1945 or 1948 occupied by the Red Army is really questionable, but it would be, maybe, easy to understand the statement of this high official in the anti-communist government of Czechoslovakia if Senator McCarthy would identify the person he is quoting.

If Dr. Zenkl knew the identity of the person Sen. McCarthy was quoting, he could be of some help.

Write him "thank you" my signature

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EDWARD R MURROW,COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

IF YOU'LL CHECK YOU'LL FIND CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE LISTING AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION SUBVERSIVE WAS HEADED BY JACK B. TENNEY. FINDINGS OF HIS COMMITTEE UNRESPECTED BY FBI, ATTORNEY GENERAL, HOUSE UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE. TENNEY IN 1952 RAN AS U. S. VICE PRESIDENT ON CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST TICKET, WITH GERALD L. K. SMITH AS PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE. REEXXXRECENTLY GOP COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN LOS ANGELES TURNED TOWN TENNEY FOR RE-ELECTION TO STATE SENATE BY MORE THAN 10 TO 1 MARGIN. AX ALSO CALL ATTENTION TO THIS, WHICH MUST BE CHECKABLE: IN FALL ISSUE OF REPORTER MAGAZINE , DICK ROVERE SAID THAT AT TIME MCCARTHY CONFRONTED REED HARRIS, HE KNEW THTXXX THAT HIS STAFF COUNSEL, ROY COHN, HAD BUT A FEW WEEKS BEFORE HE ADDRESSED THE ACLU. COHN, FAIRLY FRESH FROM THAT APPEARANCE, SAT IDLY BY WHILE MCCARTHY LABELED THE OUTFIT SUBVERSIVE.

BRUCE BIOSSAT NEA SERVICE

1207P..

True NY Times

McCarthy File

G. S. D.
Gordon, Harold R.

January 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Thank you for your letter with the suggestion concerning Harvey O'Conner. We have had several suggestions of a similar nature and we will give this one our consideration. I will let you know if we decide to do anything about it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harold R. Gordon
Suite 1818
Metropolitan Building
134 North La Salle Street
Chicago 2, Illinois

rh

HAROLD R. GORDON
ATTORNEY AT LAW

SUITE 1818 - METROPOLITAN BUILDING
134 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 2 PHONE: RANDOLPH 6-3538

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am a regular listener (and viewer) of your fine programs.

I heard a very moving speech at the City Club of Chicago by Harvey O'Conner, and author, and my immediate reaction was that he should be heard by all Americans, and that you might be interested in giving him a forum on "See It Now".

Mr. O'Conner is scheduled to appear before a Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. on January 11th. However his case may be postponed because the Supreme Court has under advisement a similar case involving the 1st amendment.

Mr. O'Conner was cited by Senator McCarthy's Committee for invoking the 1st Amendment, in his refusal to testify. I am enclosing a bulletin of the City Club of Chicago(a respected organization in existance for 50 years whose members ehcompass all shades of opinion) with a summary of some of Mr. O'Connors remarks.

However the rather cool summary in the bulletin cannot bring to life the forceful effect of Mr. O'Conners'remarks. I was moved as I have not been since your excellent portrayal of the case of Radulowich(and this case I am certain would create as much if not a great deal more comment.)

Among other things, Mr. O'Conner(who is a lucid and forceful speaker) made the point that he invoked the 1st Amendment when asked the question "are you a member of the Communist conspiracy?". He said he could have truthfully answered "no!", but that would have opened

HAROLD R. GORDON
ATTORNEY AT LAW

SUITE 1818 - METROPOLITAN BUILDING
134 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 2 PHONE: RANDOLPH 6-3538

the door to any number of additional questions. That the next question would have been "were'nt you a member of the League of American authors?". Mr O'Conner said that in 1937 a Chicago chapter of this organization was formed, of which he became a member, but because authors are notoriously un-cooperative, the chapter folded in a few months. However the national organization subsequently might have been infiltrated with commies, because in 1947 it was placed on a list of subversive organizations by the Attorney General.

Mr. O'Conner made the point that had he answered yes to the question as to his membership, the Senator would have gone on to show the history of the organization as it subsequently developed, and "prove" that therefor Mr. O'Connor was a member of the "Communist Conspiracy" and cite him for perjury.

Mr. O'Connor made the further point that McCarthy kept prodding him to invoke the 5th Amendment, and that he refused(because to McCarthy and millions of "unreflecting Americans" this would be "proof" that he was a Communist. Had he invoked the 5th Amendment he could have gone off scot free. However, he said, it's time someone told McCarthy, when he inquires as to ones political beliefs, "its none of your business";that under the 1st Amendment, such a question violated his rights as a free citizen; that he happened to be financially situated, so that he could make a test case of the matter, and for that reason he invoked the 1st, rather than the 5th Amendment.

You had guts enough to buck the U.S. Navy, I hope the Senator, whom I consider to be the foremost menace on the American

HAROLD R. GORDON
ATTORNEY AT LAW

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134 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 2 PHONE: RANDOLPH 6-3538

scene today, doesn't frighten you.

Sincerely

Harold R. Gordon

Harold R. Gordon

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The City Club Bulletin

A Journal of Active Citizenship

City Club of Chicago, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.

Vol. XXXXVII (New Series Vol. XXI) JANUARY 4, 1954 No. 1

TODAY'S FORUM

Monday, January 4, 12:15 P.M.

Farwell Hall, Y.M.C.A., 19 So. LaSalle Street

"Segregation in the Public Schools"

Speaker

PROF. MAURICE SEAY, Ph. D.

Chairman, Department of Education, University of Chicago

Chairman: Stanton Schuman

It is important for all of us to know what effect the anticipated decision of the Supreme Court with respect to segregation in the public schools will have upon this most cherished institution. Prof. Seay was born in the South and has first-hand information on the subject through his experiece as a citizen, a student, and an administrative officer in colleges, and as chairman of the American Association for School Administrators. There are few men in the nation better qualified to speak on this controversial subject.

Luncheon $1.50 inclusive

Rights in Jeopardy, Says O'Connor

"The time has come when we must make a stand against the kind of thing Joe McCarthy is doing in Washington, and I don't know a better place to begin than for a citizen to tell Joe it is none of his business when he demands answers to questions he has no right to ask." That, bluntly, was the way Harvey O'Connor laid it on the line as he told members of the City Club at the forum on Monday, December 21, why he risked indictment for contempt of the Senate.

Mr. O'Connor, a former Chicagoan and in the early 1940s chairman of the City Club Education Committee, is scheduled to face trial before the U. S. District Court in Washington on January 11. Introduced by Edgar Bernhard, member of the Board of Governors, he spoke on "An Author's Rights Under the Constitution."

Reciting the chain of events that led to his indictment, he said it began one day last July when he was sitting on his porch in Little Compton, R. I. There came a telephone call from a Roy Cohn, who said he was relaying a summons from Senator McCarthy to appear in Washington for questioning by the Senate Committee. It appeared, said Mr. O'Connor, that some of his books had turned up in the Overseas Libraries. The phone call was followed by a telegram signed "Joe McCarthy." But Mr. O'Connor decided to hold out for a subpoena, which was subsequently served by two United States marshals from Providence.

Aim is to Smear

Appearing before the committee on July 14, Mr. O'Connor said it soon became evident that the Senator was interested in just one thing, and that was to smear him and hold him up to the public as a Communist spy and traitor. Before going to Washington, Mr. O'Connor said he had decided not to engage in a political discussion with the Senator. His refusal to become involved was based on three points, which constituted his answer to the committee:

"Under the first amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings I have written, that is the proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

"This committee has no right to inquire into my writing, under the point of constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its

(Continued on second page)

"Keep Faith in U. N."—Carey

Archibald J. Carey, minister, alderman and City Club member recently returned from serving as first alternate delegate to the United Nations 8th General Assembly, addressed the forum last Monday and provided one of the most enjoyable talks heard throughout the year. He was introduced by his long-time friend, Col. T. M. Mann, member of the Board of Governors.

Mr. Carey began by outlining the makeup of the U. N. and how it operates. To date it includes 60 of the 85 nations of the world, and of the remaining 25, 21 are now applying for membership. Each nation is allowed five delegates and five alternates, and practically every nation represented has its full complement.

Correcting a common misapprehension, he said that there is no real distinction between delegates and alternates. They all have the same responsibilities and privileges and receive equal pay. Precedence figures only in matters of protocol; for example, the order in which representatives are heard. An alternate defers to a full delegate, the second alternate defers to the first, and so on.

Like Legislative Body

The U. N. operates much like a legislative body. There is a plenary body which is divided into committees, of which there are seven. Each nation's delegation deliberates on the issues before the session, and the agreements reached are the positions of the respective nations. Each nation has only one vote in the plenary sessions.

Mr. Carey emphasized the point that the General Assembly has no enforcement powers. What it does is make moral judgments, and these, he discovered, carry great weight with all the nations.

Rome was not built in a day, and it should be remembered that this was only the 8th Assembly, he said. What we see is man in the process of finding himself, groping in the dark, struggling to create a framework in which to develop discussions that may lead to understanding among men of different color, different relig[illegible] backgrounds.

On th[illegible] the 8th Assembly had made progress in clarifying aid to underdeveloped areas. Notably, such factors as self-help and good faith were written into the terms of future U. S. contributions. Progress was also made on problems of repatriation, prisoners of war, forced labor, racial minorities, and U. S. support of the genocide principle. A gain of special value to the United States came from a full discussion of the Soviet charge of germ warfare, when the charge boomeranged and disclosed the methods employed by Russia. As a result much of the suspicion directed by other nations against this country was dissipated.

Much Still Undone

Mr. Carey said he was disturbed by the fact that many things he had hoped for remained undone. However, he said he gained faith upon learning that in some instances, security factors or previous commitments involving keeping our word to other nations, required our taking a certain position for the present without necessarily adulterating our motives or basic attitude. Progress must to some degree conform with a time-table, he found.

Referring to the future of the U. N., Mr. Carey said he is strongly convinced that the United States must not withdraw as a member. Should we pull out, the U. N would go on without us, with Russia stepping into our position of leadership. To those who argue that the United States makes the largest financial contribution—33 per cent—and at the same time makes the most concessions, Mr.

(Continued on second page)

MEETINGS

Monday Forum 12:15
Committee Meetings 12:30

Monday, January 4 — Forum Luncheon (announced on this page).

Wednesday, January 6 — Board of Governors.

Thursd[illegible]

The City Club Bulletin
Published weekly, from October to June, inclusively by the City Club of Chicago, a non-partisan civic organization with headquarters at 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Illinois. Tel. RAndolph 6-4617.

GUY D. YOAKUM, Editor

Entered as second class matter January 14, 1933, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription Price $1.00 per year.

Vol. 47 January 4, 1954 No. 1

Editor's Corner

Chicago's birth rate is a baffling uncertainty. It goes up under the stimulus of war and is depressed with recessions, and fluctuates with many other factors. What it doesn't do is watch and adjust itself to such things as available housing, schoolroom space, and supply of teachers.

Charts and graphs in the office of the school Superintendent show a tidal wave of youngsters approaching which will practically engulf the public schools in a few years. To prevent a collapse of the system, especially in certain municipal areas, a bond issue was submitted to the voters in 1950, and schools are now being built with that money to meet the most urgent need. But the urgency remains.

We are recommending that the School Board begin planning at once for a new bond issue. Whether we like it or not, this request for more money seems to be a necessity. Those who say that state and city financing is just like managing a family budget forget that public treasuries cannot save up for such emergencies. Our Board of Education could not have saved up a hundred million dollars over the past decade, for example, with which to build schools that are now known to be needed. A family that grows too big for its dwelling can move into a larger one but there are no larger school houses on the market. All governmental bodies are, in this sense, required to live from hand to mouth and finance with bond issues when necessary.

In still another respect, public financing differs from the management of the family budget. Let us look at the calendar. A proposal submitted to the legislature in 1955 will, we hope, permit the matter to be put before the Chicago voters in late '55 or in '56, if there is some kind of an election held with which this can be combined during the period. Money voted [illegible] result in a substan- [illegible] space [illegible] sirable thing is a special session of the legislature which would shorten that time-table by two full years.

Again, if a family or business concern needs more help it can dip into the labor pool and get it, but for the schools no such pool is available. The Board of Education can neither find nor create the supply of teachers it needs. We cannot order 6,000 additional pupils now in the grades to begin preparing to be teachers, nor can we raid the schools of other cities to fill the pedagogical ranks. This great and rich city has gotten the idea through the years that it can muddle through with almost any kind of a political setup, but a school system is an institution of more delicate texture and may be destroyed by the neglect of the very citizens who profess most loudly to love it. The year 1954 is a critical one for our schools.

G. D. Y.

Rights in Jeopardy . . .

(Continued from first page)

committees. I might say in this regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in Overseas Libraries and most certainly had nothing whatever to do with their selection.

"In the third place I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views."

Using Committee as Club

Mr. McCarthy's committee, said Mr. O'Connor, was set up for the purpose of checking on government expenditures, but he is perverting the committee's function by using it as a club over Americans whose political views may differ from his own.

Combining speculation with plain fabrication and "leaping from crag to crag," Mr. O'Connor said the case made out against him by the Senator was this: The American taxpayers' money had been used by "the old Acheson State Department" to purchase his books. The royalties from the sale of the books had presumably been channeled by Mr. O'Connor into the Communist coffers since Mr. O'Connor, having refused to answer his question as to whether he was a member of the Communist conspiracy at the time he wrote his books, was obviously a Communist. The facts are, said Mr. O'Connor, he knew nothing about [illegible] having been placed in [illegible] libraries, and he has [illegible] publishers stat- [illegible] paid to him for the simple reason that for a long time they had none of his books left to sell. As for his political opinions, they are his own. Each citizen is accountable for his acts, but he does not need to answer to Senator McCarthy nor anyone else for what he thinks.

Rights of All Citizens at Stake

At stake in this issue, said Mr. O'Connor, are not only the rights of an author but the rights of every American citizen. Millions of unreflecting Americans, he said, know that Senator McCarthy is investigating Communist spies. The majority, without questioning the committee's jurisdiction, draw the conclusion that a refusal to yield to the Senator is tantamount to an admission of Communist intrigue.

A generation ago, much was made of the point that a man's religion was his own business, and the same went for his politics, said Mr. O'Connor. "Isn't it a measure of how far we have slid down freedom's hill in ten years," he asked, "that we now assume that political terrorists have a right to ask us questions which certainly would have been regarded by the common garden-variety American citizen as utterly outside the scope of any Congressional committee?"

There are times, and this is one, he said, when Americans who value their liberty must stand up and fight for it. More than ever we need to follow the example of Thomas Jefferson, who not only spoke for freedom but fought for it.

NEXT WEEK'S FORUM

Monday, January 11, 12:15 P.M.

Farwell Hall, Y.M.C.A., 19 So. LaSalle Street

"Education Problems in Cook County Today"

Speaker

NOBLE J. PUFFER

County Superintendent of Schools

In addition to the problems of schoolroom space and teacher supply which the county communities share with Chicago, these little places have several peculiar to themselves and of almost metropolitan size. To tell us about them we have asked the man who has wrestled with these problems for many years, the efficient Superintendent, Noble J. Puffer. We are interested in hearing how new communities, rich in children but poor in taxable industries, can build and maintain the needed schools.

Luncheon $1.50 inclusive

Keep Faith . . .

(Continued from first page)

Carey said that is the price of our leadership. At this stage of history, when the globe can be circled in 24 hours and when so much hinges on getting together and working toward the common purpose of peace and good will, the United States cannot afford to abandon its leadership, although the price of that leadership may come high.

Sees Mutual Benefits

Talking directly to his listeners, Mr. Carey said that he believed that the U. N. and organizations like the City Club, the NAACP, and the Round Table of Christians and Jews are mutually helpful. As people join in working toward understanding and freedom, their influence spreads and encompasses others whose vision is not so broad. The U. N. has just two objectives —to abolish war and to secure peace and dignity for every individual on earth. Honorable men and women can never abandon those objectives, he said.

In the question period he was asked whether he felt any pessimism as a result of the lack of interest in democracy on the part of some countries and the emphasis they place on getting concessions and material aid. Mr. Carey replied he was optimistic rather than pessimistic. He said he found that people in countries all over the world are dreaming the same dreams. The basic thing they want is freedom. He also said, however, that Vice-President Nixon had come back and put into words what he had not quite wanted to say out loud himself—that is, that a great block of people in the world distrust the motives of the United States. It is true, said Mr. Carey. He found it at the U. N. The feeling is sincere and grows out of honest confusion. Therefore the United States has the obligation to do its job so well that others will have no problem as to their choice of leadership—the United States not Russia.

Article on City Club

The Christian Science Monitor announces that an article on the City Club which it plans to publish has been delayed from December 31st to January 5th. This is an important piece of nation-wide publicity and we hope to get it to all Club members if possible. It will be on the editorial page. Look for the paper on the newsstands and in the Reading Rooms (one of the latter is at 18 S. LaSalle) on January 6th.

CC: Mr. Shute, SIN

For your information and future reference
dmcd

April 7, 1954

Mr. Murrow:

There were a few calls this morning in connection with your statement that the Commonweal is a leading Catholic weekly. One of the calls was from a Mr. Sherry of the Catholic Review who said that the Commonweal is not an official Catholic magazine but a magazine run by Catholic laymen.

There is an official Catholic magazine called "America" which is run by Jesuits which McCarthy says is Communistic. The following issues have letters from McCarthy:

November 22, 1952	page	208
December 13, 1952	"	301
December 20, 1952	"	326
January 3, 1953	"	374

Rebe Holder

April 7, 1954

McCarthy - Related Materials

Joe Harsch, Christian Science Monitor and NBC: Mr. President would you care to say anything to us about the loyalty and patriotism of Edward R. Murrow.

Eisenhower: Why, I'm going to say nothing at all about that. First of all I don't comment about people. I don't comment about things of which I know nothing.

I will say this. I have known this man for many years. He has been one of the men I consider my friend among your profession.

Now that is what I know about him. So far as indulging in philosophical discussion I can't remember any instance.

But I do say that he has been one pf those that over the years..in the war..when he was working in London and so on.. I always thought of him as a friend.

HOYT A. MOORE
DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT
CARL W. PAINTER
LEONARD D. ADKINS
MAURICE T. MOORE
DONALD C. SWATLAND
BRUCE BROMLEY
ROSWELL MAGILL
A. I. HENDERSON
Wm DWIGHT WHITNEY
ALFRED McCORMACK
CARLYLE E. MAW
EDWARD S. PINNEY
ROSWELL L. GILPATRIC
THOMAS A. HALLERAN
ALBERT R. CONNELLY
L. R. BRESLIN, JR.
BENJAMIN R. SHUTE
GEORGE B. TURNER
FRANK H. DETWEILER
GEORGE G. TYLER
JOHN H. MORSE
HAROLD R. MEDINA, JR.
FREDERICK S. BEEBE
CHARLES R. LINTON
WILLIAM B. MARSHALL
RALPH L. McAFEE
ROYALL VICTOR, JR.
JOHN N. CALDERWOOD

CRAVATH, SWAINE & MOORE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5

TELEPHONE
HANOVER 2-3000

CABLE ADDRESS: CRAVATH, N.Y.

NEW YORK

April 7, 1954

Dear Ed:

Here is a copy of McCloy's speech at West Point on December 2, 1953, which I undertook to get for you. Also enclosed for your information is a copy of his speech at Philadelphia on February 16 of this year entitled, "Our Best Defense: Faith in Ourselves". I think you will find some first-rate portions in it.

One personal note: I count as a rare privilege the brief opportunity I have had in the last two weeks to get to know you. Many thanks for that, and my very best wishes and strongest support in your valiant fight against the twin forces of evil which we must combat today.

Sincerely,

Ben Shute

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Encls.

BY HAND

QQ

Script pert
4/22/54
DmcN

1118 Third Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.
7 April 1954

Mr. E. R. Murrow
WCBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I did not myself see the program on the time you made available to Senator Mc Carthy last night, and I have been able to gather only conflicting impressions from the reports of newspapers and friends as to the precise connection in which my name was raised. This, under all the circumstances, I can certainly understand --the difficulty of establishing the connection, I mean. Nevertheless I am understandably curious. Would it be possible to let me have a transcript, at least on loan so that I may copy out the part that concerns me and see the context in which it appears? I assure you that this is not with the purpose of causing legal embarrassment to you or CBS, but in the hope and expectation that you will consider this fair.

Sincerely,

David Zablodowsky
D. Zablodowsky

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Brauner

Station

April 9, 1954

In accordance with our conversation I am returning letter of Mr. Zablodowsky to you.

JFB/s

Tuesday, April 6

On The Morning Show, with Senator Kerr

Cronkite: Do you feel the President is doing a job concerning the problem of "intemperate investigating committees"? (Which had been discussed before in the Cronkite-Kerr exchange).

Senator Kerr: I think his job in that regard is inadequate. I understand that Ed Murrow was visiting with the President the other day and the President congratulated him on the job he had done and Murrow turned to him and said "Yes, Mr. President, and now it's up to you."

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C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

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COLUMBIA

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CHURCH FOR MURROW LANHAM TITCHENER FOUR DAYS AGO PROMOTED FROM FIRST SECRETARY BRITISH EMBASSY TURKEY TO ECONOMIC COUNCILLOR BRITISH EMBASSY IRAN REGARDS

SMITH.

Thursday, April 1

Mr. M,

FRED BATE called from Washington. He has it--and his source is absolutely sure--that McC's boys are at work on the same films SIN used for source material, taking other exceppts to tell quite a different story. He says they are working at the XX TV studios of National Vidéo Productions, Inc. in the Carolina Theatre, Wash.

- - -- -

MORRIS ERNST stopped in. He spent the weekend in Washington and has it that McC is not going to confine himself to attacking you...he's going to go into the Hearst attack on Paley...Dick Berlin is supplying the material.

Please call him.

dmcd

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, D. C. NEWS OFFICE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
TELEPHONE EXECUTIVE 3-1465
CABLES: NEWSCASTS, WASHINGTON

NEW YORK OFFICE
TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-0656
CABLES: BROADCASTS, NEW YORK

March 29, 1954

Mr. Fred Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Fred:

The following might well be of interest to you and Mr. Murrow.

In order to help you to understand the Extract from "Hansard":
Mr. Walter Elliot is M.P. for Glasgow, Kelvingrove.
Mr. William Warbeyis M.P. for Broxtowe.
Mr. Beverley Baxter is M.P. for Southgate.

Yours sincerely,

Aubrey Singer,
Television Officer

AS:bgm

Extract from "The New Statesman and Nation" March 20th, 1954.

LOOK AND LISTEN. by William Salter.

How pleasant to be able to praise! The Television Service deserves the warmest commendation on its enterprise in so unexpectedly inserting into its advertised programme the other evening an excerpt from Mr. Ed Murrow's devastating television programme on Senator McCarthy. The Television Service was behaving as a television service shoud; and paradoxically, the very fact that it was doing so tempered one's pleasure with sadness. Here was the BBC showing itself, when it came to the affairs of other countries, a free agent, free to comment and expose as it thought fit; freedom to comment and expose was restricted only when it was a matter of home affairs.

EXTRACT FROM "HANSARD" DATED 25TH MARCH, 1954.

Mr. Walter Elliot. .... It is obvious that we are all agreed that we want an alternative programme. Advertising revenue is the only thing which is separating us. We say that this experiment should be tried out. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite say, as was said a moment ago, "What about the United States?" I should have thought that if there was one argument which could not be used at the present moment, it was the argument about the United States.

What is the greatest danger in the United States? The right hon. Member for Ebbw Vale (Mr. Bevan) and honl friends of his have often commented upon it. It is McCarthyism. The influence of McCarthy in the United States is one which everyone fears to tackle. The newspapers this morning stated that the United States Bar fears to tackle it, for it has not provided a lawyer to act as chief counsel in the committee to inquire into the matter. Who are the only persons in the United States who are tackling McCarthyism? They are the people who are responsible for this poor old squalid commercial television.

Mr. Warbey. Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the reputation of McCarthy among the American people who support him was very largely built up through television?

Mr. Elliot. McCarthy built up his reputation by means of his committees. It is through his committees and the influence he exerted through is committees that he has built up his power, as everybody knows. That does not alter the fact that the only thing which is effectively attacking McCarthy in the whole world just now is commercial television in the United States.

That seems to me altogether to thrust out the arguments against commercial television in the United States. An aluminium company financing Ed Murrow is the only thing which is putting up an argument against McCarthy. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite say "That is all wrong. The radio and television networks in the United States ought to be put under the heel of the Government". That is, in effect, under the heel of McCarthy.

Mr. Beverley Baxter. My right hon. Friend is making a very strong point about commercial television attacking McCarthy, but to say that it is the only thing is wrong. Many newspapers and magazines have adopted a very strong and courageous attitude towards McCarthy.

Mr. Elliot. I am grateful to my hon. Friend for his intervention. If I used the word 'only' I was overstating it. I do not think I said that. I believe I said it was the only thing which was effectively standing up to McCarthy. I do not think that anyone denies that. the real weakening in McCarthy's position has taken place since commercial television began to put the case against him, since Ed Murrow began to put the case against him. Who should know that better than the hon. Member for Woolwich, East, who quoted and used so much of that material and was able to show us the whole thing in operation, which we should not otherwise have been able to see. I say that the United States and the world as a whole owe a debt of gratitude to the commercial firm which is financing that programme. To say that the position would be improved if commercial television was put under the heel of the United States Government is to fly in the face of the obvious facts.

JGS

Hartford, Conn
March 28, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o C.B.S.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

First of all I wish to congratulate you for being one of the few commentators with "guts" to tackle Senator McCarthy. I've always enjoyed your program. your presentations always have a sense of fair play. This is something which a great many commentators have lost sight of.

However I'm not writing this letter just to hand you a few boquets.

I, like thousands of other men who served in the last World war, do not like the method

#

used by Senator McCarthy either in his questionings or investigations. I'm not opposed to unearthing communists or communism but his method of branding people as such by association, etc. is revolting. Especially in this country where one is supposed to enjoy free speech religious freedom and the right to his own beliefs. Also no one should be considered guilty until proven guilty by due process of law. All this our Senator is trying to change.

I know that you and the Senator are going to have a little set to and I'm therefore enclosing you a clipping from the Bridgeport Herald of this date. The part that I have circled does not mean much unless the full story is told.

The gentleman whose name appears in the clipping, Albert Leavitt has been for years an

JGS

emminent attorney. Known throughout the state as a most honest and capable man. He, I believe, is now connected with the Yale university of law.

a few years ago he was a federal judge I believe in Porto Rico. on one occasion he made a statement that senator McCarthy was a member of several subversive outfits and that he had documentary evidence to prove it. It seems that Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith came to the defense of McCarthy and printed in his magazine that Mr. Leavitt was a liar etc. Mr. Leavitt brought suit for slander against Rev. Smith and won the case. I was wondering in the light of such event

if you couldn't find out what this documentary evidence is and make use of it?

Wishing you the best of luck in everything you may undertake and trusting that your program may continue for years to come, I am.

Respectfully yours.
Gaetano O. Sica
224 Goodrich St.
Hartford, Conn.

THE MAIN STEM

TO THE REPORT that he had invaded New Britain from Hartford, to oppose Mayor John L. Sullivan for renomination, State Sen. Patrick J. Ward this week gave an "emphatic no." Unity Lodge, the CIO union at Pratt & Whitney Tool in West Hartford, endorsed ex-Ald. Buck Kotowski for the mayoralty, and Ward is a district and state CIO official, but he says he wouldn't seize on that as an excuse to go outside his bailiwick on a local contest. "I'm not soft in the head," he remarked.

FLYING SAUCER Luncheonette, center of a group of arrests in the breakup of a juvenile vice ring, was impartial in its treatment of Democratic candidates. Signs outside the Saucer urged citizens to nominate both Sully and Buck.

BEST PLAY on words in the pre-primary campaigning were those signs of the losing GOP aspirant, urging people to "Prosper with Lacava." When the returns were in, Ald. Prosper Lacava was on a starvation diet.

NOW that the primaries are past, maybe the groups protesting reassessment program can hope to have their lawsuit heard before election. But perhaps they aren't so eager now. Leaders in the move were eliminated in the primary.

NINE faculty members at TCC and 128 students donated a pint of blood each when the Bloodmobile visited the campus. Sophomores and juniors gave 40 pints apiece but percentagewise the seniors were tops with 28 pints.

ALBERT LEVITT, who still has a big law practice in California though he's moved back to Connecticut, combined business with pleasure when he went West to win a libel suit against the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith and stayed on to clean up some legal cases. He's representing New Britain in suit against Highway Commr. G. Albert Hill.

BEST NEWS for Hardware City is settlement of New Britain Machine strike before real hardship set in for families. Threat of American Hardware strike also averted.

THAT business that Charlie Hadfield is getting at his New Britain sports shop, to settle his feud with Plainville Board of Education, is big stuff. A dozen baseballs, that's what.

MIKE CARROLL, JR., son of Plainville's Democratic first selectman, lost out for appointment as fulltime fireman. He and two others were passed over to reach fourth man on the list, Ken Nielson.

BIG DOINGS in New Brit on May 30 when new triangle at Corbin Av. and Lincoln St. is dedicated to memory of Lt. Sherrod E. Skinner, Jr. The Marine officer was killed in Korea in October, 1952, was awarded Congressional Medal of Honor posthumously.

DID YOU hear about that New Brit felow, a charming guy with no steady job, who did favors for a down businessman by driving him and his lady fair around? He's still doing the driving. But someplace along the way they shook off the businessman.

ALIENATION of affection suits seem to be on the increase in the Hardware City area. There are a couple of pips waiting trial now.

BILL KELLY, who was hurt in a collision five years ago while riding a cab, got $23,500 in settlement of his suit against Ed Fanion, cab owner, and his driver, Jack Rappanotti.

BRISTOL Savings Bank has announced it's boosting its dividend on deposits to 2¾% for the next six months. It's the trend around the state, though a few stay low.

IT TOOK a ride to Plainville to

March 26, 1954

Dear John:

Thanks muchly for the communication from ARNA. I shall hope to say my thanks to you and the other members personally at the next meeting.

As ever yours,

Mr. John MacVane
Association of Radio News Analysts
24 East 39th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

dm

correspondence to Schute.

March 25, 1954

Personal

My dear Mrs. Secretary:

At the request of Paul Hoffman I am sending you kinescopes of two recent programs dealing with the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable Oveta Culp Hobby
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

dm

1954 MAR 12 PM 4:31
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

DMC

618TH

LA MAR 12 1954

URGENT

JACK BECK

CBS NEWS NY

SINCE WE TALKED, THORNLEY GOT HHIS QUOTE FROM HUGH BURNS. "TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE NO OFFICIAL OR MEMBER OF THE ACLU IN CALIFORNIA EVER HAS BEEN CONVICTED AS A COMMUNIST, OR PROVED TO BE A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY." RIGHT NOW, AM WAITING FOR BURNS TO RETURN FROM LUNCH SO I CAN ASK HIM FURTHER QUESTIONS.

HIS EARLIER QUOTE, WHICH I GAVE YOU-

FROM SENATOR HUGH M BURNS, CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE FACT-

618TH

LA MAR 12 1954

URGENT

JACK BECK

CBS NEWS NY

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HIS EARLIER QUOTE, WHICH I GAVE YOU-

FROM SENATOR HUGH M BURNS, CHAIRMAN OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE SENATE FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

"THIS COMMITTEE OR ITS CHAIRMAN NEVER HAS MADE A DIRECT CHARGE THAT THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION IS COMPLETELY COMMUNIST DOMINATED. TO DO SO WOULD BE UNFAIR."

BUT BURNS SAYS HIS COMMITTEE HAS NOTED THAT IN CALIFORNIA, THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HAS BEEN ACTIVE, AND HAS DEVOTED MUCH OF ITS EFFORT IN HELPING DEFEND KNOWN OR SUSPECTED COMMUNISTS.

AS A POINT IN CASE, BURNS RECALLS THAT THE ACLU HELPED THE DEFENSE AND PARTICIPATED IN THE COURT TRIAL OF THE 17 CALIFORNIA COMMUNIST LEADERS WHO WERE CONVICTED UNDER THE SMITH ACT LAST YEAR.

BURNS SAYS-"WHILE MY COMMITTEE NOR ITS CHAIRMAN MAKE NO DIRECT CHARGE THAT THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNIONIS COMMUNIST DOMINATED- INSOFAR AS THIS COMMITTEE IS CONCERNED, ITS MOTIVES IN CALIFORNIA OFTEN ARE SUSPECT.

IN REPLY, I HAVE THIS DIRECT QUOTE FROM DR. EASON MONROE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION WHO SAYS HE ALSO IS SPEAKING FOR THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA BRANCH-

"ALLEGATIONS SUCH AS MADE BY SENATOR TENNEY /WHO WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE WHEN ACLU WAS LISTED AS COMMUNIST

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"ALLEGATIONS SUCH AS MADE BY SENATOR TENNEY /WHO WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE WHEN ACLU WAS LISTED AS COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION IN ,43, ,48 AND ,49/ AND OTHERS ARE BASED UPON IGNORANCE OF THE PURPOSE AND ACTUAL RECORD OF THE ACLU. WE NEVER HAVE DEFENDED ANY PERSON OR GROUP IN HISTORY. WE DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF ANY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP WHOSE RIGHTS MAY HAVE BEEN INFRINGED. BY DOING THIS WE ARE DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF EVERYBODY. THE RECORD IS CLEAR. WE HAVE, AT TIMES, DEFENDED THE RIGHTS OF COMMUNISTS, FASCISTS, TROTZKYITES, AND, IN SOME CASES, PEOPLE ACCUSED OF MURDER, NARCOTICS ADDICTION AND MANY OTHER FORMS OF IRREGULAR BEHAVIOUR.

"AS AN ORGANIZATION, THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION IS OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM. WE, NEVERTHELESS, DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF COMMUNISTS AS PEOPLE AND THE RIGHTS OF SO-CALLED COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS TO ENGAGE IN NORMAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY. THIS IS NOT TO CONDONE ANY FORMS OF ILLEGAL OR CRIMINAL CONDUCT ON THE PART OF ANY PERSON OR GROUP. IF ANY INTERESTED PERSON WILL TAKE TIME TO INSPECT OUR WORK, HE WILL UNDERSTAND BETTER AND BE ABLE MORE ACCURATELY TO JUDGE THOROUGHLY THE PATRIOTIC CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION."

AND DR. EASON ADDS--"THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION NEVER HAS BEEN COMMUNIST DOMINATED OR COMMUNIST INFILTRATED AND IS NOT TODAY." END QUOTE.

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EASON POINTS OUT THAT THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HAS NOT BEEN MEMTIONED AS COMMUNIST-INFILTRATED IN ANY REPORT SINCE HUGH M. BURNS TOOK OVER AS CHAIRMAN IN 1951. HE POINTS OUT THAT THE ONLY TWO TIMES ON RECORD, THE ACLU HAS BEEN SO MENTIONED WERE IN THE CALIFORNIA UN-AMERICAN REPORT AND BY THE OLD FISH COMMITTEE IN NEW YORK IN THE LATE TWENTIES OR VERY EARLY THIRTIES.

EASON IS CALLING ME BACK WITH THE EXACT ACTION WHICH THE CALIFORNIA ACLU TOOK IN ,43, ,48 AND ,49. IT,S HIS RECOLLECTION THAT THE ACLU ASKED FOR CHANCES TO REPLY TO THOSE CHARGES BUT WAS NOT GIVEN THAT OPPORTUNITY.

HOWEVER, WILL FOLLOW WITH EXACT DETAILS PLUS, I HOPE, FURTHER REMEM-BRANCES OF SENATOR BURNS AND WHOEVER HE CAN PUT ME ONTO.

BARNEY

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

(36). 1954 MAR 12 PM 12 38

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Used 7:45 3/12/54

NA106 LONG PD=U WASHINGTON DC 12 1215PME=

EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

DLR 485 MADISON AVE=

RE MCCARTHY QUOTATION FROM LINCOLN SEE NOTRE DAME LAWYER, WINTER 1954 REPRINT, PAGES 192, 193. LINCOLN SAID IN SAME SPEECH: "I HOPE I AM OVER WARY; BUT IF I AM NOT, THERE IS, EVEN NOW, SOMETHING OF ILL-OMEN AMONGST US. I MEAN THE INCREASING DISREGARD FOR LAW WHICH PERVADES THE COUNTRY; THE GROWING DISPOSITION TO SUBSTITUTE THE WILD AND FURIOUS PASSIONS, IN LIEU OF THE SOBER JUDGMENT OF COURTS; AND THE WORSE THAN SAVAGE MOBS, FOR THE EXECUTIVE MINISTERS OF JUSTICE". KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK=

MERTON C BERNSTEIN 3636 16TH STREET NW WASHINGTON DC=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 511

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Dr. Stanton, Messrs. Murrow and Salant

From Mr. Brauner

Station

March 19, 1954

In my opinion, it is highly desirable that the McCarthy "See It Now" script be reviewed by the Legal Department in advance of broadcast. I suggest the following ground rules:

1. The attorney reviewing the script will not disclose or discuss the contents prior to the broadcast with anyone other than Senator McCarthy and his authorized representatives.

2. The review will be limited to questions of defamation.

3. Senator McCarthy will be requested to delete material which, in the opinion of the reviewing attorney, is defamatory. However, every effort will be made to accomplish this result by persuasion. If persuasion is not successful

(i) if the risk does not seem too great, we should assume it,

(ii) if the risk seems to be a major one, we will request an indemnity from the Senator, and

(iii) possibly, if the risk is really serious, we will insist on a deletion or instruct the audio engineer to fade out the offending material.

I do not anticipate that we will have to take action under either (ii) or (iii) above. However, we should decide in advance either (1) that we will not insist on either of such

courses of action or (2) that the decision will be exclusively that of the attorney, or (3) that we should not insist on either (ii) or (iii) without the concurrence of Mr. Stanton or Mr. Salant. I recommend against (3) because if senior management is given an opportunity to pass on the risks involved, it would necessitate disclosing at least a portion of the script in advance of broadcast and it would lend additional credence to a possible claim by McCarthy that the required deletion was based on considerations other than strictly legal ones.

4. Script and all other materials to be used should be submitted sufficiently in advance to permit changes. The CBS attorney should be available up to the time of broadcast to cooperate with McCarthy in any changes which he wishes to make.

5. I recommend that no deletions be requested because material is defamatory as to Mr. Murrow. The Senator should be informed that failure to object to any such material does not constitute waiver of any rights which Murrow may have.

JVB/mk

From - Chester Williams
Returned by lawyers 4/9/54

CONFIDENTIAL

March 21, 1954

Points to take up with Ed Murrow:

1. The person that they seem to be talking about as the counsel for this special thing is Bob Kennedy, the son of Joseph P. Kennedy, and the brother of the Senator from Massachusetts. He is a Catholic and McNaughton tells me that he hates Cohn but likes Joe McCarthy.

2. McClellan, Potter, Jackson and Symington are the only ones on the Committee that can be depended upon.

McClellan (Ark.) is the strongest and shrewdest. He is a small town lawyer, prosecutor, Bible-Belt man, ultra-conservative and absolutely invulnerable to McCarthy because McCarthy can't claim he is in any sense a liberal or a left-winger. His great strength lies in his moral revulsion to unfairness and in the fact that, unlike Symington, he has no political ambitions to protect.

Potter (Penna.) He loss both his legs in the war. He became infuriated with McCarthy because of his attack on the Army and he is invulnerable as a veteran leader.

Jackson is a middle-of-the-roader, speaks well and is fairly shrewd.

Symington is the unknown quantity on the Democratic side, according to McNaughton - because he has ambition.

Incidentally, none of these fellows come up for reelection.

3. Mundt and Dirksen have been making critical remarks publicly in order to strengthen their position to achieve a compromise and save McCarthy.

4. The compromise involves forcing Cohn to take the rap for McCarthy and Adams to take the rap for Stevens. This is a part of the significance in naming Bob Kennedy.

5. Suggest Murrow bring William T. Evjue, the editor of the Madison, Wisconsin, Times on the program immediately following McCarthy's TV appearance on April 6. Evjue is a most effective speaker and has an encyclopaedic grasp of the whole McCarthy story. One of the best ways to answer McCarthy is with an editor from his own state. Also, this is a way by which Murrow can prepare his own remarks in his mind while a part of the answer is being given by someone else. It has also the advantage of associating Murrow with the press, as a reporter, rather than a debater, and Murrow can then afford to concentrate his remarks on the last five or six minutes of the program.

6. McNaughton and Douglas urge Murrow to check with C. D. Jackson as soon as possible.

7. The main line to keep in the forefront is McCarthy's attack on the President- such film clips as the one where he says, "The President agrees with me now" should be repeated. Also his statement about not giving a tinker's damn for people, high or low. The statements of McCarthy on Zwicker and disparaging Stevens. All of this strikes at the President and helps prevent Mundt and Dirksen from getting away with the compromise. Conversely, it is important not to juxtaposition the Democrats and Stevenson with McCarthy, because he will try to get off the hook by promising to concentrate on the Democrats.

8. McNaughton feels that Murrow will be called by McCarthy as soon as he can get off the hook on the Army case. He might try to maneuver a secret session to test out his line and give him an opportunity to grab the headlines for his accusations and interpretations. Murrow should insist upon a public hearing. He should also avoid a setup whereby McCarthy, Mundt, Dirksen and only one of the Democrats would be present-- especially if that one were Symington. One maneuver to be careful of is to have the hearing in New York - called quickly. Murrow can be sure that the Democratic members and Potter would set aside almost anything else to be on hand.

9. Suggest that Murrow dig out one or two of his best pieces exposing and attacking the methods of Vishinsky and possibly also of Hitler to use at the hearing, blandly asking for permission to read a short statement. Excerpts from these statements should be selected to appear to be a direct attack and insult to Senator McCarthy, being careful to give no hint as to the source or the persons being referred to. The object should be to infuriate McCarthy so that he would threaten contempt or at least demand an apology for casting aspersions on him. Then Murrow can say blandly, "I am sorry, Senator, I neglected to state that the sentences I have just read were written (date) and refer, not to you, Sir, but to Mr. Vishinsky and Mr. Hitler." This should be backed up with a collection of quotations from Murrow's broadcasts dealing with the methods of Vishinsky, Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini which could be given to the press following the hearing. The aim is to get headlines which say "Murrow Tries Vishinsky's Shoes On McCarthy For Size -- McCarthy Says They Fit".

10. Suggest featuring in the near future the editorial "Is Senator Joe McCarthy Really a Communist?" This was an editorial from the Trenton, N.J. Evening Times, and was written by James Kearney, editor and publisher, who is a prominent Catholic layman in New Jersey, and reproduced on the editorial page of The Denver Post, published by Palmer Hoyt. This might be used shortly after the McCarthy appearance on SEE IT NOW -- perhaps the following week, or possibly the week before as an incitement. The last five or six minutes of the program on March 31 could be devoted to introducing the fact that McCarthy would have the entire period the next week and that Murrow does not want to deprive him of any time by introducing him extensively- so he would like to make a short biographical presentation of the speaker. This could be illustrated with photographs and clips highlighting such milestones in McCarthy's career as his deals with the Air Force to advance his political career, his claim to being shot and carrying 50 points of lead in his leg, his acceptance of Communist support in Wisconsin, his defense in Congress of the Nazis who were convicted for executing American soldiers which resulted in commutation of their sentences, McCarthy's attack on General Marshall, statements from his earlier attacks on Eisenhower before the Republican convention, his left-wing reputation in college, Philbrick's

statement about his helpfulness to the Communists - the fact that he has not exposed a single Communist not already known to the authorities but has tried to discredit non-communists and anti-communists such as Jack McCloy, etd.

These biographical points could lead up to the reading of the editorial mentioned above. This would make it pretty essential for McCarthy to answer the question, "Is he really a Communist?"

11. It might be possible to concentrate public attention on a few basic questions which McCarthy is being given the opportunity to answer by exhibiting a placard for a few seconds when Murrow introduces the Senator to come in from Washington. It is most important that in this introduction Murrow indicate that he invited the Senator to come on the program to answer the questions and points which Murrow raised on the program attacking him. Then with the 15-minute-trailer the same placard can be exhibited to show that McCarthy did not answer the questions. Murrow should be able to say at the very beginning of his trailer show - "Senator McCarthy has dodged the questions and the points; he has told new lies and half-lies." It would be important not to announce that an immediate reply would be made until the very end of SEE IT NOW. It probably would also be wise to offer McCarthy fifteen minutes in which to answer what Murrow says on the trailer program. The vital thing is to keep him in the answering position and constantly to accuse him of hiding behind a McCarthy amendment- constantly accusing him of refusing to answer or to manfully admit demonstrated falsehoods.

12. McCarthy may dodge going on the program April 6 - in which case the preparations for the trailer program could be substituted for at least half of it. He should be challenged to come on the program -- perhaps Murrow could offer to send a crew to Washington to film his reply at any time of day or night so he can't claim that he is unable to make a particular date or time. The reason he may be unwilling to come on the program is that his only answer is an attack on Murrow which would lay him open to a libel suit or so restrict him statements as to make his performance fall flat.

13. If he attacks Murrow and, in the judgment of a lawyer on the spot, provides good basis for a libel suit, it would probably be wise to announce the suit in the trailer program, stating precisely what the suit would force him to prove. Such a libel suit ought to be tied up with the "due process" angle.

Confidential

March 25, 1954

Memorandum - E. Murrow

Contrary to my last memorandum, I believe the preferable approach on next Tuesday's SEE IT NOW is not to talk about McCarthy but about Murrow.

As I see it, the last half of the program might be devoted to a very terse biographical coverage of the man whom McCarthy is about to expose as a "conscious" supporter of Communism. The McCarthy telegram could be featured as the visual statement of the subject.

Then you would be in a position to say that you owe it to your audience to give the highlights of the activities and associations of the man whom McCarthy has named as his target for next Tuesday night. You have nothing to hide, but you are a human being who has made mistakes, has learned from mistakes, and has trusted other human beings.

The problem is one of selection, to make sure that you have said something about every possible area of vulnerability in the context of the times -- and in the process have given a fascinating review of history for all adults.

This, it seems to me, would make it very difficult for McCarthy to pull any surprises and, therefore, to appear on the program the following week.

The power of the little black book is lost when the victims are unafraid and, therefore, reveal the contents before they can be distorted.

Naturally, I would be very glad to be helpful on details. My only purpose at this moment is to suggest that it would be better to handle this as a biographical presentation in the context of history than an explanation after an attack.

C.S.W.

Chester Williams

HOYT A. MOORE
DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT
CARL W. PAINTER
LEONARD D. ADKINS
MAURICE T. MOORE
DONALD C. SWATLAND
BRUCE BROMLEY
ROSWELL MAGILL
A. I. HENDERSON
WM DWIGHT WHITNEY
ALFRED McCORMACK
CARLYLE E. MAW
EDWARD S. PINNEY
ROSWELL L. GILPATRIC
THOMAS A. HALLERAN
ALBERT R. CONNELLY
L. R. BRESLIN, JR.
BENJAMIN R. SHUTE
GEORGE B. TURNER
FRANK H. DETWEILER
GEORGE G. TYLER
JOHN H. MORSE
HAROLD R. MEDINA, JR.
FREDERICK S. BEEBE
CHARLES R. LINTON
WILLIAM B. MARSHALL
RALPH L. McAFEE
ROYALL VICTOR, JR.
JOHN N. CALDERWOOD

CRAVATH, SWAINE & MOORE
15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5

TELEPHONE
HANOVER 2-3000

CABLE ADDRESS: CRAVATH, N.Y.

File

NEW YORK

May 4, 1954

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of Chester Williams's letter to me dated April 29, 1954, which contains some material I think you will be interested in seeing.

Sincerely,

Ben.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Encl.

BY HAND

QQ

[Letterhead of]

WORLD INFORMATION
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING - NEW YORK 1, N. Y.
LAckawanna 4-8663

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
HERBERT HARRIS

April 29, 1954

Mr. Benjamin R. Shute,
Cravath, Swaine & Moore,
15 Broad Street,
New York 5, N.Y.

Dear Ben:

A thought occurred to me as I watched a summary of the hearings last night. The pattern being followed by the Senator in his use of certain standard Communist tricks bears a striking resemblance to the performance of Malik during the month-long frustration of the members of the Security Council to bring a Korean resolution to a vote. That was televised in toto during August, 1950, and claimed the largest TV audience up to that time.

The country was so aroused by the tricks and tactics of Malik that Ambassador Austin received as many as 6000 letters a week. Lawyers by the hundreds wrote suggestions on how to cope with these tactics. I was working with Austin on his interventions. One speech he delivered during that hassel was particularly note-worthy - a speech exposing the "tricks" being used - the "stop-thief" trick, the "false label" trick, and the "big lie" trick.

My thought is this: developing a comparison program for SEE IT NOW matching clips from these two series of TV records (a) the Malik performance and (b) the McCarthy performance - trick for trick. I recall also several occasions on which Vishinsky used precisely the tactics of McCarthy when being rapped down by the chairman as out of order.

It would, of course, take some time to review these materials and select sequences that match effectively. In any case, such a thing could not be done until the present hearings are over. I believe such a comparison would make

a terrific impact on the matter of methods. It is, of course, difficult to predict the state of public attitude a month or so from now. People may be pretty fed up and the Senator discredited in the course of these hearings. But so far, he seems to be holding his own if not winning on propaganda points. In any case, his performance might be studied now against the Malik record for possible use later.

I sometimes wonder if those who are handling the army side of this thing realize how effective most of McCarthy's tactics and propaganda tricks are with the mass mind. So far they have done very little to expose the tricks or to avail themselves of the right to reject "loaded questions".

It seems to me that McCarthy may still succeed with his methods and rise to new heights of power when he reclaims his role of inquisitor. Therein lies the danger to our friend who is undoubtedly high on the list of persons to be victimized later. Naturally I hope that my pessimism is proved wrong by events.

If you think the suggestion I have made merits attention, I leave it to you to pass it on.

I feel very happy about the film. It has a lot of punch and power, and there is wide interest in its use already. I hope you may be able to see the preview next Tuesday at 4PM at Freedom House. But if you miss it, you may catch it any day during the week of May 10th at 12:30 Noon or 5:30 PM.

Best wishes,

Very sincerely,

/s/ Chester

Chester S. Williams

CSW:tef

HOYT A. MOORE
DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT
CARL W. PAINTER
LEONARD D. ADKINS
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15 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5

TELEPHONE
HANOVER 2-3000

CABLE ADDRESS: CRAVATH, N.Y.

NEW YORK

April 20, 1954

Dear Ed:

Over the week end, Chester Williams gave me the attached letter and two memoranda, all of which I think you should have.

The question of whether or not to go ahead with any of Chester's ideas is a policy matter, it seems to me, for you and your associates in the Company to decide.

Sincerely,

Ben Shute

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Encls.

BY HAND

PERSONAL

QQ

WORLD INFORMATION

Research Consultants

EMPIRE STATE BUILDING • NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

LACKAWANNA 4-8663

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
HERBERT HARRIS

April 17, 1954

Dear Ben:

Here is a very rough memo along the lines of our conversation yesterday. It is hardly more than suggestive of an approach. I feel that I might be helpful in developing the idea out from my past experience and my writings covering this historical subject matter.

The film in preparation should be completed next week. I am assisting as a consultant on the content for a very modest fee and expenses. When that is done, I feel that I will have done about as much as I can "for the good of the cause".

Actually, on a matter of such importance I dislike making suggestions or offering judgements more or less off the top of my head, devoting only tag-ends of time from my regular business. In the past few weeks I have been very busy with a number of business clients so that most of my thinking or acting on this matter had to be done at night and on week-ends with the help of Pat.

If Ed and CBS feel that my services would be useful from here on, I would be happy to discuss an arrangement. As indicated in a previous memo, I believe that the problem needs to be faced through an industry-wide committee employing top-flight PR counsel as the cigarette industry has done. If such a thing is contemplated, I would naturally appreciate the consideration of Hill and Knowlton, the firm which handles the cigarette account, Iron and Steel Institute and many other industry accounts of similar magnitude. As you know, I devote a considerable portion of my time to Hill and Knowlton accounts. And I dare say that in the event such an arrangement were made, I would give a good deal of my time to it through Hill and Knowlton.

I have found it most refreshing and heartening that a lawyer of your experience and background is giving attention to this matter. With every good wish for your success, I am,

Very sincerely,

Chester

Chester S. Williams

Mr. Ben Shute,
161 E. 79th St.
New York City

CSW:mea

Notes for Murrow

1. It appeared at the time of the March 9 report on SEE IT NOW that the Senator had finally gone too far - large section of the press was openly critical; public attitudes were shifting; even some of his friends and supporters were apologetic and hedging. (See April FORTUNE for a survey on business attitudes - soundings taken in February.)

2. It would seem almost axiomatic that if he is not discredited and brought under control, he will eventually discredit and/or bring to heel those persons and institutions which have critized him effectively. Foremost among these is Murrow and CBS.

3. It would now appear to be a good bet that he can get out from under, that he may even succeed in derailing the hearings or at least extricating himself from them, and that he is about to soar to new heights. If this proves to be the case, Murrow and CBS are in very great danger indeed.

4. One of his main sources of strength lies in the lack of public perspective on history and the context of the accusations in time and circumstance. Another, even more important, is the rising fear and frustration caused by set-backs in world affairs and the threat of atomic destruction. Murrow and CBS can do something about the first, but very little about the second which obviously calls for national leadership.

5. The Oppenheimer case is a classic pattern of the individual record read out of historic context and subjected to the pressures of irrational fear. It must be faced as a fact that among the upper 10 or 20% of the intellectually curious, at least a million people are to some degree or another highly vulnerable to the Senator's type of attack. These people tend to be among the successful in many fields. They are between 40 and 60 years of age. A disproportionate number in this group are Jews. Some of this number were active Communists in the 1930s or during the wartime alliance. But the majority were merely drawn into front organizations or had close associations with Communists. This means that the Senator and his allies have an unlimited reservoir of victims and sensations.

6. One thing that is clearly needed is to reconstruct history and make people acutely aware both mentally and emotionally of the changing times and circumstances as well as the personalities such as General MacArthur, Sokolsky and others who changed with the times. The original HEAR IT NOW did this job in a striking manner. It now needs to be done on SEE IT NOW in such a way that it can be used in Newsreel Theatres and on 16mm through organizations - as HERE IT NOW reached a wider public on long-playing records. Several alternative ways of bringing the thing to focus on one or more personalities should be considered.

April 17, 1954

NOTES ON AN HISTORIC SERIES FOR SEE IT NOW.

1. The purpose of a series on SEE IT NOW covering the past 38 years since Lenin seized power in Russia is to make Americans acutely aware of -
   a) how totalitarian movements developed and supplemented each other;
   b) how and why so many people were caught in totalitarian toils;
   c) how free societies tried to cope with these rising movements;
   d) why it is essential to weigh evidence in the context of history.

2. The general treatment suggested is very similar to HEAR IT NOW using silent and sound films to document the story. Also, photos, newspapers, books and maps will be useful. The film should make up a full length movie.

3. Alternative treatments of a biographical thread:

   a) The Oppenheimer story might be used - if he is cleared - to tie the sequences together and show one person's activities and reactions against the historical developments. This would have the effect of backing up the administration in its decision by enabling people to see and feel the circumstances which explain Oppenheimer's actions and attitudes.

   b) A well-known Communist like Paul Robeson might be used. I understand that he is arranging a break and is ready to denounce Soviet imperialism. He has been discussing the matter with Walter White. If the series could be opened with a startling episode of confession and forthright attack on Communism so that Murrow would be facilitating a break - a conversion - the rest of the story could then pick up the threads of this individual's role in the light of history.

      In this case, Murrow could plug on each program an appeal to other Communists to break and announce new conversions each week. The central need is to give persons who were Communists or may still be Communists a chance to break openly by coming out on the side of Freedom and decency and not being forced to join the anti-Communist totalitarians.

      Several lawyers I know could provide a "stockpile" of cases if such an approach were planned. There are quite a number who are looking for a way to denounce their former allegiance or collaboration with Communism in a public way without acting as public informers for the publicity of totalitarian characters like McCarthy. They are prepared to give information secretly to the FBI, but not to make a show of it.

      In my judgement, the use of Paul Robeson would be a terrific stroke because of the effect of his break and exposure of cynical Communist methods upon Asia and two-thirds of a world which is colored. Murrow could thus do a constructive job and demonstrate the difference between the ways of freedom and honest reporting on the one side, and Communazi tactics and distorted reporting on the other side.

   c) Still another approach might be to take an unknown, little person who had naively gotten involved in front organizations and Communist causes without ever having been a Communist, who subsequently suffered the loss of job and status because of derogatory material in his file which made him a "security risk".

4. It would take probably 6 weeks to 2 months to get the material together.

Perhaps the project ought to be thought of as a series to be featured in September and October rather than during the summer, though there may be something to be said for a July and August series under CBS sustaining basis. If 12 minutes were featured each program, it would take 8 or 9 weeks to cover the series. Then the film would be available for fall use.

5. Obviously, such an undertaking involves so many considerations that the general idea and the treatment would have to be considered for some weeks before a plan could even be agreed upon. One factor, among many, is the November election. The election fact itself suggests both the importance of doing such a job in an even-handed, factual way, and also the difficulties involved in doing it. There are undoubtedly risks in doing it at any time. But, in my view, the risks of not doing it in the near future are much greater. CBS should start with the basic fact that it is in trouble - bad trouble. It has a right to fight for its life fairly and honestly. But I doubt that it has the choice of not fighting, and hoping that it will ride out the storm. Doing the wrong thing, or doing a right thing in the wrong way, could compound the trouble. But not doing anything could result in the loss of its power to defend freedom and sanity in the future, and in the loss of its right to operate as a free enterprise. Pegler's recent columns should be studied in the light of two facts: a) McCarthy's preparation of an attack on the whole mass media, and b) McCarthy's presence in Pegler's home at the time he was writing these columns. There are many other significant straws in the wind which forewarn of an onslaught on the radio-TV industry.

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NEW YORK

April 24, 1954

Dear Ed:

I have just received a further thought from Chester Williams, as set forth in his letter dated April 22, 1954, which I enclose herewith.

I shall read Dr. Schaffner's book--which is on a subject I am particularly interested in, as a result of my two years with McCloy in Germany--and send along to you any comments I have.

Sincerely,

Ben Shute

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Encl.

QQ

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LACKAWANNA 4-8663

CHESTER S. WILLIAMS
HERBERT HARRIS

April 22, 1954

Mr. Ben Shute
Cravath, Swaine and Moore
15 Broad Street
New York, New York

Dear Ben:

Recalling your comment at my apartment the other day -- "Wish I had a good psychiatrist at my elbow," I call to your attention the name of a neuro-psychiatrist, Dr. Bertram Schaffner. He is one of the few psychiatrists I have ever met who has a sociological understanding and is not a victim of fettishes.

I am sending you, under separate cover, one of his books entitled "Father Land" -- a study based upon his work with German prisoners of war. Quite apart from your possible interest in the services of such a person, Schaffner's book contains some very interesting data.

During our tussles with Vishinsky, Gromyko and company at the United Nations, Schaffner and one of his colleagues consulted with me from time to time on the preparation of speeches for Ambassador Austin before the Security Council. I also did a little work with him in connection with another book on Russian family and social patterns, which contained some very useful clues to the motivations of Soviet spokesmen.

Schaffner continues to be an occasional consultant to the Army and other governmental agencies with international concerns. He has a remarkable political sense, gained, I think, largely through his war and post-war experiences in Germany and other countries.

If something could be put together for an industry-wide special public relations program along the lines previously suggested, I think Schaffner would be a most useful consultant. He would also be helpful in connection with the preparation of an historical series, especially if it involved the personality I mentioned. Making such a break is, of course, a most torturous and delicate operation requiring psychiatric assistance.

Very sincerely

Chet

Chester S. Williams

jr

TO McD 4/18

FROM E. C. Perkins (one of the lawyers.)

This item was received by me on April 13 through Mr. Shute. I have retained a copy for our files and suggest that perhaps this should be seen by Mr. Murrow.

Mr. M-

April 10, 1954

Points to Consider

1. Importance of exposing the tricks of McCarthy and how they play into the hands of the Soviets regarding the H-Bomb delay and how that might lead to the death of the nation. This can probably best be done by a full treatment of the record, showing what was involved in the decision, who was involved in the discussion and decision, and what were the reasons pro and con in the context of the time. It is vital in this connection to make understandable the reluctance of some scientists to venture into the area of global destruction, and to make it clear that their reluctance did not influence the decision.

2. McCarthy himself said, "The issue is simple: it is the issue of life or death for our civilization.

   "If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate. If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty."

   Consideration should be given to a formulation of a challenge by which this precise question should be put up to a jury in a court of law - which has been and is giving comfort to the enemy by his words and actions?

   Having put the question, McCarthy insists upon being judge, jury and executioner. If he is confident that the record will support him and will convict Murrow, why is he afraid to let the question be decided by due process? Who does he dodge the courtroom?

3. Device used on Person-to-Person with Marx Friday night should be used further to bring out human details of Murrow's past - with the light touch.

4. Some method should be found to forewarn of McCarthy's implied method of changing the subject - of getting off the hot spot. He is likely to claim as the investigation of the Committee gets under way that it must be concluded quickly or set aside so that he may bring in his evidence that Communists and Traitors were responsible for the deliberate delay on the H-bomb, and are even now tying our hands behind our back - "that the nation may well die". He will scoff at the "tempest in the teapot" over subordinates designed by left-wingers to suppress his exposure of their most diabolical plot. At least, he will conjure up one sensation after another to bury the hearings. If he can get a postponement to make a speech in Texas, he can probably manage to derail the hearing while he rushes off to catch some traitor in the act of crippling our H-bomb program. This raises the most serious dilemma, for which some considered strategy should be prepared. See the George Rothwell Brown piece for a hint of one of the lines he might be expected to use.

Suggested Murrow comment - (After first papagraph on p. 10 of April 6 -

~~THIXXXXXXXXXX~~ The last few sentences you have heard from Senator McCathy's April 6th film require close examination. In this passage he has borrowed and employed several Communist tricks.

First comes the "straw man" trick. ~~of the~~ He starts his question with ~~the~~ a phrase he has repeated several times before, "If there were no Communists in our Government..." Who ever claimed there were no Communists in our government? Certainly this reporter has reported ~~[illegible]~~ specific cases where the FBI and Security Boards have found and thrown out Communists. ~~[illegible]~~ McCarthy is simply using the trick of the "straw man", ~~to launch a loaded question.~~

Second, comes the trick of the "loaded question", ~~itself.~~ Without making any assertion or giving any proof, he blandly asks why there was a delay of 18 months on our hydrogen bomb research. Without saying so, he tries to put over the idea that Communists in our government caused such a delay. This is just the type of "loaded question" the Communists used when they first launched the "big lie" that U.S. airmen dropped Germ-bombs on North Korea. They asked this, "If the Americans are against germ warfare, why have they refused to sign the Geneva convention outlawing it?"

You will recall that ~~earlier,~~ early in the speech McCarthy called me "the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares expose individual Communists and traitors." Then as he led up to his H-Bomb tricks, he accused "the jackal pack of Communist-line propagandists, including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow," of delivering 400 million Chinese to Communism.

~~So he led up to the~~ Third, he used trick of guilt by implication. Without taking responsibility for asserting it, McCarthy planted the suggestion that Murrow was somehow guilty of causing an 18 months delay in our hydrogen bomb research.

Note carefully the fourth trick - the terror tick. He says twice, "our nation may well die". Why? "Because of that 18 months' deliberate delay."

This is the most important passage in the speech. Here McCarthy makes a

desperate effort to change the subject - to get himself off of the hot spot he is in. He plays upon the fear of death - not only of the victims of a bombing attack - but death of the nation itself.

He does not name anyone as responsible for the unproved "deliberate delay". He just asks two more loaded questions, and leaves the terror thought to burrow into the subconscious minds of his listeners.

There actually was a difference of opinion over whether to proceed with the hydrogen bomb experiment. Representative Sterling Cole, Republican of _____ and now Chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Commission was among those who opposed going forward with the H-bomb work. Harry Truman supported by Dean Acheson settled the question with the decision of January 31, 1950 to go ahead.

Following his filmed "loaded questions" on April 6, McCarthy refused to offer any proof of delay or name any persons responsible. But he did say that the Senate Committee of which he is now Chairman took up the matter of possible Communist influence in delaying the hydrogen bomb a year ago - in 1953. One has a right to ask, what did the Committee find? Why didn't we hear about such a dire thing for 12 months? And Why does McCarthy bring up the issue with loaded questions and vague forebodings of national death at this time?

June 21

MEMO: TO MURROW:

I called up Helen Kirkpatrick at Smith last week to confirm a story that David Schine's sister had failed to pass entrance exams; that papa, who owns a hotel at Northampton, had dined with the Smith brass and dropped a suggestion about Smith needing a new dormitory, ~~which~~ but this did not open the gates to the daughter; and either by coincidence or some other power a sister of Buckley (the McCarthy writer) who (and one or two other Buckleys) are alumnae of Smith, sent to the complete mailing list of Alumnae a long anti-Smith diatribe charging that four members of the faculty are Communists and saying Smith was no fit place to educate a girl.

The facts are about as stated. But Helen, while admitting the possibility of cause-and-effect has no proof of it and personally sincerely doubts it. And she hoped that Smith would not be in the middle of sensational publicity about the matter.

Helen is now in town and last night went into details about the matter. But she was more interested in telling me she is marrying in two weeks Robbin Milbank, a Smith trustee, former McCann advertising V-pres in California and a wonderful man. She sounded happier than an 18 year old June bride and asked me to tell you about the marriage, sending you her regards.

Raymond

Received 5/25/54

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Edward Murrow

from: A Friend

Due to your best interests I believe you should know or investigate the following:

Harry Truman or one of his assistants was told that if he came to The Radio TV Newsreel affair on June 4, 1954 you would give Mr Truman some sort of an award.

The party in the association who is working on this is a stooge for Walter Winchel who as you know is buddy buddy with McArthy. This party has possibly been responsible for the Irv Kahn article in Winchel's column as he is with other matters concerning CBS and international unions.

Note: Individual referred can only be Larry Racis of CBS-TV News - allegation not true - Zousmer + Aaron say they know how Winchell got info.

EdmcW.

D R A F T

Senator McCarthy attacked me because the Daily Worker on March 9th listed my television program as a "good bet" -- also, that in two subsequent issues this paper praised me. I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say for the Communist support and the Communist funds he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate.

MARCH 11, 1954

and

MARCH 12, 1954

5 C-5

VOL. XLIII NO. 13 MARCH 29, 1954

Newsweek

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SPECIAL REPORT: One of NEWSWEEK's most popular features is the special report. Over the years our editors have developed a skillful technique for bringing together in one comprehensive story a complete, factually pinpointed picture of broad inclusive topics. This perceptive reporting technique has been used to scrutinize subjects

Amsterdam readers quickly bought up NEWSWEEK from newsstands (left), while the story stirred sharp interest among Dutch businessmen (right)

ranging from taxes to American jazz, from air conditioning to cancer. And it has also been employed to bring you an understanding of the development of American cities such as Atlanta; Los Angeles; Portland, Ore.; and Seattle. The response to all these stories was so enthusiastic that we have been expanding our use of the special-report technique across the seas to bring you more and more of these reports from foreign countries. The story on the Netherlands' economic recovery (March 8 issue) is a recent example, and it proved to be a thumping success.

It was particularly interesting to me to learn of the strong impact this story had on people in Holland. For example, Deputy Information Director Francot, of the Royal Dutch Ministry of Economics, commenting on the story said: "We ourselves didn't realize how far we'd come. But now, thanks to NEWSWEEK, we see ourselves in the American mirror and understand that we have come quite far, indeed." And Foreign Affairs Minister J.M.A.H. Luns of Holland cabled: "Your acknowledgment of the tremendous effort made by our people for the rehabilitation of the country is a valuable contribution to the mutual understanding and friendship between our nations."

It is becoming more and more important for us in the United States to understand significant developments in other parts of the world. And to help you do so, Harry Kern, editor in chief of our international editions, plans to follow up the story on the Netherlands' industrial recovery with many other special foreign reports, both from the European area and from the Far East.

THE COVER: Edward R. Murrow's sensational See It Now TV programs about Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy represented a startling development in the use of television in political conflict. The programs also dramatically raised again the controversial question of how far radio and TV should go in editorialized comment, and what the rules should be. To learn the opinions of Murrow himself, industry leaders, and the Federal Communications Commission, turn to page 50.

Theodore F. Mueller
Publisher

Television in Controversy: The Debate and Defense

"Ideally, in the case of controversial issues, the audience should be left with no impression as to which side the analyst himself actually favors."
Paul White, executive editor of San Diego's station KFMB, speaking in 1943 when he was head of the Columbia Broadcasting System news.

"They'll have to rewrite the definition of journalism now. No greater feat of journalistic enterprise has occurred in modern times than that performed by Ed Murrow last Tuesday."
Broadcasting and Telecasting magazine, March 15, 1954.

These two statements suggest the distance that the radio-television industry has traveled as a conveyor of political thought in scarcely more than a decade. Within a matter of hours after Edward R. Murrow (see cover) had finished his now-famous CBS See It Now show on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, it was clear to a great many people that the editorial velocity of radio-TV had been suddenly accelerated, that a conspicuous milestone along a somewhat wandering route had been reached.

A Higher Perch: Murrow, once a vice president and still a director of CBS, spoke from a higher perch than run-of-mine radio-TV commentators. He is also a policymaker for a major network, and was presumed by many to be speaking for others as well as himself. There are those who believe that anyone less than a director would never be permitted so much freedom.

The public response left no doubt as to

Berryman—Washington Star

the political opinions of those who made their views known, but they left one big question unanswered:

Is it right in principle for television to take a clear stand on one side of a great issue?

Radio-TV, despite all regulations, certainly is not free of any taint of bias. There have been many programs arguing one side or the other, and many commentators have made a good thing out of propaganda. But no political show so damning as Murrow's McCarthy program had ever been done, and no voice had such force of position behind it. And this raised another question:

If it is ethical for TV and radio to line up in favor of, or against, an individual politician or a political wing, then what should be the ground rules under which the reply can be made?

Nothing in the law requires Murrow or CBS to grant equal time for reply in a case like this, but in most such instances, the opposition gets a chance to answer. The Murrow show, however, injected a complication in this respect:

Would McCarthy be able to reply adequately to the drama that Murrow had staged? Murrow could respond to this that he had only used McCarthy's own words and actions (the show consisted principally of film of McCarthy in action, edited to illustrate Murrow's own arguments that McCarthy uses the half-truth and committee-room persecution to gain his ends). But how often would an individual or group that believed itself injured by editorialized television be able to come back with an equally effective dramatic presentation of its case?

A Match for Murrow? No one familiar with McCarthy's sense of showmanship, his nimble reflexes, his superb talent for battle, could doubt his capability to defend himself, especially since Murrow had laid down no conditions on how the reply was to be made. But how many public figures are there who can match a gifted TV man with equally forceful presentation?

Going beyond showmanship, radio and television, while employing many of the techniques of press and theater and offering in numerous cases the same product—information and comment—are in a fundamentally different position. Radio-TV uses the air, and the air is public property.

From the beginning, this difference

Most Major TV Stations Say 'Let's Take Both Sides'

Nine major TV stations polled by Newsweek held to the tradition that the medium should be strictly impartial. Five indicated a belief that radio and television ought to editorialize, at least to the extent of the Murrow shows. The following is a cross-section of the views of local stations queried:

▶"We believe television should not take sides but should fairly present controversial issues. We attempt to offer both sides in the same period and by qualified exponents ..."

▶"Television stations ought not to take any sides in political or controversial issues..."

▶"We believe radio and television should take sides by honest expression of editorial opinion."

▶"Sure, we do it every day ..."

▶"We should adhere to the regulations as set forth by the FCC, and render the best possible service to our listeners. We believe we should not take sides."

▶"Television is a medium to convey the facts on both sides so that the public may reach its own decisions."

▶"As long as opinions are clearly labeled as such I think it is a healthy and progressive step for TV to have an opinion. To have an opinion is to have character."

▶"Presentation of both sides of a major issue wherein the public can draw its own conclusions is deemed highly desirable by this station."

▶"Just as NEWSWEEK, in addition to carrying straight news, carries columns by such men as Raymond Moley, who are identified by their by-lines—and thus express their own opinions over and above those of your magazine—we at this station identify commentators as such, as distinguished from newscasters... and have tried to distinguish between facts and opinion."

▶"Television, the greatest mass medium ever conceived, should not compromise its tremendous possibilities for public service by adopting editorial policies. Instead, the industry should energetically encourage the use of facilities for serious examination of controversial issues by commentators and advocates."

▶"There is nothing in the ... act ... which gives the commission any control on program content of stations. We believe that radio and television stations should share the same freedom of expression and the privilege of taking sides which have been enjoyed by the American press since the founding of our nation ..."

▶"We have never felt that television should take sides ..."

was recognized and the radio industry was based, therefore, on government license, instead of outright ownership. In exchange for the license, the radio people agreed to abide by certain rules, or at least to respect accepted practice where the rules were not clear, and always to operate in the public interest.

The Playing Field: The result, for a long time, was that radio fell over backward to avoid crossing the visible and often invisible lines of the playing field. In 1932, for example, one network blanked out the Lindbergh kidnapping story all through the night it broke on the ground that the news was "too sensational." Up to 1935 no large news service did business with radio at all, and not until 1941 did the Associated Press decide to supply news to the medium which now challenges the press as the chief conveyor of information. In 1943, the year that White of CBS gave his definition of the "ideal" impartial news analyst, another CBS official expressed the considered opinion that the day of the news commentator was over.

These timid advances and hasty retreats simply reflected the public attitude, as expressed in Washington. In the Federal Radio Commission, later replaced by the Federal Communications Commission; in the courts; and in the minds of thoughtful public officials there was no agreement as to how far radio should go in matters of controversy, even whether it should go at all.

Murrow himself appears confident of his ground in the McCarthy case.

The opinions of others in the industry are mixed:

T. F. O'Neil, president, chairman of the board, Mutual Broadcasting System: "We, as station owners, have never attempted to establish an editorial policy analogous to the editorial page of a newspaper, but we feel that any attempt to prevent individual commentators from expressing their interpretation of local, national, or international events would be a disservice to the public . . ."

Robert E. Kintner, president of ABC: "Local station managers still don't editorialize very much, and no network is going to editorialize just because the president or the board chairman has certain views on a subject.

"The situation is not analogous to a newspaper's because there is no one place on the air to editorialize as there is in a paper . . .

"There is more to be concerned about in reaching decisions about television because of its impact. But no one is going to be able to use radio or TV facilities as demagogues."

Willian S. Paley and **Frank Stanton,** chairman of the board of directors and president, respectively, of CBS: "In the pattern of mass communications as part of the fabric of freedom, we believe that

Murrow Calls It 'Reporting'

Newsweek—Ed Wergeles

Murrow with Radulovich (whom he defended) and McCarthy

Four pretty girls sat under a sign lettered "SIN" (for See It Now), on the seventeenth floor of CBS in New York. They sorted piled-up mail and delegated it to even more boxes. Fred W. Friendly, See It Now's big, loose-limbed coproducer, hurried in and out. Down the corridor, in a small, quiet corner room, sat the man who was the focal point of all the ruckus.

Ed Murrow, whom Variety had just that day called "practically . . . a national hero," looked just the way he does every afternoon—loose tie, solemnity, and all. His office was unchanged except for a long-needed coat of white paint and an extra pile of unanswered correspondence. It was still as unlike most CBS executives' offices as ever. Where the others are carpeted and furnished and picture-hung until they could illustrate any decorating magazine (one is so trim it doesn't even have a desk), Murrow's nook bespeaks the man who uses it. Murrow refers to his office with a wave of his hand as "this pig sty."

No Crusade: Behind his desk, the 45-year-old Murrow talked about himself and the controversy he had sparked. Weighing his words, as always, and shifting around—hiking his feet up, hunching over and inspecting the floor—he explained his thoughts on the controversy raging around him.

He firmly denies that he is conducting an anti-McCarthy crusade: "I am just doing a job of reporting. The last thing I want to do is to take the privileged opportunity I have five nights a week on the radio and two on television to attack this man. The moment I start to use my opportunity to agitate against McCarthy or against antivivisection or against anything else, then I've lost whatever standing I have as a reporter."

He answers his critics, who say he poses in a cloak of objectivity and then slants the news: "See It Now is a weekly documentary for television; it has never been designed to present hard, fast-breaking news. And we followed the CBS policy of fairness. We labeled the McCarthy show controversial and we offered the senator time to reply. We leaned over backward to be fair."

Murrow realizes that television could be an instrument of evil in the wrong hands. "Would Hitler," he muses, "have been bigger and faster if he'd had TV? Would it have helped Huey Long?" But he sees no need for any change in the rules that govern controversy on the air: "The public is alert enough to do its own policing."

'No Violence': "Clever film cutters and trick shots can distort," he admits. "Just a camera angle can. It frightened me at first." But he has confidence in himself and his staff. "We take extreme care in the editing of our film. I did [McCarthy] no violence."

Murrow even professes wonderment at the impact of his McCarthy report. "I didn't say anything I haven't said many times before on the radio and on the Radulovich show [when he successfully opposed the Air Force expelling Lt. Milo J. Radulovich as a security risk]. I imagine it was McCarthy's words and McCarthy's picture that made the impact." And he denies that his program marked "TV's coming of age": "No single show can change the whole medium." He also disclaims any claim to courage: "It's a sad state of affairs when people think I was courageous."

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PUBLIC SERVICE
...AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE EAST

a broadcasting station or network has the same right to editorialize and the same right to independent expression as the free press . . . that the suppression of opinion and independent thought—whether it be in print or over the air waves—limits public understanding.

"When a station or network exercises its right to editorialize, however, it is vitally important for it to separate opinion from news. Opinion should be clearly labeled as such. The listener is entitled to know what he is receiving, news or opinion, and if it be opinion, whose opinion . . .

"But the execution of the policy cannot be reduced to a mathematical formula or even to a set of rigid rules which are self-executing and will cover all possible circumstances. In achieving fairness and balance, the exercise of judgment by station or network management to assure fair play must control . . . Fairness is not assured by self-sterilization—by being so frightened or nervous of the powerful impact of the medium that opinions are required to die before utterance . . .

"The fact that the air belongs to the people is irrelevant in this context. So do the mails through which the printed me-

Sponsor's Views on Murrow

A spokesman at the Aluminum Corp. of America, which sponsors See It Now, had this to say:

"This is the first time that Ed took an editorial point of view. You could point at the Radulovich story and say he did. But he did that with straight film clips and quotes. It was a straight reporting job. Here it's a little more complicated. It raised two matters: Do you like Murrow? And do you like McCarthy? There's been no pressure to drop Ed. There's been no discussion. There'll be talks held . . . This is not going to be a board meeting to discuss Ed or anything like that. And I suppose a decision of some sort will be made . . . It's something we're going to talk about, but only when it blows over. If we ever drop the show, even two years from now, people will say we did it because of that show. We originally bought the show for an institutional showcase—basically as a prestige thing. If the day ever came when we go to sell products, we'd take another kind of show. If the day ever comes to quit, we'll quit."

dium finds much of its circulation, yet no one suggests that this warrants a policy of forbidding newspaper or magazine editorials."

▶**Ted Bergmann,** managing director of the Du Mont Television Network: "On Du Mont news programs, we strive to present a true and accurate picture of men and events of the day. Our news editors and newscasters are under instruction to make their newscasts as objective, as factual, and as comprehensive as is humanly possible... But the bare outline—the headlines of the day—such as can be set forth in a five- or a fifteen-minute newscast is not enough."

▶**Rosel H. Hyde,** chairman of the FCC: "I believe editorializing on TV is acceptable, consistent with the commission's opinion that it should be fair and impartial. The question of the radio-TV commentator versus anyone who does not have the same skill at using the medium boils down to a matter of fair play."

NBC declined to comment.

The divergence of views within the industry indicates that no hard and fast rules can be laid down for the future. The consensus of authorities is that there are two choices:

1—A law that clearly establishes the rights, privileges, duties, and restrictions applying to the medium in the area of news (instead of changing and ambiguous opinions of a Federal commission) or

2—The continuance of the existing method, which means leaving the police job up to the industry itself.

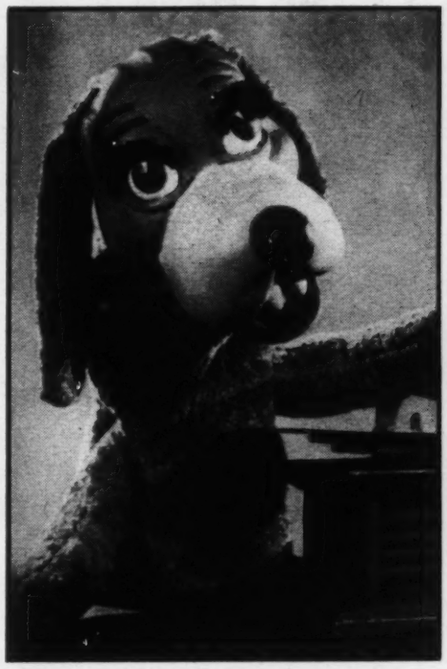
Chances are the latter course will be followed. No one expects that radio-TV will revert to the early pattern of delivering simple news bulletins to the public.

If anything, the recent Murrow shows are likely to be imitated. Television people follow a winner, and Murrow has won some popularity prizes with his treatment of news and controversy. But there is risk as well as profit in controversy. TV feels the public will decide how far the medium should go. But TV is subject to regulation. Congress has the power to step in, if it chooses, and answer, once and for all, the question: "Should television take sides?"

TV Extravaganza

Bright spot in TV coming:

A Rodgers and Hammerstein 90-minute songfest that could equal the Ford Show of last summer. Sponsored by General Foods, the program—on NBC and CBS Sunday, March 28, 8 to 9:30 p.m. EST—will include tunes from "Oklahoma!," "Carousel," "South Pacific," "The King and I," and "Me and Juliet." The singers: Mary Martin, Yul Brynner, Ezio Pinza, Tony Martin, Rosemary Clooney, and John Raitt. And, for comedy: Jack Benny, Groucho Marx, and Edgar Bergen with Charlie McCarthy.



Humphrey and Charlemane are two in a thousand

Battle in the Morning

There are no time-outs in the fight between the radio-TV chains. Having battled the competition at night and through the normal business hours, CBS is now getting up early in the morning (7 a.m.) to meet the challenge of NBC's Today. The new CBS program, The Morning Show, is a two-hour compendium of the elements that seem to be de rigueur for the early hours—news, features, interviews, remote pick-ups, the time, the weather, a little straight entertainment, and a lot of chitchat.

One difference between the two eye-openers was the critical reception. Today's debut was greeted with nearly unanimous hoots. But by last week the radio-TV editors were inured to reviewing at 7 a.m.; and, though bleary-eyed, they were gentle.

So far, the choice between the two programs is a simple one: Do you prefer Dave Garroway or Walter Cronkite? And which is more fun for breakfast, the chimp named J. Fred Muggs or the puppets manipulated by Bil and Cora Baird?

Ad-libber: Walter Cronkite's admirers, legion since his TV performance during the 1952 national conventions, can now see him in action for ten hours a week—a great improvement over the few moments he's on camera narrating You Are There. And it's just the beginning of his TV spread. Later this spring he will also film a weekly half-hour news show called Eye on the World. On that he will return to his first and chosen profession of newsman. In the morning, however, Charles Collingwood reports while Cronkite ad-libs his way through the lighter stuff. "That's the way this business has gone," he says; "you have to show your versatility." He also has to deliver commercials for the first time in his radio-TV career—and converse with Humphrey the Houn' Dog and Charlemane the Lion.

Scene Stealers: It's no chore to talk with Charlemane (who answers courtesy of Bil Baird). In fact the puppets stole all the rave notices for The Morning Show, just as Muggs sometimes steals the scene from Garroway. Although both Bil, 48, and his wife, 42, had their doubts about being the ideal competition for "that monkey"—"our work is pretty sophisticated, adult stuff"—their puppets' cavorting to recorded music hits just the right note in the morning.

With four routines to think up and work out for each show, the Bairds with their staff of ten spend all afternoon and evening trying to keep ahead. If they're lucky, a routine takes only two or three hours of rehearsal (like their wonderful spoof of Eartha Kitt singing "C'est Si Bon" in which a cat lounges on a couch, picks little men up in her teeth, and spits them out). Others that require more puppets and a lot of dancing can take nine hours to choreograph and rehearse.

With 1,000 puppets hanging all over their home and workshop (a reconverted carriage house near the Hudson River), the Bairds can let up on the designing. But finding the right songs to work with is a time-consuming chore. Love ballads are rejected. "How can you do a love ballad?" Bil asks. "We have to have songs we can satirize." And, working in the morning, the Bairds are sticking to fast music. They're taking no chances on sending anyone back to sleep. It's a safe bet they won't.

A17WX

(SSO) PMS BUDGET

MCCARTHY

BY EDMOND LE BRETON

WASHINGTON, MARCH 12 (AP)-SEN. MCCARTHY (R-WIS) HAS ACCUSED COMMENTATOR EDWARD R.MURROW OF HAVING BEEN CONNECTED WITH A MOSCOW SCHOOL DESCRIBED AS REVOLUTIONARY, AND ADLAI STEVENSON OF DEALING IN UNTRUTHS.

MURROW SAID HE ACTUALLY WAS AN ADVISER IN AN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION EXPERIMENT THE RUSSIANS CANCELLED IN 1935 BEFORE ANY SCHOOL SESSIONS WERE HELD.

THE ACCUSATIONS CAME IN THE FIRST INSTALLMENT OF MCCARTHY'S REPLY TO RECENT CRITICISM. HE HAS SAID HIS REAL REPLY WILL BE MADE A WEEK FROM TODAY. BUT LAST NIGHT HE FIRED SOME PRELIMINARY BROADSIDES AT MURROW, WHO DEVOTED HIS CBS TELEVISION SHOW TUESDAY TO A CRITICAL REVIEW OF MCCARTHY, AND STEVENSON, DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE IN 1952, WHO SOUNDED OFF AGAINST "MCCARTHYISM" WHEN HE SPOKE TO DEMOCRATS IN MIAMI BEACH SATURDAY.

MCCARTHY SPOKE LAST NIGHT ON A QUESTION AND ANSWER PROGRAM WITH FULTON LEWIS JR. ON THE MUTUAL RADIO NETWORK.

SAYING THAT MURROW, "WEEK AFTER WEEK, FEELS THAT HE MUST SMEAR MCCARTHY," HE SUGGESTED, "MAYBE MR. MURROW IS WORRIED ABOUT THE EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

MCCARTHY, SAYING HE WAS QUOTING FROM A COPY OF THE PITTSBURGH SUN-TELEGRAPH FOR FEB.18, 1935, READ A LISTING OF EDWARD R.MURROW, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, AS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION. HE QUOTED THE NEWSPAPER AS SAYING MOSCOW UNIVERSITY TAUGHT "THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER."

MURROW, IN NEW YORK, TERMED THE BROADCAST STATEMENTS "MCCARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH."

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IN A STATEMENT, MURROW SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS AN ORGANIZATION ARRANGING INTER-COUNTRY EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS, AND IN THAT CAPACITY WAS A MEMBER OF AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW. BUT HE SAID THE SCHOOL WAS CALLED OFF BY THE RUSSIANS BEFORE IT BEGAN, AND ALL THAT TOOK PLACE WAS A TOUR OF RUSSIA, IN WHICH HE DID NOT PARTICIPATE.

AS FOR STEVENSON, MCCARTHY CENTERED ON THE 1952 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S STATEMENT THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD TURNED UP ONLY ONE ALLEGED ACTIVE COMMUNIST AMONG MORE THAN TWO MILLION FEDERAL EMPLOYES.

THAT, MCCARTHY SAID, ZOF COURSE IS STRICTLY UNTRUE AND EITHER ADLAI KNEW THAT OR SHOULD KNOW IT." THE SENATOR SAID A LONG LIST COULD BE MADE. HE CITED THE NAMES OF THREE PERSONS--"ROTHSCHILD," "LEVINE" AND "POWELL"--HE SAID WERE DROPPED AS A RESULT OF INVESTIGATIONS BY HIS SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE:

EDWARD ROTHSCHILD REFUSED TO TELL THE SUBCOMMITTEE LAST YEAR WHETHER HE EVER SPIED FOR RUSSIA. HE WAS SUSPENDED FROM HIS JOB AS A BOOKBINDER FOR THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

A18WX

RUTH WIENER LEVINE RESIGNED IN DECEMBER FROM HER JOB IN A NUTLEY, N.J., LABORATORY WHICH DOES WORK FOR THE ARMY'S RADAR LABORATORIES AT FT. MONMOUTH, N.J. SHE REFUSED TO SAY WHETHER SHE CONSPIRED WITH OTHERS TO SPY, ALTHOUGH SHE DENIED SPYING HERSELF.

MCCARTHY SAID THE ARMY GOT RID OF MRS.DORIS WALTERS POWELL, A CIVILIAN EMPLOYE, AFTER SHE HAD BEEN EXPOSED AS HAVING SERVED AS SECRETARY TO A TOP U.S. COMMUNIST.

AND FINALLY, THE SENATOR SAID, HE WOULD "PREFER TO AGREE WITH LINCOLN, RATHER THAN FLANDERS."

THIS WAS A REPLY TO SEN. FLANDERS (R-VT) WHO CRITICIZED MCCARTHY IN A SENATE SPEECH PORTIONS OF WHICH LATER WERE ENDORSED BY PRESIDENT

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MCCARTHY TOOK ISSUE WITH FLANDERS' STATEMENT THAT THE REAL COMMUNIST PERIL COMES FROM ABROAD, AND QUOTED LINCOLN AS SAYING IF THE NATION IS EVER DESTROYED, IT WILL BE FROM WITHIN.

ONE RADIO STATION OWNER, J.P.RICHARDS OF WCEM, CAMBRIDGE, MD., CANCELLED THE LEWIS PROGRAM ON WHICH MCCARTHY APPEARED.

"THE WHOLE THING IS STRICTLY POLITICAL AND IS NOT SOLVING THE COMMUNIST QUESTION," SAID RICHARDS, AND HE ADDED:

"THE PUBLIC IS SATURATED WITH THE MCCARTHY-NETWORKS ARGUMENT."

THE TALK MCCARTHY HAS BILLED AS HIS REAL REPLY TO STEVENSON IS SCHEDULED FOR A WEEK FROM TODAY TO THE MILWAUKEE COUNTY COUNCIL OF COLLEGE YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUBS.

MCCARTHY HAS SAID THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE RADIO STATION, WGN, AND OTHER STATIONS HAVE OFFERED TO CARRY THE TALK. HOWEVER, HE HAS REPEATED HE WILL TAKE LEGAL ACTION IF NECESSARY TO FORCE THE CBS AND NBC NETWORKS THAT CARRIED THE STEVENSON SPEECH TO GIVE HIM EQUIVALENT TIME.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN LEONARD HALL ASKED FOR AND GOT FREE EQUIVALENT TIME FOR THE PARTY. VICE PRESIDENT NIXON WAS DESIGNATED TO MAKE THE OFFICIAL GOP REPLY TO STEVENSON TOMORROW NIGHT.

BEFORE THE RADIO SALVOS YESTERDAY, MCCARTHY'S SUBCOMMITTEE EXPERIENCED SOME INTERNAL RUMBLINGS. TWO DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS, MCCLELLAN OF ARKANSAS AND SYMINGTON OF MISSOURI, QUESTIONED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN MISTAKEN IDENTITY IN THE CASE OF MRS. ANNIE LEE MOSS, A CIVILIAN EMPLOYE OF THE ARMY, WHO DENIED TO THE GROUP THAT SHE IS OR EVER WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

A19WX

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A19WX

MCCARTHY HAD TOLD THE MIDDLE-AGED NEGRO THE SUBCOMMITTEE WAS INTERESTED IN LEARNING WHY HER SUPERIORS, KNOWING HER "COMMUNIST RECORD," SHIFTED HER FROM A CAFETERIA JOB TO ONE IN A CODE ROOM.

MRS. MARY S. MARKWARD, A FORMER UNDERCOVER INFORMANT FOR THE FBI, EARLIER TESTIFIED SHE KNEW AN ANNIE LEE MOSS AS A COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER, BUT THAT SHE COULD NOT SAY FOR CERTAIN THIS WAS THE SAME PERSON AS THE SIGNAL CORPS EMPLOYE.

THE COMMITTEE WAS INFORMED THERE WERE OTHER PERSONS BY THAT NAME IN THE WASHINGTON AREA.

MCCLELLAN AND SYMINGTON PROTESTED AGAINST "CONVICTING PEOPLE BY HEARSAY AND INNUENDO" WHEN ROY COHN, THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S CHIEF COUNSEL, INJECTED A STATEMENT THAT A WITNESS WHO APPEARED AT A CLOSED SESSION "KNEW SHE WAS A COMMUNIST." SEN. MUNDT (R-SD), TELLING COHN HE OBJECTED TO HEARSAY EVIDENCE, ORDERED THE REMARK STRICKEN. MUNDT WAS PRESIDING IN MCCARTHY'S TEMPORARY ABSENCE.

SYMINGTON TOLD MRS. MOSS HE THOUGHT SHE WAS TELLING THE TRUTH AND OFFERED TO HELP HER GET A JOB IF THE SUSPENSION OF HER ARMY EMPLOYMENT BECAME PERMANENT.

IN NEW YORK, JOHN J. MCCLOY, FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF WAR, TOOK ISSUE WITH A STATEMENT BY MCCARTHY THAT "UNDESIRABLES" HAD BEEN ADMITTED TO THE ARMY UNDER A WARTIME POLICY WHICH MCCARTHY CALLED THE "MCCLOY ORDER."

MCCLOY SAID HE COULD RECALL NO SUCH ORDER HE ISSUED BUT THAT THERE WAS A WARTIME STAFF POLICY WHICH FORBADE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SOLDIERS "WHOSE LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES WAS AFFIRMATIVELY DETERMINED BY THEIR COMMANDING OFFICERS, EVEN THOUGH THEIR PRIOR ASSOCIATION OR THAT OF THEIR RELATIVES WAS KNOWN OR SUSPECTED."

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MCCLOY, NOW BOARD CHAIRMAN OF THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK, SAID THIS POLICY WAS "ENTIRELY SOUND" AND THAT AMONG THE MEN AFFECTED HE DID NOT KNOW OF "A SINGLE DEFECTION, AND THERE WERE MANY WHO WERE DECORATED FOR VALOR AND NOT A FEW WHO WERE KILLED IN ACTION."

MCCLOY SAID THAT NOT ONLY SOLDIERS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS WERE AFFECTED BY THE POLICY BUT ALSO SOME UNDER SUSPICION BECAUSE OF CONTACTS WITH GERMAN AND JAPANESE GROUPS.

CZ326AES

LB

TXA5 MCCARTHY

BY LARRY AULDRIDGE

WASHINGTON, MARCH 12--(INS)--SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY DESCRIBED CHARGES AGAINST HIM BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON AS "COMPLETELY VALSE" AND DECLARED OPEN WARFARE TODAY ON RADIO-TELEVISION COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW.

HE ATTACKED BOTH MEN LAST NIGHT IN A RADIO INTERVIEW WITH MUTUAL NETWORK COMMENTATOR FULTON LEWIS, JR., AND LATER TOLD NEWSMEN HE WILL HAVE MORE TO SAY ABOUT STEVENSON IN A MARCH 19 MILWAUKEE SPEECH TO BE CARRIED OVER A RADIO NETWORK OF INDEPENDENT STATIONS.

IN LASHING OUT AT CBS NEWSCASTER MURROW FOR CRITICIZING HIM TUESDAY NIGHT ON HIS TELEVISED "SEE IT NOW" PROGRAM, THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN SAID THE COMMENTATOR MIGHT BE TRYING TO "SMEAR" HIM BECAUSE "HE IS WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

MURROW SAID HE COULD "DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH SEN. MCCARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH" ON HIS CBS-RADIO PROGRAM AT 7.45PM (EST) TONIGHT.

MEANWHILE, THERE WERE THESE OTHER DEVELOPMENTS:

1. A SUSPENDED ARMY SIGNAL CORPS EMPLOYE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SENATE INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE, WHICH MCCARTHY HEADS, THAT SHE HAD BEEN FALSELY ACCUSED OF BEING A COMMUNIST AND WAS NEVER ASSIGNED TO THE PENTAGON CODE ROOM AS HAD BEEN CHARGED.

2. THE WOMAN, MRS. ANNIE LEE MOSS, WON DRAMATIC SUPPORT FROM DEMOCRATIC SENATORS, AND SEN. STUART SYMINGTON, MO., AIR SECRETARY DURING THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION, DECLARED HE WOULD GET HER A NEW JOB IF SHE WERE NOT REINSTATED.

3. SENATE REPUBLICANS WERE REPORTED URGING THE DISMISSAL OF ROY M. COHN AS CHIEF COUNSEL FOR THE INVESTIGATIONS GROUP, AND DEMOCRATS DURING THE MOSS HEARING ACCUSED HIM OF USING "HEARSAY, RUMOR AND UNNUENDO."

4. AN ARMY REPORT TO SEVERAL SENATORS CHARGED COHN HAD THREATENED TO "WRECK THE ARMY" AND FORCE THE OUSTER OF ARMY SECRETARY ROBERT T. STEVENS UNLESS PVT. G. DAVID SCHINE, ANOTHER COMMITTEE AIDE WAS GIVEN PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

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5. DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN STEPHEN A. MITCHELL SAID IN CHICAGO THAT MCCARTHY'S RADIO INTERVIEW WITH LEWIS WAS "DULL AS DISHWATER" AND THAT "APPARENTLY THE SENATOR HAS RUN OUT OF POISON GAS."

6. IN A REPLY TO SEN. RALPH E. FLANDERS (R) VT., WHO DECLARED THAT MCCARTHY WAS DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE ETG GA THE MOSS

THE MOSS HEARING ACCUSED HIM OF USING "HEARSAY, RUMOR AND UNNUENDO."

4. AN ARMY REPORT TO SEVERAL SENATORS CHARGED COHN HAD THREATENED TO "WRECK THE ARMY" AND FORCE THE OUSTER OF ARMY SECRETARY ROBERT T. STEVENS UNLESS PVT. G. DAVID SCHINE, ANOTHER COMMITTEE AIDE WAS GIVEN PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

5. DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN STEPHEN A. MITCHELL SAID IN CHICAGO THAT MCCARTHY'S RADIO INTERVIEW WITH LEWIS WAS "DULL AS DISHWATER" AND THAT "APPARENTLY THE SENATOR HAS RUN OUT OF POISON GAS."

6. IN A REPLY TO SEN. RALPH E. FLANDERS (R) VT., WHO DECLARED THAT MCCARTHY WAS DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE DANGER OF COMMUNISTS ABROAD AND THE REAL DANGER IS FROM WITHOUT AND NOT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, MCCARTHY CITED A QUOTATION FROM ABRAHAM LINCOLN. HE SAID LINCOLN WARNED: "IF THIS NATION IS EVER DESTROYED, IT WILL BE FROM WITHIN," AND "I PREFER TO AGREE WITH LINCOLN RATHER THAN FLANDERS."

(MORE) 422AKN

LB

TXA6 ADD ONE MCCARTHY (AULDRIDGE) WASHN XXX FLANDERS."

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN HIT BACK AT THREE OF HIS CRITICS--STEVENSON, MURROW AND FLANDERS--IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH LEWIS AND CHARGED THAT THE CBS NEWSMAN AND COMMENTATOR WAS ONCE A MEMBER OF A LEFT-WING ORGANIZATION.

MCCARTHY CITED A QUOTATION FROM THE PITSBURGH SUN-TELEGRAPH, DATED FEB. 18, 1935, WHICH CONNECTED MURROW WITH THE "MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION," AND SAID THE UNIVERSITY TAUGHT "THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER."

LATER, MURROW SAID HE WAS AN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN 1935, AND IN THAT CAPACITY SERVED AS "A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW."

THE CBS NEWSMAN DESCRIBED THE INSTITUTE AS AN ORGANIZATION "ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES" AND SAID THE SUMMER SCHOOL "WAS CANCELLED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN."

MCCARTHY HIT AT STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE GOP IS SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE AND AT THE SAME TIME RESERVED THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE FELLOW-REPUBLICANS.

HE SAID: "I DON'T THINK A NATION CAN SURVIVE IF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES SAY WE MUST HAVE CONFORMITY, WE MUST HAVE UNITY, ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE."

THE WISCONSIN SENATOR SAID HE WAS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE INVITATION TO REPLY TO STEVENSON IN MORE DETAIL OVER AN INDPENDENT RADIO NETWORK ON MARCH 19 BECAUSE CBS AND NBC NETWORKS DENIED HIM FREE TIME TO REPLY TO THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER.

BOTH NETWORKS OFFERED TIME FOR A REPLY TO STEVENSON TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WHICH NAMED VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON AS ITS SPOKESMAN. NIXON WILL TALK FROM 10.30 TO 11PM EST., SATURDAY NIGHT.

428AKN

NX9

WITH MCCARTHY

(MURROW)

NEW YORK, MARCH 12--(UP)--EDWARD R. MURROW SAID HE WOULD TAKE TIME ON HIS RADIO PROGRAM TONIGHT TO DEAL WITH SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S "LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH."

MCCARTHY ATTACKED THE CBS NEWS COMMENTATOR ON THE RADIO LAST NIGHT, CHARGING THAT MURROW WAS ONE OF THE "EXTREME LEFT WING BLEEDING HEART ELEMENTS OF TELEVISION AND RADIO."

THE WISCONSIN SENATOR WAS REPLYING TO AN ATTACK BY MURROW ON THE LATTER'S "SEE IT NOW" TELEVISION SHOW ON TUESDAY NIGHT. MURROW HAD ACCUSED MCCARTHY OF REPEATEDLY "STEPPING OVER THE LINE BETWEEN INVESTIGATING AND PERSECUTING."

MCCARTHY, INTERVIEWED BY FULTON LEWIS, JR., ON A MUTUAL RADIO NETWORK PROGRAM, CITED A FEB. 18, 1935, CLIPPING FROM THE PITTSBURGH SUN-TELEGRAPH TO SHOW THAT MURROW ONCE WAS "ON THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY."

THAT UNIVERSITY, MCCARTHY SAID, TAUGHT "THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER."

"THAT MAY EXPLAIN," THE SENATOR SAID, "WHY MURROW WEEK AFTER WEEK FEELS THAT HE MUST SMEAR MCCARTHY. MAYBE HE FEELS THAT...HE SHOULD WORRRY ABOUT THE EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

IN REPLY MURROW SAID LAST NIGHT:

"IN 1935 I WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, AN ORGANIZATION ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES. IN THIS CAPACITY I WAS A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW.

"IN ACTUAL FACT THE SUMMER SCHOOL WAS CANCELED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN. THOSE GRADUATE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS WHO HAD SIGNED UP FOR THE SCHOOL SPENT THE SUMMER TRAVELING IN THE SOVIET UNION, AN ACTIVITY WHICH WAS NOT THEN AND IS NOT NOW ILLEGAL. I DID NOT ACCOMPANY THIS GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS."

MCCARTHY ALSO CHARGED THAT MURROW HAD "NOT TOLD THE TRUTH" WHEN HE SAID ON THE TV PROGRAM THAT MCCARTHY WRONGLY LABELED THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AS "SUBVERSIVE."

THAT UNIVERSITY, MCCARTHY SAID, TAUGHT "THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER."

"THAT MAY EXPLAIN," THE SENATOR SAID, "WHY MURROW WEEK AFTER WEEK FEELS THAT HE MUST SMEAR MCCARTHY. MAYBE HE FEELS THAT...HE SHOULD WORRRY ABOUT THE EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

IN REPLY MURROW SAID LAST NIGHT:

"IN 1935 I WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, AN ORGANIZATION ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES. IN THIS CAPACITY I WAS A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW.

"IN ACTUAL FACT THE SUMMER SCHOOL WAS CANCELED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN. THOSE GRADUATE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS WHO HAD SIGNED UP FOR THE SCHOOL SPENT THE SUMMER TRAVELING IN THE SOVIET UNION, AN ACTIVITY WHICH WAS NOT THEN AND IS NOT NOW ILLEGAL. I DID NOT ACCOMPANY THIS GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS."

MCCARTHY ALSO CHARGED THAT MURROW HAD "NOT TOLD THE TRUTH" WHEN HE SAID ON THE TV PROGRAM THAT MCCARTHY WRONGLY LABELED THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AS "SUBVERSIVE."

MCCARTHY SAID THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HAD BEEN CITED AS A "COMMUNIST-FRONT" BY THE CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

IN REPLY TO THIS, MURROW POINTED OUT HE SPECIFICALLY STATED ON THE TV BROADCAST THAT THE ACL HAD NEVER BEEN CITED ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS, BY THE FBI, OR BY "ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY."

AFTER THE MCCARTHY BROADCAST, A DELUGE OF TELEPHONE CALLS HIT MANY RADIO STATIONS ON THE MUTUAL NETWORK ACROSS THE COUNTRY. BY MIDNIGHT, STATION WOR IN NEW YORK HAD TABULATED 934 CALLS SUPPORTING MCCARTHY AND 334 CRITICIZING HIM.

IN WASHINGTON, STATION WWDC, IN WHOSE STUDIOS THE INTERVIEW ORIGINATED, REPORTED 119 TELEPHONE CALLS, OF WHICH 31 SUPPORTED THE SENATOR AND 88 OPPOSED HIM.

HZ432A

A-136

CORRECTION

(NY) WASHINGTON--FIRST LEAD MCCARTHY 15TH GRAF (A134 INSERT) STARTING "A GROUP OF "DISTINGUISHED" READ X X X WHICH WAS NOT THEN AND IS NOT NOW ILLEGAL (INSERTING "NOT").

THE AP

KL1146PES

A137BX

A134

EDITORS:

(NY) WASHINGTON--FIRST LEAD MC CARTHY (A73), INSERT AFTER 11TH GRAF (COUNTING A88 INSERT) BEGINNING "WHEN X X X HALF-TRUTH."

MURROW THEN ISSUED ANOTHER STATEMENT IN WHICH HE SPOKE OF "MC CARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH."

MURROW SAID HE WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, "AN ORGANIZATION ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES" IN 1935.

HE SAID THAT "IN THIS CAPACITY" HE WAS A MEMBER OF "THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW" WHICH WAS CALLED OFF BY THE RUSSIANS BEFORE IT BEGAN.

A GROUP OF "DISTINGUISHED EDUCATORS" INSTEAD SPENT THE SUMMER TRAVELING IN THE SOVIET UNION, "AN ACTIVITY WHICH WAS NOT THEN AND IS NOT NOW ILLEGAL," MURROW SAID, BUT HE DID NOT ACCOMPANY THEM.

MCCARTHY IN HIS BROADCAST ALSO ACCUSED MURROW OF "NOT TELLING THE TRUTH" IN SAYING THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HAD NOT BEEN LISTED AS A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION. MCCARTHY SAID IT HAD BEEN SO LISTED BY THE "UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE IN CALIFORNIA."

OF THE ACLU, MURROW SAID THAT ON HIS BROADCAST TUESDAY HE "SPECIFICALLY STATED 'THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST,' 'THE FBI,' AND 'ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY'" HAD NOT LISTED THE ACLU AS SUBVERSIVE.

SOME OF X X X 12TH GRAPH.

KL1141PES

(WASHINGTON)--SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY SAID TONIGHT HE HAS DISAGREED WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND WILL DISAGREE WITH THEM AGAIN BECAUSE, HE SAID, HE PLACES COUNTRY ABOVE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. MC CARTHY DID NOT MENTION PRESIDENT EISENHOWER Y NAME, BUT HE SAID... "I THINK WE SHOULD REALIZE THAT NO MATTER HOW GOOD A PARTY IS, IT CANNOT HAVE A THOUSAND BATTING AVERAGE."

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(AGAIN, WASHINGTON)---MC CARTHY MADE THE STATEMENTS DURING AN INTERVIEW WITH RADIO COMMENTATOR FULTON LEWIS, JUNIOR. HE DENIED CHARGES---LABELING THEM "COMPLETELY FALSE"---THAT HE HAS NOT UNCOVERED ANY COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE HAS FOUND A "LONG LIST" OF REDS AND CITED THREE CASES---TWO OF THEM. PERSONS WHO HAD REFUSED TO ANSWER COMMITTEE QUESTIONS.

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UP135

NSERT

EDITORS:

IN SEVENTH ROUNDUP (MC CARTHY), PLS INSERT FOLLOWING AFTER 5TH PGH X X X HIS FRIENDS."

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MURROW LATER CALLED THIS "SENATOR MC CARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH." HE SAID THE MOSCOW SCHOOL NEVER WAS HELD. ALTHOUGH THE EDUCATORS CHOSEN TO ATTEND WENT ON A TOUR OF RUSSIA, MURROW DID N O T GO ALONG.

MA1057P3/11

UPR137

(MURROW)

NEW YORK---C-B-S COMMENTATOR AND BOARD MEMBER EDWARD R. MURROW AS ACCUSED SENATOR MC CARTHY OF "RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH" IN C CARTHY'S BROADCAST ATTACK ON MURROW TONIGHT.

MURROW BROADCAST A HALF-HOUR CRITICISM OF MC CARTHY'S TECHNIQUES ON TUESDAY NIGHT---CHARGING HIM, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WITH USING HALF-TRUTHS TO DECEIVE THE PUBLIC. TONIGHT, MC CARTHY ATTACKED MURROW, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM COMMENTATOR FULTON LEWIS, JUNIOR.

MC CARTHY SAID MURROW HAD BEEN CHOSEN AN "ADVISER" TO THE SUMMER SESSION OF THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY, WHICH---MC CARTHY SAID---TAUGHT THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER.

MURROW REPLIED THE SENATOR WAS ENGAGING IN HIS "TOO FAMILIAR TECHNIQUE."

MURROW SAID IT'S TRUE HE WAS A MEMBER OF AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW. THAT WAS A RESULT OF HIS BEING AN OFFICER IN AN ORGANIZATION FOR EXCHANGING STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SEVERAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BUT, SAID MURROW---"IN ACTUAL FACT, THE SUMMER SCHOOL WAS CANCELLED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN. THOSE GRADUATE STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS WHO HAD SIGNED UP...SPENT THE SUMMER TRAVELING IN THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH WAS NOT THEN AND IS NOT NOW ILLEGAL. I DID NOT ACCOMPANY THIS GROUP..."

MORE MA1109P3/11

UPR138

THE TWELFTH WORLD-IN-BRIEF

-0-

THE LATEST NEWS FROM THE WIRES OF UNITED PRESS RADIO...."THE WORLD'S BEST COVERAGE OF THE WORLD'S BIGGEST NEWS."

SENATOR MC CARTHY SAYS IT IS A "TRUMAN-STEVENSON THEORY THAT YOU MUST...AT ALL COSTS...PLACE PARTY ABOVE COUNTRY, GO ALONG WITH YOUR PARTY, EVEN AS MAKING MISTAKES." MC CARTHY MADE THE STATEMENT TONIGHT DURING A RADIO INTERVIEW IN ANSWERING RECENT CRITICISM FROM ADLAI STEVENSON, G-O-P SENATOR RALPH FLANDERS AND C-B-S COMMENTATOR EDWARD MURROW. MC CARTHY SAID THAT HE HAS DISAGREED WITH OTHER REPUBLICANS IN THE PAST AND EXPECTS TO "DISAGREE WITH THEM AGAIN."

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OF EDWARD MURROW, MC CARTHY SAID TONIGHT HE SERVED ON THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY IN 1935. MC CARTHY READ A CLIPPING WHICH SAID THE UNIVERSITY "TAUGHT THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER." MC CARTHY ADDED---"MAYBE MR. MURROW IS WORRIED ABOUT THE EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS." MURROW REPLIED THAT THE SUMMER SCHOOL SESSION WAS CANCELLED...THAT HE DID NOT GO TO RUSSIA. MURROW CALLED THIS---AND MC CARTHY'S LATEST REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION---"RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH."

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PR140

MORE MURROW XXX GROUP..."

MCCARTHY ALSO ACCUSED MURROW OF LYING IN HIS DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, WHICH MCCARTHY HAS ATTACKED AS A SUBVERSIVE GROUP. MCCARTHY POINTED OUT THAT A COMMITTEE OF THE CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE HAS LISTED THE A-C-L-U AS A "COMMUNIST FRONT."

MURROW REPLIED BY QUOTING THE EXACT WORDS OF HIS BROADCAST, THUS: "THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST DOES NOT AND HAS NEVER LISTED THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AS SUBVERSIVE, NOR DOES THE F-B-I NOR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY." THERE WAS NO MENTION OF STATE LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

MURROW'S QUOTATION ALSO NOTED "THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HOLDS IN ITS FILES LETTERS AND COMMENDATIONS FROM PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND GENERAL MAC ARTHUR."

MURROW PROMISED A MORE COMPLETE ANSWER TO MCCARTHY'S STATEMENTS ON HIS REGULAR BROADCAST TOMORROW NIGHT.

CM1125P 3/11

SENATOR MC CARTHY APPEARED LAST NIGHT, AS GUEST ON THE NEWS PROGRAM OF FULTON LEWIS, JUNIOR ON THE MUTUAL NETWORK. HE DENIED CHARGES HE NEVER HAD FOUND ANY COMMUNISTS IN GOVERNMENT...AND CITED THREE CASES OUT OF WHAT HE CALLED A "LONG LIST." TWO OF THEM WERE, WHAT HE HAS LABELED "FIFTH AMENDMENT COMMUNISTS"---PEOPLE WHO CITE THE FIFTH AMENDMENT RATHER THAN ANSWER HIS QUESTIONS.

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HE ALSO ATTACKED C-B-S COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW, OF C-B-S WHO CARRIED A PROGRAM CIRITIZING MC CARTHY ON TUESDAY. MC CARTHY PRODUCED A NEWSPAPER CLIPPING SAYING MURROW HAD BEEN CHOSEN AS AN ADVISER TO A SUMMER SESSION OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY IN 1935. THE UNIVERSITY, HE SAID, TEACHES "THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE ENTIRE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER." MURROW REPLIED LATER THAT HE HAD BEEN SO CHOSEN AS A RESULT OF HIS WORK WITH A STUDENT AND PROFESSOR EXCHANGE PROGRAM INVOLVING ALL COUNTRIES. BUT---MURROW CONTINUED---THAT MOSCOW ESSION NEVER WAS HELD. THE REDS CALLED IT OFF.

LB

TX49N THIRD LEAD MCCARTHY (OPTIONAL)

BY ALVIN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11--(INS)--SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R) WIS., CHARGED TONIGHT THAT ADLAI E. STEVENSON MADE "COMPLETELY FALSE" STATEMENTS ABOUT HIM AND ACCUSED RADIO-TV COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW OF ONETIME MEMBERSHIP IN A LEFT-WING ORGANIZATION.

COMMENTING ON AN ATTACK ON HIM BY SEN. RALPH FLANDERS (R) VT., MCCARTHY ALSO CHALLENGED FLANDERS' STATEMENT THAT THE GREATEST COMMUNIST THREAT WAS FROM ABROAD.

MCCARTHY QUOTED ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS SAYING THE GREATEST DANGER OF DESTRUCTION IS FROM WITHIN AND ADDED THAT "I PREFER TO AGREE WITH LINCOLN RATHER THAN FLANDERS."

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN'S REPLY TO HIS THREE CRITICS WAS MADE IN A 15-MINUTE INTERVIEW AT 7PM EST WITH FULTON LEWIS, JR., OVER THE MUTUAL NETWORK.

HE QUOTED FROM A 1935 NEWSPAPER CLIPPING NAMING MURROW AS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY'S SUMMER SESSION AND SAID MURROW "SMEARSMCCARTHY" BECAUSE HE MIGHT BE "WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

IN NEW YORK, MURROW SAID HE WAS AN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND IN THAT CAPACITY SERVED AS "A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW."

MURROW, WHO DESCRIBED THE INSTITUTE AS AN ORGANIZATION "ENGAGED IN

DESTRUCTION IS FROM WITHIN AND ADDED THAT "I PREFER TO AGREE WITH LINCOLN RATHER THAN FLANDERS."

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN'S REPLY TO HIS THREE CRITICS WAS MADE IN A 15-MINUTE INTERVIEW AT 7PM EST WITH FULTON LEWIS, JR., OVER THE MUTUAL NETWORK.

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IN NEW YORK, MURROW SAID HE WAS AN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND IN THAT CAPACITY SERVED AS "A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW."

MURROW, WHO DESCRIBED THE INSTITUTE AS AN ORGANIZATION "ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES," SAID THE SUMMER SCHOOL "WAS CANCELLED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN."

HE PROMISED TO "DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH SEN. MCCARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH" ON HIS CBS-RADIO PROGRAM TOMORROW AT 7.45PM EST.

MCCARTHY, HOWEVER, SAID THE SUMMER SESSION WAS "DEDICATED TO VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER," AND ADDED: "THIS MAY EXPLAIN WHY EDWARD R. MURROW FEELS HE MUST WEEK AFTER WEEK SMEAR MCCARTHY."

HE CONTINUED: "MAYBE...HAVING BEEN ON THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY...IT MAY BE MR. MURROW IS WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS...I DON'T KNOW."

HE ALSO REPLIED TO STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE GOP IS SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN MCCARTHY AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER," ADDING:

"I DON'T THINK A NATION CAN SURVIVE IF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES SAY WE MUST HAVE CONFORMITY, WE MUST HAVE UNITY ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE."

MCCARTHY HAS SAID HE WILL ELABORATE ON THIS MARCH 19 IN A MILWAUKEE SPEECH WHICH WILL BE AIRED BY A NETWORK OF INDEPENDENT RADIO STATIONS.

HE SAID HE IS TAKING THIS COURSE BECAUSE THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO. AND CBS HAVE REJECTED HIS REQUEST FOR EQUAL TIME TO ANSWER THEIR RADIO-TV COVERAGE OF STEVENSON'S SPEECH LAST SATURDAY.

(PICKUP 16TH PGH SECOND LEAD XXX HE SAID HE HOPED ETC.)

146AKN

TXN31 BULLETIN FIRST NIGHT LEAD MCCARTHY

BY ALVIN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11--(INS)--SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY BRANDED AS "STRICTLY UNTRUE" AND "COMPLETELY FALSE" TONIGHT THE CHARGES MADE BY ADLAI E. STEVENSON LAST SATURDAY IN AN ATTACK UPON HIM AND THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION.

MCCARTHY ALSO HIT BACK AT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW'S CRITICISM OF HIM ON TELEVISION TUESDAY NIGHT. HE SAID MURROW MAY BE "WORRIED ABOUT" EXPOSURE OF COMMUNISTS BECAUSE HE FEARS IT MIGHT AFFECT "SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

(MORE) 721PCO

TXN32 ADD ONE FIRST NIGHT LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN X X X FRIENDS."

MCCARTHY MADE HIS COMMENTS IN AN INTERVIEW WITH FULTON LEWIS, JR., ON THE LATTER'S 15-MINUTE MUTUAL NETWORK PROGRAM.

ASKED BY LEWIS WHAT HE HAD TO SAY ABOUT "THE STEVENSON STORY" IN GENERAL, MCCARTHY LIKENED THE 1952 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE TO A FARMER WHO FIGHTS EFFORTS TO CLEAN A BARN BECAUSE HE DISAGREES ON HOW IT SHOULD BE DONE.

MCCARTHY APPEARED ON LEWIS' PROGRAM TO GIVE PARTIAL ANSWER TO STEVENSON'S SATURDAY NIGHT SPEECH BEFORE A MEETING OF DEMOCRATS AT MIAMI BEACH.

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN ANNOUNCED HE WILL GIVE A DETAILED REPLY MARCH 19 IN MILWAUKEE.

ON THE LATTER'S 15-MINUTE MUTUAL NETWORK PROGRAM.

ASKED BY LEWIS WHAT HE HAD TO SAY ABOUT "THE STEVENSON STORY" IN GENERAL, MCCARTHY LIKENED THE 1952 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE TO A FARMER WHO FIGHTS EFFORTS TO CLEAN A BARN BECAUSE HE DISAGREES ON HOW IT SHOULD BE DONE.

MCCARTHY APPEARED ON LEWIS' PROGRAM TO GIVE PARTIAL ANSWER TO STEVENSON'S SATURDAY NIGHT SPEECH BEFORE A MEETING OF DEMOCRATS AT MIAMI BEACH.

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN ANNOUNCED HE WILL GIVE A DETAILED REPLY MARCH 19 IN MILWAUKEE.

RESPONDING TO STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION HAS FOUND ONLY ONE COMMUNIST OUT OF TWO MILLION FEDERAL EMPLOYES BUT HAS CLAIMED TO HAVE DISCOVERED MORE, MCCARTHY LISTED THREE ALLEGED COMMUNISTS HE SAID WERE UPROOTED BY HIS OWN INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

(MORE) 725PCO

MMMMMMMMMMMMTXN33 ADD TWO FIRST NIGHT LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN

X X X SUBCOMMITTEE.

MCCARTHY NOTED THAT THE TRIO WERE SUSPENDED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AFTER THEY REFUSED TO TELL HIS COMMITTEE WHETHER THEY WERE REDS. HE SAID HE "COULD GO DOWN THE LINE INDEFINITELY" BUT SUMMED UP BY SAYING: "I THINK THAT SHOWS HOW FALSE MR. STEVENSON'S STATEMENTS WERE."

AS FOR STEVENSON'S CRITICISM OF GOP ORATORS WHO SUGGESTED THAT REDS HAD BEEN PLANTED IN THE GOVERNMENT BY DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS, MCCARTHY ANSWERED BY QUOTING FROM A NEW YORK FEDERAL GRAND JURY'S PRESENTMENT ON ALLEGED AMERICAN REDS WORKING FOR THE UNITED NATIONS.

MCCARTHY SAID THE PRESENTMENT REPORTED THESE SUBVERSIVES HAD COME UP THROUGH THE RANKS OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT AS THE RESULT OF WHAT MUST HAVE BEEN "PART OF A DEFINITE PLANNED PATTERN."

MCCARTHY COMMENTED FIRMLY ON STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE GOP IS DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF -- HALF MCCARTHY AND HALF EISENHOWER.

THE SENATOR SAID: "I DON'T THINK A NATION CAN SURVIVE IF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES SAY THEY MUST HAVE CONFORMITY, MUST HAVE UNITY ABOVE ALL ELSE."

(MORE) 730PCO

TX ADD

TXN34 ADD THREE FIRST NIGHT LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN X X X

CONFORMITY.

HE SAID THAT WAS THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE "TRUMAN-STEPHENSON" ADMINISTRATION AND INSISTED THAT "NO MATTER HOW GOOD A PARTY IS, IT CAN'T HAVE A ONE-THOUSAND PER CENT BATTING AVERAGE."

MCCARTHY SAID THAT STEVENSON'S IMPLIED ACCUSATION THAT MCCARTHY IS WARRING AGAINST THE ARMY IS "COMPLETELY FALSE IN LINE WITH THE SPEECH"

THE SENATOR REPEATED HIS PAST INSISTENCE THAT HE AND HIS SUBCOMMITTEE ARE "HELPING THE ARMY DIG OUT" THE FEW SUBVERSIVES IN ITS RANKS.

MORE 734PCO

BZ TX

IF MURROW'S CBS RADIO SHOW AT 7:45 HEARD IN TX, PLS MONITOR IF POSSIBLE

RRM HN 3/11/'02/734PBR

TXN35 ADD FOUR FIRST NIGHT LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN X X X

RANKS.

HE SAID: "THIS IS NO CONTEST AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ARMY."

MCCARTHY REPLIED PRINCIPALLY TO MURROW'S CHARGE THAT HE ERRED IN BRANDING THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION AS SUBVERSIVE. THE SENATOR SAID THE ACLU HAD BEEN SO LABELED BY CALIFORNIA'S UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE.

MURROW OFFERED MCCARTHY EQUAL AIR TIME TO ANSWER THE CRITICISMS LEVELED IN THE PROGRAM, WHICH THE SENATOR HAS SAID HE DID NOT SEE. MCCARTHY HAS SAID HE WOULD ACCEPT THE TIME "IF NO STRINGS ARE ATTACHED."

COMMENTING ON THE CHARGE BY SEN. RALPH E. FLANDERS (R) VT., THAT HE WAS TRYING TO SHATTER THE GOP AND IS DIVERTING NATIONAL ATTENTION FROM THREATS FROM ABROAD, MCCARTHY SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO GO ALONG WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WHO SAID:

"IF THIS NATION IS TO BE DESTROYED, IT WILL BE FROM WITHIN."

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN BEAT VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON TO THE GUN IN THE "ANSWER STEVENSON" RACE BY SPEAKING TO THE NATION AT 7 P.M. EST ON LEWIS' PROGRAM.

(PICK UP THIRD PARA EARLY BEGINNING X X X NIXON WAS ETC.)

750PCO

SPLIT

K

TXN37 BULLETIN INSERT FIRST LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN AFTER 4TH PGH X X X BE DONE. (IN TXN31)

MCCARTHY SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER THE "SPECIFIC ATTACK" MURROW MADE ON HIM DURING HIS NATIONALLY-TELEVISED "SEE IT NOW" PROGRAM BECAUSE HE HAS TROUBLE KEEPING UP WITH "THE EXTREME LEFT-WING . . . ELEMENTS OF RADIO AND TELEVISION."

MCCARTHY QUOTED FROM A 1935 CLIPPING FROM THE PITTSBURGH SUN-TELEGRAPH WHICH, HE SAID, NAMED MURROW AS AN AMERICAN ADVISOR TO A MOSCOW UNIVERSIT SUMMER SESSION WHICH THE SENATOR SAID WAS DEDICATED TO "VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL ORDER."

MCCARTHY SAID "THIS MAY EXPLAIN WHY EDWARD R. MURROW FEELS HE MUST WEEK AFTER WEEK SMEAR MCCARTHY" AND HE ADDED:

"MAYBE . . . HAVING BEEN ON THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY . . . IT MAY BE MR. MURROW IS WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS. I DON'T KNOW."

(END INSERT)

818PCO

TXN38 BULLETIN DIVL MCCARTHY

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11--(INS)--THE TABULATION OF TELEPHONE CALLS WERE RUNNING THREE-TO-ONE AGAINST SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R) WIS. TONIGHT AFTER HIS RADIO INTERVIEW.

RADIO STATION WWDC, MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM'S WASHINGTON OUTLET, SAID THAT AT 8 P.M. EST, 45 MINUTES AFTER THE BROADCAST, ITS TELEPHONE COUNT WAS 82 CALLS AGAINST MCCARTHY AND 30 FOR.

819PCO

HN41N ADD ONE DIVL MCCARTHY XXX 30 FOR.

(AT THE SAME HOUR, MUTUAL'S NEW YORK STATION WOR, SAID THEIR CALLS WERE TABULATED AT 666 FOR MCCARTHY AND 269 AGAINST.

(EDWARD R. MURROW, THE CBS COMMENTATOR ATTACKED BY MCCARTHY DURING THE INTERVIEW, HAD NO IMMEDIATE COMMENT. MURROW MADE NO REFERENCE TO MCCARTHY'S ACCUSATIONS ON HIS REGULARLY SCHEDULED CBS RADIO NEWS SHOW WHICH WENT ON THE AIR A HALF HOUR AFTER MCCARTHY WENT OFF.)

838PBR

TXN39 BULLETIN SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY

BY ALVIN SPIVAK

WASHINGTON, MARCH 11--(INS)--SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY ACCUSED ADLAI E. STEVENSON OF FALSEHOODS TONIGHT AND LAUNCHED A "LEFT-WING" CHARGE AGAINST RADIO-TELEVISION COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW.

THE WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN SAID STEVENSON MADE "COMPLETELY FALSE" CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION IN A SPEECH SATURDAY WHICH WAS CARRIED ON TWO MAJOR RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORKS.

THE SENATOR QUOTED FROM A 1935 NEWSPAPER CLIPPING NAMING MURROW AS A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL AT MOSCOW UNIVERSITY'S SUMMER SESSION AND SAID MURROW "SMEARS MCCARTHY" BECAUSE HE MIGHT BE "WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS."

MCCARTHY MADE HIS INITIAL RADIO COUNTER-ATTACK ON THE PAIR IN AN INTERVIEW WITH FULTON LEWIS, JR., ON THE LATTER'S 15-MINUTE MUTUAL NETWORK PROGRAM AT 7 P.M. (EST).

A HALF-HOUR AFTER THE LEWIS PROGRAM WAS OVER, MURROW BEGAN HIS OWN 15-MINUTE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NEWSCAST AND READ A NEWS DISPATCH ON MCCARTHY'S COMMENTS AS THE FINAL ITEM. HE SAID HE WOULD "WAIT FOR ANOTHER TIME" TO REPLY.

IN REPLY TO STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE GOP IS SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN MCCARTHY AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, MCCARTHY SAID:

"I DON'T THINK A NATION CAN SURVIVE IF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES SAY WE MUST HAVE CONFORMITY, WE MUST HAVE UNITY ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE."

(MORE) 848PCO

TX ADD

TXN40 ADD ONE SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN X X X ELSE."

HE SAID HE HOPED REPUBLICANS WILL "NEVER ADOPT THE TRUMAN-STEVENSON THEORY THAT YOU MUST, YOU MUST AT ALL COSTS, PLACE PARTY ABOVE COUNTRY, GO ALONG WITH YOUR PARTY, EVEN (WHEN) MAKING MISTAKES."

THE SENATOR SAID: "I THINK WE SHOULD REALIZE THAT NO MATTER HOW GOOD A PARTY IS, IT CAN'T . . . HAVE A THOUSAND BATTING AVERAGE. IT IS GOING TO MAKE MISTAKES FROM TIME TO TIME."

(PICKUP 4TH PGH FIRST LEAD X X X ASKED BY LEWIS, ETC.)

849PCO

TXN41 BUN INSERT IN SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHN AFTER FIFTH PGH ENDING X X X TO REPLY.

MCCARTHY HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL MAKE A MORE DETAILED REPLY TO STEVENSON MARCH 19 IN A SPEECH IN MILWAUKEE WHICH WILL BE CARRIED OVER A HOOKUP OF INDEPENDENT RADIO STATIONS.

HE SAID HE IS TAKING THIS COURSE BECAUSE THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO. AND THE CBS HAVE TURNED DOWN HIS REQUEST FOR EQUAL AIR TIME TO ANSWER THEIR RADIO AND TELEVISION COVERAGE OF STEVENSON'S SPEECH.

(PICKUP SIXTH PGH X X X IN REPLY TO ETC.)

902PCO

HN46N BULLETIN INSERT SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK-TXN39) WASHN AFTER FIFTH PGH ENDING XXX REPLY.

(IN A LATER STATEMENT ISSUED FROM HIS NEW YORK OFFICE, MURROW DECLARED:

("WHEN I HAVE READ THE TEXT OF WHAT SENATOR MCCARTHY HAD TO SAY ABOUT ME I SHALL ATTEMPT TO DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH HIS MOST RECENT HALF-TRUTH.")

(END INSERT--PICKUP 6TH PGH XXX MCCARTHY HAS ANNOUNCED, ETC.)

913PBR

HN47N CORRECTION

EDITORS:

IN ADD ONE DIVNL MCCARTHY (HN41N) PLEASE KILL SECOND PARA BGNG XXX (EDWARD R. MURROW, THE CBS ETC.)

INS NY 3/11/925PBR

L B RUP

HN48N THE WORLD TONIGHT (MARCH 11, 1954)

BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, IN A PARTIAL ANSWER TO ADLAI E. STEVENSON, SAID TONIGHT THAT THE 1952 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE'S CHARGES AGAINST HIM AND THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION ARE STRICTLY UNTRUE AND COMPLETELY FALSE. MCCARTHY MADE HIS COMMENTS IN AN INTERVIEW WITH FULTON LEWIS, JUNIOR, ON THE LATTER'S MUTUAL NETWORK PROGRAM. HE ALSO HIT BACK AT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM'S COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW'S CRITICISM OF HIM ON TELEVISION TUESDAY NIGHT.

MCCARTHY SAID HE QUOTED FROM A 1935 NEWSPAPER CLIPPING WHEN HE CHARGED MURROW WITH BEING NAMED IN A BOOKLET ENTITLED "MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSION." HE SAID MURROW WAS LISTED AS QUOTE -- ON THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL OF MOSCOW UNIVERSITY. -- UNQUOTE. AT THAT TIME MURROW WAS ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION.

MURROW HAD THIS TO SAY IN REPLY -- AND WE QUOTE -- "WHEN I HAVE READ THE TEXT OF WHAT SENATOR MCCARTHY HAD TO SAY ABOUT ME I SHALL ATTEMPT TO DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH HIS MOST RECENT HALF-TRUTH."

THE WISCONSIN SENATOR SAID THAT MURROW MAY BE, -- QUOTE -- WORRIED ABOUT -- UNQUOTE -- EXPOSURE OF COMMUNISTS BECAUSE HE FEARS IT MIGHT AFFECT SOME OF HIS FRIENDS. MCCARTHY, WHO GAVE PARTIAL ANSWER TO STEVENSON'S SPEECH IN MIAMI BEACH LAST SATURDAY, ANNOUNCED EARLIER HE WILL GIVE A DETAILED REPLY ON MARCH 19 IN A MILWAUKEE SPEECH, BROADCAST BY RADIO.

IN ANSWER TO STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION HAS FOUND ONLY ONE COMMUNIST OUT OF TWO MILLION FEDERAL EMPLOYES BUT HAS CLAIMED TO HAVE DISCOVERED MORE, MCCARTHY LISTED THREE ALLEGED COMMUNISTS HE SAID WERE UPROOTED BY HIS OWN INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE. THE SENATOR NOTED THE TRIO WAS SUSPENDED BY THE ADMINISTRATION AFTER THEY REFUSED TO TELL HIS COMMITTEE WHETHER THEY WERE REDS. MCCARTHY COMMENTED ON STEVENSON'S CLAIM THAT THE GOP IS DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF -- HALF MCCARTHY AND HALF EISENHOWER. HE SAID: "I DON'T THINK A NATION CAN SURVIVE IF THE TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES SAY THEY MUST HAVE CONFORMITY, MUST HAVE UNITY ABOVE ALL ELSE." HE ADDED THAT NO MATTER HOW GOOD A PARTY IS, IT CANNOT HAVE A ONE-THOUSAND PER CENT BATTING AVERAGE.

HN51N LATEST NEWS IN BRIEF (MARCH 11, 1954)

BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON--SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY ACCUSES ADLAI E. STEVENSON OF FALSEHOODS IN HIS RECENT SPEECH AND SAYS THAT EDWARD R. MURROW SMEARS THE SENATOR BECAUSE MURROW MIGHT BE WORRIED ABOUT EXPOSURE OF SOME OF HIS FRIENDS.

CMN13 FOLO MCCARTHY

CHICAGO, MARCH 11-(INS)-DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN STEPHEN A. MITCHELL SAID TONIGHT SEN. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY'S RADIO-TV INTERVIEW WAS "DULL AS DISH WATER" AND ADDED "APPARENTLY THE SENATOR HAS RUN OUT OF POISON GAS."

MITCHELL, REACHED IN CHICAGO, SAID HE HADN'T LISTENED TO THE BROADCAST BUT MADE HIS COMMENT AFTER INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE READ HIM PORTIONS OF THE WISCONSIN SENATOR'S INTERVIEW WITH RADIO COMMENTATOR FULTON J. LEWIS, JR.

REPLYING TO SEN. MCCARTHY'S STATEMENT THAT THE DEMOCRATS' "TRUMAN-STEVENSON THEORY PLACES PARTY ABOVE COUNTRY EVEN WHEN MAKING MISTAKES," MITCHELL SAID:

"THE DEMOCRATS HAVE MADE MISTAKES AND THEY HAVE ADMITTED THEM.

"THE REAL TROUBLE IS THAT SEN. MCCARTHY IS THE REPUBLICANS' GREATEST MISTAKE--AND THEY WON'T ADMIT IT."

MITCHELL THEN COMMENTED THAT THE INTERVIEW SEEMED TO LACK THE "SENATOR'S USUAL DRIVE EXCEPT FOR THE REMARKS ABOUT (CBS COMMENTATOR EDWARD R.) MURROW." MITCHELL ADDED:

"I TRUST THE SENATOR WILL ALLOW US TO CONTINUE TO LISTEN TO MR. MORROW NOW THAT HIS SUBVERSIVE LINKS HAVE BEEN REVEALED."

914PMC

HN55N INSERT SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHINGTON AFTER 31ST PGH (2ND PARA TXN35) ENDING XXX CALIFORNIA'S UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE.

MCCARTHY, IN A FILM PORTION OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING WHICH MURROW SHOWED, DID NOT SAY WHO HAD LISTED THE ACLU AS SUBVERSIVE. THE MOST FAMILIAR LISTING OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS IS THAT OF THE U. S. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

MURROW'S COMMENT ON THE PROGRAM WAS:

"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIST DOES NOT AND HAS NEVER LISTED THE ACLU AS SUBVERSIVE NOR DOES THE FBI OR ANY OTHER FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGENCY.

"AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION HOLDS IN ITS FILES LETTERS OF COMMENDATION FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND GENERAL MACARTHUR."

(END INSERT)

1029PBR

HN59N BULLETIN SUB

EDITORS: IN SECOND LEAD MCCARTHY (SPIVAK) WASHINGTON PLEASE SUB FOLLOWING FOR FIFTH, SIXTH AND SEVENTH PARAGRAPHS BEGINNING: A HALF-HOUR AFTER XXX AND ENDING: RECENT HALF-TRUTH.")

(IN NEW YORK, MURROW SAID THAT IN 1935 HE WAS AN ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND IN THAT CAPACITY SERVED AS "A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR A SUMMER SCHOOL IN MOSCOW."

(MURROW, WHO DESCRIBED THE INSTITUTE AS AN ORGANIZATION "ENGAGED IN THE EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS BETWEEN THIS AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES," SAID THE SUMMER SCHOOL "WAS CANCELLED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE IT BEGAN."

(MURROW PROMISED TO "DEAL ADEQUATELY WITH SENATOR MCCARTHY'S LATEST RECKLESS HANDLING OF THE TRUTH" ON HIS CBS-RADIO PROGRAM TOMORROW AT 7:45 P.M. EST.)

(END SUB) 1125PJY

REMSEN BIRD

Dear Ed:-

Now McCarthy will attack the networks. We shall watch to see if they knuckle under! Public schools, churches, universities and colleges, departments of government, the army, various liberal institutions with honest intentions, certain distinguished individuals, etc. etc. How he does follow the proved pattern which the demagogues have employed through the ages.

During the pre-reformation days there was a group of gay souls who thought that the best way to break down the claimants to infallibility over state and church was to spoof them.

They wrote imaginary letters to a man named Ortius Gladius under the title of "Letters of Obscure Men". For a time they were regarded as authentic and commended and then the truth came out. They helped a lot in extricating the New Learning from the powers that would destroy the same.

Its an idea; but it would be I think profitable for the saving of those who were born free, to collect letters of such a sort addressed to this strange creature who is, whatever he thinks are his motives, is softening us for an American brand of a pusher around!

Yes.

Anyway if you have a moment you might read the enclosed.

It could be done better, but it helped me on a certain day to release some pent up emotions.

What we really need is someone like the little Saint of the Umbrian Valley. I am enclosing one of his prayers. I am not easily moved to satire for this that is going on moves me rather to tears and prayers than to scoffing and such.

Thank God for you, Elmer Davis, Cecil Brown, -- even Kaltenborn!

Best to Janet

Cordially

Remsen

P02502
Carmel, California
March 9, 1954

The Honorable, Joseph McCarthy
The Senate of the United States
Washington, D. C. (Top Secret!)

Dear Joe:-

We certainly have them on the run now! Now we must be exceedingly careful, for some of these birds may see what is really going on, and it is important that they do not see! My counsel is that we begin at once, and very very quietly to organize the Purple Shirts and I suggest that we call them, when the time comes for us to get the power of such organization into the open, "The Sons of Freedom". I am enclosing a picture of the uniform, insignia, etc. which you will want to look over.

What I would like to see worked out at once, is groups of ten in every community, in every organization, in every school, among the politicos, the business men, even in organized labor if we can get in, and in the churches, who can be absolutely counted on to report, to propagate, and to spread into the larger groups when the time is ready.

You can always learn from those who have sought to get control in other lands and in other days. The organization that Togliatti has produced in Italy is an example, also Hitler, also Lenin, and there are as you well know many other illustrations in the past.

The country is now thoroughly softened. These frightened pigeons are ready to fly in any direction to save the land from the communists and the fellow travelers, they see everywhere. They now distrust everybody except you!

The year 1956 is not far off and we must be ready! By the time it comes around we must be thoroughly organized and whatever these poor saps who back Eisenhower may plan, we shall be smarter. You will be one of the candidates, the Dewey Forces will swing to you. You will be the candidate, and then the President, and all so legal, and all so hunky dory. Remember how Hitler worked it out. You can learn even from the devil. Poor Hindenberg. . Poor Ike!

Where are we now. As your specialist in propaganda, let me give you a kind of reassuring summary;

(1) We have liquidated the egg-heads! Harvard University, that refuge of the sissies and the subversives. Its President you have thoroughly slapped down as well he deserved, for as I recall he was pretty nasty when he was in Lawrence. You failed in getting Conant, but don't worry about that. We'll catch up with him presently. The whole crazy loyalty oath business has well fogged the mind of the Californians and most of the more conservative still think that's a hot bed of communism. And as for the Middle West, good old Red Orange has now liquidated Stoddard, who has been a real power in this effort to keep America in the World understanding groove!

As to the rest of the colleges and universities, we have some pretty powerful trustees and regents and benefactors who are thoroughly suspicious of anyone who presents controversial issues, and fewer and fewer of these so-called scholars want to stick their necks out. Economic necessity is a powerful weapon on our side.

(2) As to Public Education, thanks to Zoll and his campaign against progressive education, and frills and furbelows, and for the three rs, and all that Hearst did in paving the way, and the work of the various sappy patrictic societies over the country, who slap down anybody who has anything to say that isn't right in the groove, and with the little guys needing the money in the monthly check to pay for the new baby, over the country from the superintendents down to the janitors public education is thoroughly intimidated, and soft as butter.

(3) Let us take a look at the Protestant Clergy and the Protestant Churches. There was a time when these were very powerful in this country. They have stiff necks and believe that no one should push them around, and they seem to think that the teachings of this Jesus on love and such guff can be applied to meet the problems which people face in town and country and business and government. They are starry eyed in this but they have been pretty tough when it comes to standing up for the -- what they call, the freedom of the conscience. But we have them now getting soft. There are so many of the trustees and elders of churches who are afraid of all this socialism, which they mix up with what these preachers say, that thousands of them are talking more about theology, pie in the sky and what happens after death and less about politics and what is going on in the world.

These churches are made up for the most part of frightened bourgeois who want to hang on to their investments, who have observed what is wrong in the world and who blame it all on the democrats and among the democrats on the pinkos who are in their minds fellow travelers and as such Fifth Amendment communists, and are not to be trusted. That is the screwy way their minds run, but you old screwer have helped to make them so! Very naughty, Hey what?

The Velde attack built on absolutely nothing threw about a lot of sand and there are some ministers of great power who are completely on our side and who can be counted on to work against us. But watch watch very carefully, this John Mackay, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church who got out a letter to the 8,000 Presbyterian Churches against you and your method, and watch Bromley Oxnam, the top bishop of the Methodist church going over the country shooting his face, and the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, this man Sherrill. He sits with the rich and mighty and a lot of the rich and mighty are very much more concerned with Christian principles than they are with their accumulated gain. They are very very dangerous.

(4) As to the government, the poor sappy government! There is where you have had your greatest success. The people who are in the State Department are thoroughly cowed. You ever had Acheson cowed, and in this liquidation business and in bringing up opinions expressed long ago, you have something on nearly everybody of any importance in that arm of the government. No one in the State Department now would really dare come out against you.

And who in any other branch of the Federal Government will dare come out flat foot against you. Its all ready for you there, believe me.

(4) Hitler was so smart in getting the patriotic organizations back of him. His technic was superb. The Jews are against our chosen people! The enemy is rings around. Look out for the subversives within. We want our Saar and our Ruhr, and we want to get rid of this Weimar crowd who don't know their right hands from their left. The Sons of the Revolution, give you their plaques! The Daughters of the Revolution swear by you. The Veterans of Foriegn Wars, by and large are on your side, and want everybody every year or thereabouts to take the oath. And there are the Liberty Belles, and the Pro Americas, and the Christian Economists, and the American Legiona chapters — not all of them -- we must look into this.

But wherever you go if the conversation turns to you and your method, always someone stands up and says, "Well he's got the communists on the run. What more do you want!" Very good.

(5) Let us report on the Roman Catholics. We've got to silence the Jesuitical "America" and this Catholic pinko sheet, "The Commonweal". They can do us a lot of damage. But Cardinal Spellman is out and out for you and he is the most powerful priest in the USA and he may be the Pope. It could be. It could be! Talk to any group in any town in America now, that is right of center, and someone will say, "Well, the Catholics are against the communists, and the protestants are wishy washy, so I am for the catholics!" Good, I say, very very good.

(6) Now the Writers and the painters and the musicians and all these other dreamers who get easily cockeyed ideas. I am making for you a catalogue of them. I will list those that are reds, and those that write like reds and those that we can count on. There are writers who have tried out the communist line and have swung over, but they have the same kind of psychology, in whatever category you find them. They who once fall for the guy that tells them what to think are your meat. We need some good writers, commentators, radio announcers, and makers of songs! By the way, we need a good song? I must find you someone to write it, a real bang up song like Giovenezza, or the Horst Wessel thing or the International. Nothing like a song. Think what the Marcellaise did for the revolutionaries in France? Very important that I find you a good song.

(7) Now the Army and the Navy. The Navy will be easy. Those guuys don't know much of what is going on, and they are picked pretty carefully by those who want to be sure that they will be easy on the ship. They can for the most part be counted on. There are stiff necked ones in the Army, but you have them on the run. It got a bit dangerous there for a bit, but very soon the Zwicker affair will be forgotten and the fact that you found a communist promoted and honorably discharged will not be forgotten. When we get this special Purple Shirt organization well oiled, we will filter into the army and they will behave, they will behave. The conflict between the Westpointers, who also don't know much outside the military and the Reserve officers is right down your alley. "There's not to reason why. There's but to do and die!" Well we can use them, living or dying.

(8) The Press! That is easy, easy. There is no real democratic press. The pink sheets, the New Republic for example are struggling to exist. Most of the newspapers of the little towns are republican and on our side. The New York Times, the Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and a few others we have to watch, but give us time, give us time. As to the Periodicals few read the slicks, Henry Luce has an Achilles heel, and Raymond Moley has a grudge against the New Dealers, his heel! When we take over we will have a list and we will have local leaders who will know when and how to turn the newspapers to shout for you. No difficult job, that!

(9) Commentators, columnists, Radio broadcasters, TV shows and commants, all this sound and fury that goes over the air. The sponsors are shrewd enough to know whose voice wins soap buyers and whose doesn't. Little by little we get rid of the ones that speak out. Fulton Lewis is superb and I should imagine he would be the one we would want to give the whole plan when it seems a proper time to you. Ed Murrow, Cecil Brown, Elmer Davis, even Kaltenborn we must discredit. We haven't been able to get anything on Murrow, but we will.

(10) Nixon, Dirksen and Jenner have what it takes. They are tough, ruthless, and are on your side. They should know that there are top places in the New Government. Nixon certainly grows in Savvy, and he is becoming very popular over the country with the old ladies and the frightened pigeons. I would pull him in close pretty soon.

(11) The Democrats are more and more divided. We can play them against one another. The bogey of the negro is all we need in the South. In the North the New Dealers and the Anti New Dealers are at one another's throats now. Adlai Stevenson is the most powerful force they have, but whenever he speaks we have immediatelythe power of Winchell and Lewis and the Press to show him up as the one who is causing the hatred and bitterness and division of our times. Nixon did a good job in the Campaign in tying Hiss to his tail! But he is smart. We have to watch him.

So much for now.

I have been making a careful study of just how Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and Mao got the countries softened and then took over. I am also making a very very careful study of how it was that Hitler and Mussolini lost out!

Keep at it big boss! Don't bother to answer. Just go on to the next attack. Attack! That is the motto! Throw sand in their eyes and mud in their faces. and in 1956 we take over.

Yours for Freedom!

Dr. George M. Day
5223 Maywood Avenue
Eagle Rock, Los Angeles, Cal.

My dear George:-

Thank you for your letter from San Francisco and the note concerning Harold Fisher and Dr. Timoshenko. You will presently tell me what this is all about! Harold will be down here to-morrow for a Stanford Conference and Helen has invited a few friends in to talk with him. We are at the moment especially interested in the location of the Ford founded, Institute of Human Behavioral Studies. Monterey is an ideal place for it!

The other after noon I met the widow of Walter Lyman Brown, a distinguished mining engineer, associated with Mr. Hoover, William Honnold and others in Belgian relief, friend of the Various famous mining engineers, Harvey Huid, etd.

They lived in Russia in connection with the work of mining explorations and helping Mr. Hoover in the work of relief he undertook there during the famine time! Remember?

She talked to me with great interest and precision concerning the Russian people and she shares completely your ideas. This cruel fearful government will pass. It is the product of some strange philosophy, opportunism, and the accumulated evil that blew up the top.

The Russian people are possessed by and large of great talents and have a tremendous future. The land is rich beyond all compare in minerals and other resources. It is, as she says, as the USA was in the days of Lewis and Clarke

We must be ready to cooperate and to work with these people when the day arrives that it will be possible. That day will come!

This point of view interests me intensely, and especially when I realize that over the hill there are 200 Russians teaching hundreds of Army personnel the Slavic Language and there are Slavic students, especially under your care, spread across the land.

Cruelty, evil, malice, bitterness, mal treatment of various sorts pass in time, but faith, hope and love are eternal!

PO2502 Affectionately
Carmel, California
March 5, 1954

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Church

from: Ted Koop

February 17, 1954

CONFIDENTIAL

A friend of mine, who is in a sensitive government agency, makes this proposition:

A colleague of his has been suspended pending new investigation of disloyalty charges which were washed out a couple of years ago. My source argues that the man is entirely innocent and thinks he could obtain the man's cooperation if Ed Murrow would like to develop the case on the air. If Murrow is interested, my source will endeavor to obtain the consent of the man involved and his attorney to lay open the whole case. I explained that if Murrow should take it up he naturally would expect to cover the other side, and my source said that would be perfectly agreeable.

He would give me no further information until I can give him at least tentative indication that Murrow is interested. I have enough confidence in my source, however, to feel that we would not be getting a pig in a poke.

JFK

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(Copy - Translation)

"U C H I T E L S K A Y A G A Z E T A"
("Teacher's Gazette")

No. 5, 30th January, 1948.

THE "HIGH AIMS" OF MR. DUGGAN
(Full Summary of 2-1/2 column article)
by Prof. M. Bernstein.

The magazine "America" published for Russian readers by the US Information Bureau, kindly lent the pages of its twelfth number to Professor Stephen Duggan and his son, Directors of the Institute of International Education, in New York, on the question of "international exchange of students and scholars". The article is richly illustrated with idyllic pictures of students from Hungary, Mexico, India, Iceland, Greece, and Palestine, relaxing, eating, reading and working in laboratories. The authors are discursively eloquent on the "need for a mutual understanding which would pass the barriers of race, nation and creed" on "the strengthening of good will and community of aims between the democratic countries". They try to convince Soviet readers that their Institute of International Education (IIE) has from its very inception concerned itself only with the attainment of these high aims.

Duggan is trying to extend the activity of the IIE to the USSR. He has made similar attemps not a few times before, but without success, for it is well known in the Soviet Union what Mr. Duggan and the Institute, which he heads, represent.

The IIE came into being literally on the day following the end of the first World War when the most aggressive section of American monopoly capital had placed on the agenda the question of the world hegemony of the USA. The new foreign political tasks of American imperialism called to life new organizational forms of political, economic and ideological expansion. A distinct and important role in the general scheme for the ideological offensive was assigned to the "educational" cadres of American imperialism.

The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal "pedagogic" spies and informers and for establishing an "American column" in every country.

Moreover, from 1939 onwards the IIE in practice controlled the entire work of consultation, information and orientation as well as of supervision connected with all foreign students studying in American higher education establishments even of those who do not enjoy the material support of the Institute and who have no need whatsoever of its guardianship. In other words, since the beginning of the '40s, the IIE has held in its hands all the threads of American foreign pedagogic relations.

The annual reports published by the Institute and the writings of Duggan himself, give an idea of the proportions, forms and methods of the work of this outpost of US "pedagogic" aggression and reveal the immense danger which its many-sided activity presents to the independence of peoples, to real democratic peace and cultural progress.

As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, among whom pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American "educational" institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The chief activity of the IIE is the organization of international student exchanges. In the 25 years of its existence it has sent about 2.5 thousand American students abroad, and placed more than 3000 students from Europe, Asia and South America in American colleges.

The American students have to pass through a two-fold political filter - they are selected by special selection committees attached to the establishments and colleges which have made the agreement with Mr. Duggan in the transaction concerned. The recommendation of their own colleges alone, however, is not enough; candidates must pass before a selection committee in the Institute of International Education itself.

Every student sent abroad must present two reports to the Institute - one during his stay, the other on his return home. These reports are secret and may be used only for the information of other students who are subsequently sent to the same country.

Two important criterions in the selection of candidates are: positive references from "politically reliable" persons and a capacity for getting on with other people. Students sent abroad by the IIE are advised not to confine themselves to their academic pursuits, but to "study the cultural, political and social life of the country to which they are sent, make friends with the local students and visit their homes, and establish friendly relations with the population".

The information which comes in through the Institute, as Duggan proudly declares, is more correct and reliable than that procured by the State Department through its Intelligence agents.

The real nature of the training which the IIE gives to American students staying abroad was "brilliantly" demonstrated during the recent war: in the words of its director the Institute became a reserve from which the American War Department and other state organs could draw trained cadres of occupation experts and colonisers. And one cannot but agree with Mr. Duggan that in this respect "the IIE justified the hopes of its real patrons and friends".

Since its inception the IIE has placed over 3000 foreign students in specially selected US colleges. They, unlike their American opposites, have to pass through a three-fold filter. Besides the selection made in Institutes in their own countries they must also come before a selection board organised in their countries and obliged to include two American residents there who enjoy the confidence of Duggan & Co. The final say

belongs to a selection committee in the IIE itself.

When he has finally passed through all these filters and won a scholarship from the Institute, the foreign student comes under its total guardianship and the tireless supervision of its agents in American colleges. In practice he is told which college he must enter. There he is directed by a specially chosen "professor" who "advises" him in all questions, even in the choice of newspapers and magazines to read, meetings to attend, and in the organization of his private relationships. All this is done in order that the student shall form "real enthusiasm for the American way of life and American civilisation".

In the words of Duggan, only very few foreign students fail to yield to this "ideological" suasion. This is very likely, for the "fortunates" honoured with Duggan's "bounty" are naturally the offspring of the families of the ruling cliques in foreign states who are, according to Duggan, "candidates for leading public service" in their own country. Such selection, is, of course, no mere chance. In its work with foreign students the IIE sets itself far-reaching goals; it plans to establish an American core among the ruling classes of the corresponding countries. As the Second World War again showed, in its respect too its calculations have justified themselves to a considerable extent. Duggan maintains that "the majority of foreign students who have passed through the IIE have proved loyal friends of the USA". It is among them that the Americans now seek and find "convinced" supporters of the "Truman doctrine", who fawn to Uncle Sam and are prepared to sell and betray the national sovereignty and the national dignity of their country for a dollar sop.

The second extensive branch of the IIE's activity is its "academic exchanges", i.e., the organization of lectures by foreign scholars in American colleges and by American scholars in foreign colleges. The selection of scholars invited to America, like the selection of American professors sent abroad, has a specific character. Both, as a rule, belong to the openly reactionary camp. In any case they must all be absolutely "reliable" from the point of view of capitalist ideology and "loyal" to American policy.

The IIE has spared no energies to organize "lecture tours" for such venerable "scholars" as ... the former President of the German Reichsbank, Schacht, and the Italian diplomat, Carlo Sforza, as well as a visit of the notorious airman Lindberg to the Latin-American and Far Eastern countries "to study schools, universities and the education systems as a whole".

The Nuremberg trial of the main German War criminals proved beyond doubt the "academic" nature of Schacht's visit to the USA. Evidently Duggan did not foresee such an end for his fascist protege when in 1943 he tried to deceive American and world public opinion by asserting that "Schacht did not receive a cent of credit from America".

Nor could Duggan, evidently, foresee that the secret of the sudden "pedagogic" transformation of Lindberg would be given away by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Barrett, who told representatives of the press that the visit of the "American prince", Colonel Lindberg, to Latin America, had been planned in order to weaken the impression made by the visit of the then Prince of Wales.

On the other hand, Duggan not only foresaw but awaited with impatience proofs of the beneficial influence of the IIE on his friend, Sforza. When, with the aid of his American protectors, the latter attained to the office of Italian Foreign Minister, he instructed his newspaper to declare that "any power which has signed the peace treaty may make any armed landing it please on any part of the Italian coast ...".

After this, how could Duggan not boast of his successes in organising "academic exchanges" and in "strengthening mutual understanding between democratic peoples"...

What is the real attitude of Duggan and his Institute to the Soviet Union? In his last article in "America" he writes that "ignorance and prejudice are the primary factors which give birth to ill-will and conflict between peoples". These words apply perfectly to Duggan himself. All his activity and writings have proved not only his prejudice and ignorance in questions concerning the USSR, but also his complete inability to learn the appropriate lessons from his personal "experience" in this sphere.

The Socialist Revolution aroused in Duggan alarm and terror almost bestial. With the solemn mien of the venerable "scholar" he took to producing vile fictions about the "Bolshevist terror which has deprived Russia of her intellectual forces", the Bolsheviks as disturbers of peace throughout the world", and so on.

With the generous means put at his disposal by Morgan and Rockefeller he has made repeated attempts to prepare an American core for the USSR - through his "Russian Student Fund" mobilising White Russian emigrés and by personal visits to the Soviet Union in 1925 and again in 1934.

He has met, however, with repeated failure. The frontiers of the USSR have proved firmly barred to his agents. Nothing has been left but to return to his old weapon against the Soviet people - slander. And in this respect, in his last, autobiographical book, - "A Professor in the Wildest Sense of the World" - he has excelled himself.

Such is Mr. Duggan, who conceals beneath the gown of "Professor of International Pedagogy" a poisoned weapon of Intelligence and espionage; such is the Institute under his direction.

"Teacher's Gazette", No. 5, 1948.

RECALL McCARTHY and his METHODS

Unfair to Traitors and Red Sympathizers and

GUILTY ON 10 COUNTS:

1. Breaking a baseball bat on a witness.
2. Preventing Lt. Peress from becoming a General.
3. Cause of breaking up a Communist traitor's Club in the Army and the good, hard work of Lt. Peress.
4. Causing loss of sleep to all traitors and injuring the health of sympathizers by backfiring headlines.
5. Causing the shortage of aspirins to left-wing sympathizers in radio, television and newspapers.
6. Causing $9,000,000. to be wasted on a Washington newspaper by new owners, known to all for their views.
7. Causing the curtain to be raised showing traitors in full view running to hide behind the Fifth Amendment curtain.
8. Accusing Ed R. Murrow of being a Red sympathizer; that's worse than a thousand Communist traitors. Why such a nice man should be brow-beaten by a Communist hater like McCarthy. Murrow, like Dean Acheson, could not turn his back on old pals. It's not fair to Murrow, a man who screamed at General MacArthur and helped get him fired.
9. Because he is a Dictator, a Hitler, Mussolini, a scoundrel, revolutionist, radical, villain, anarchist, Fascist, liar, falsifier, Gun man, goon, gangster, Devil, Bum, Mud-row, Julius Caesar, Napoleon, and Huey Long.
10. Causing the Communists to put pressure on stores for selling the following books:

    "McCarthy and his enemies" by William Buckley

    "The Web of Subversion" by James Burnham

    "McCarthyism" by Sen. Joseph McCarthy

    "Red Treason on Broadway" by Myron C. Fagan, P.O. Box 8655 Cole Branch, Hollywood [redacted] 46, Cal.

THE STRONG MEN OF AMERICA

Cooperating with Boston Minute Men

Temporary Address:

30-94 43rd Street

Long Island City, N. Y.

In his attack on me, McCarthy is merely following his now familiar ~~tactic~~ technique of attempting to divert attention from criticism of him, even under conditions of scrupulous fairness, by attacking his critics as Communists or fellow travelers.

Criticism of McCarthy's tactics has resulted in charges that the Milwaukee Journal is "the Milwaukee edition of the Daily Worker; that the Washington Post is "the Washington edition of the Daily Worker; that Time magazine had a purpose to "obstruct the fight against Communists"; that the Commonweal--~~the~~ a leading Catholic weekly-- had done "a great service to the Communist Party"; that the Christian Science Monitor paralleled the Daily Worker in "venemous, distorted" stories.

After former Senator Benton had submitted to the Senate his formal charges against McCarthy (including the charge that McCarthy had lied under oath), McCarthy charged that Benton had "established himself as the hero of every Communist and crook in and out of government." The Alsops' criticism of McCarthy in the Saturday Evening Post for July 9, 1950 was characterized by McCarthy as "almost 100% in line with the official instructions issued Communists and fellow-traveling members of the press and radio by Gus Hall, National Secretary of the Communist Party."

Fortunately, the McCarthy tactics contains within itself a self-destructive force: It cannot survive constant repetition.

While the McCarthy diversionary ~~tactic~~ technique has been adequately exposed by his own acts, the criticism of his tactics remains unanswered. Herbert Philbrick, the FBI counter-spy whose testimony was decisive in the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders, has stated:

> "'According to the leaders of the Communist Party, McCarthy has helped them a great deal. The kind of attacks he has made do three things that the comrades like:
>
> "'1--They add greatly to the confusion, putting up a smoke screen for the party and making it more difficult than ever for people to discern just who is a Communist and who is not.
>
> "'2--They make the party appear a lot stronger than it is.
>
> "'3--They do considerable damage to some of the "stupid liberals" whom the party hates.'"

The U. S. Advisory Commission on Information (composed of Irwin Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of General Electric Co., Ben Hibbs, editor of the Saturday Evening Post, and Justin Miller, chairman of the board of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters), reported to President Eisenhower on February 3, 1954, that the kind of investigation

conducted by McCarthy had seriously crippled the nation's global propaganda effort. "It is not too much to say," the Commission reported, "that the desirable results sought through the activities of the information program are largely offset, if not destroyed, by the constant counter-barrage which is so generously distributed to the peoples of the world."

5-C 6

FOLLOWING INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED REGARDING

PLANS FOR McCARTHY ATTACK ON MURROW

MOST IMPORTANT: Will use folders of 1933 and 1934 trips to Russia..quoting from glowing reports of what can be seen in "great experiment", etc...Also bringing in sponsorship by Intourist, VOKS, etc...Stephen Duggan, "Father of Lawrence," etc.

EDWARD R. MURROW...and associates (one of writers and at least one ad man, probably from Kenyon & Eckhardt)

Might find it helpful to check some of this material which is being prepared for use by McCarthy:

THEME: Murrow is a long time ally and associate of Communist Russia; he has been closely associated and identified with Commies, fellow-travelers, and subversives.

Material being researched:

1; Institute of Pacific Relations: Report #2050

p. 37: Testimony of Bozolepoy on VOKS (which sponsored Soviet trips)

p. 49: Holland report

2. Indianapolis Star: editorial of Feb. 24, 54: "Daily Worker praises Murrow"

3. The Bulletin, League of Free Nations Association: Vol. 1, No. 3 and No. 4 apparently trying to tie Murrow in with directors, notably Stephen Duggan, Lillian Wald, Owen Lovejoy.

4. William T. Gernacy testimony before Special Committee on Un-American activities 75th Congress, Vol. 2: p. 1482-83; 1494; 1561; 1654; 1658; 1660 (or either of pages which open at these spots).

Vol. 4: 2514 2516

Vol. 1: 90 115 116 125 162 248 250 254 423 424 438 440 462 527 536 570 689

Object: League of Peace and Democracy.

5. THE WORLD CRISIS...OUR WAY OUT...Address given before Annual Meeting of the American Council of Education, Chicago, Ill. May 6, 1950.
   Object: to tie in Owen Lattimore.

6. Publishers Weekly..Nov. 8, 1947. Currents in the Trade. p. 2251.

Other research on: Civil Liberties Union to show that it was cited as subversive by : California Legislative Committee (will use quotes from Roger Baldwin..Harvard Class Book)
Ham Fish Committee in 1930 or 1931

Also attempt to show that hump-backed lady who was great influence on Murrow was either Pink or Communist.

Also tie in with National Students Union.

NOTE: A Dr. Shotwell who testified in IPR hearings that he was in a room with 19 Marxists and one anti-Marxists (himself)..attempt will be to have Shotwell swear Murrow was among 19.

Other themes being studied: Harold Laski
Anti-Conscription Campaign

This raises the serious question as to whether we should take the initiative in "contributing" information to McCarthy's investigator.

THINGS TO BE DONE

Being right is not enough.

And the tears and the handshakes, the mail and phone counts and the publicity clips and editorials of those who agree with you is not enough.

We should know by now that there will be more from McCarthy; that the only proper way to anticipate his next utterance is to magnify the impossible.

It would be blatant stupidity not to spend time and effort and money to anticipate and prepare to defend against his next blast.

Much of this will never see daylight. But it must be ready, in the bank, for immediate use.

The approach to McCarthy needs a strategic and tactical plan. To think otherwise is to ignore recent history.

And it means ignoring McCarthy's warning that he will need "considerable time to put together all the pertinent facts in your record."

He has, I presume, files and, I know, a staff to do this.

You need files and a staff.

You need one person, preferably trained in law, to organise things. You are inclined to scoff at organization, in the sense of orderliness. I think for this issue, at this time, there must be a change.

Your man should be directly responsible for many things; with such assistance as he needs:

1. a complete file, with tape where possible, of everything McCarthy has said

or will in the future say about you.

2. a screening of all mail and telegrams to you; to check on the trend, to collect leads for further exploitation, to collect possible evidence that your reputation has been hurt by McCarthy with a view to eventual libel or slander action.

3. to act as a collection agency and evaluator of friendly tips, hunches, fact and rumor from your friends in this city and elsewhere.

4. to direct the preparation of an answer to every statement McCarthy makes about you.

5. to sift all material submitted to you in reference to this episode.

6. to act as your representative where it is physically impossible or impractical for you to appear.

It would seem obvious that there must be some set-up to get quick approval, where approval is necessary, from company officials.

And it would seem wise for someone in the company to decide and then relay to the responsible news officials, just how the continuing story of you and McCarthy is to be handled; whether objectively (as possible) or protectively or argumentatively.

There should be set up now, with as much flexibility as possible, a policy decision on such recurring problems as these: should SIN be made available for re-showing..to whom and when..should there be a continuance of what I understand are now current 'private' showings..should excerpts from the radio show be made available, on tape, to all, a few, none? Should such a decision bind only the past or be reviewed after each SIN or radio mention of McCarthy?

There is a need for research, inasmuch as McCarthy's files will produce whatever his tongue demands. This should include:

1. immediate availability of all matters pertaining to both of you starting with SIN show.
2. a record of all his speeches
3. a specially assigned man to accompany him on this week's speaking trip in which, in all likelihood, you will be a considerable target.
4. as much tape and film of McCarthy, from here on, as is possible to collect. This pertains only to forthcoming activities.
5. a summary of how many minutes, hours, words you have uttered in the past five years on radio, TV, etc. This, to show, how well known, and public your views are.
6. there should be a representative listing of the radio and TV subjects to which you have addressed yourself; a representative series of excerpts on your conclusions, admonitions, etc. I.E. from Harnessing the horse to the hydrogen bomb.
7. this research effort should also quickly collect all anti-Murrow statements by Moscow. All pro-Murrow statements by distinguished citizens in this country and abroad.
8. it should include an analysis, with typical cases, of the "label" file we have collected from the radio fan mail.
9. any correspondence you may have had with McCarthy.
10. a knowledge of what the Daily Worker has had to say about you in general and specifically. (See Indianapolis editorial)
11. a summary of awards you've received..from whom..and for what..in the words of their citations.

There will also be need of some personal research by you for your own personal files.

You must review your present and past friends and associates and decide how much you will say about each and under what conditions. We have had warning that "maybe he (M) is worried about the exposure of some of his firneds."

In addition to this there are other personal matters for personal consideration:
Your work schedule should be such so that you can be free immediately for consideration of last minute McCarthy attacks or plants.
You must be alert on practical matters: phone taps, inquiring unfriendly friends.. public or private attempts to draw you out on matters that had better be left for later.
There must be preparation..perhaps in standby recording from abroad..to make the radio show a minimum burden, should the circumstances warrant it.
There should be consideration of past intimidation and the possible future use thereof.
Quick, short answering of mail. It would be foolish to permit current manifestation of good will and support to be neglected. The unknown "they" might be helpful in the future.
An avoidance, even if contrived, of interviews with reporters either on the current fracas or under pretense of the bigger picture, until this picture is clearer.

Maj Gen Miles Reber ..in ten yrs dealing with Cong never known "greater pressure" than applied for officers commiss for Schine

..from both Mc and Cohn..particularly Cohn

.. Mc says Reber's brother Sam.. then acting high commissh Germ.. made "vicious attacks" cohn-Schine and had them shadowed when toured Europe 1953 investigate Info service and libraries

..army charges improper pressure for prefered treatment Sc ine.. Mc says false.. army tried divert committee

..Reber says thot Cohn effort as personal friend.. and Mc Carthy matter

..Cohn persistently after him to speed up commish for Schine

Reber: "I felt I was being put under defeinite pressure"

"To the best of my recollection, I recall no instance in which I was put under greater pressure"

..Reber was liason officer with army..with Cong for ten yrs

..says he acted without bias toward anyone

..any difs brother Sam may have had with Cohn-schine had nothing do his actions Schine case

Reber now command gen U army forces in wester European area

AFTERNOON wrangle over whether Mc coul ask Reber whether brother Sam had been fired as security risk

Mc suggested Sam left St Dept under cloud..allowed resign when charges made against him that he was bad security risk

Roy Jenkins objects form of question ..Mc withdrew it

Reber: brother retired as was entitled to by law when reached age of 60. Know nothing about any security case involving him"

Reber says: army transport service..provost marshal... office Psyhological warfare all saud he not qualified for commish

R; took all possible steps to get Schine commish

army sect stevens

..subjected "persistent, tireless effort" by Mc and aides to get special treatment for Schine

..repeated previous charges that Chn threatened the wreck the army and that Stevens was through as sect

..during my tenure "there is no record that matches this ½p persistent, tireless effort to obtain special consideration and privilegss for this man

..and after Schine unducted more effots se ek preferential trtmt

..said effort included more than 65 phone calls..19 meetings

..informed that reqest on Schines behalf ran all way from bid for direct commish to relief from Kp duties

..in period when new draftees gor 3 passes.. Schine got 15

Sept 16.. Mc asked for commish for Schine.. reminded him application turned down

Oct 2.. Cohn and Francis Carr asked him assihn Schine ny area

told impossible excuse him from basic treaining

Stevens advised by John G Adams that Mc irritated by Schine because efforts have pix taken with other Senator and others at Ny hearing

S chine case "an example wrongful seeking of privilege..of the perversion of power"

..dispute has been a distraction that has kept many men from performance of tasks far more important to this country than convenience of a single army private

act sect state wb Smith

Smith says Cohn foned..said Schine about be drafted.. said he and Mc thot Schine shud have commish

Smith made inquiries Generak Hull, vice chief staff, told Schine wud get same treatment any other american

Cohn asked possibility Commish for Schine in CIA..tol phone Allen Dulles

Cohn said CIA "too juicy a subject" for future investigations..
wud not be right place Schine in CIA and then investigate it

..did not regard Cohn requestas improper

. . . .

mundt

"the reputations, the actions and perhpa the integrity of responsible public officials under challenge

,, comit. will folo evidence wherever it leads

.. charges and implications--by both sides.. "of such grave and serious nature as to have caused concern on part american people"

MC: objects "attempt make this contest between me and army"

..wants army officials present their case as indivisuals

"a few pentagon politicians are naming themselves Dept of army"

1. McCarthy on Malmedy, Justice, Role of Senator in Interested Case.

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Congressional Record, July 26, 1949, pp 10160-10175. See "McCarthy, Man, Senator, Ism", pp. 158-164 for background.

On July 26, 1949, McCarthy ripped into Baldwin's subcommittee which had investigated German Nazi-Communist charges that American invesitgators had used torture to extract confessions from Nazi Storm Troopers under Colonel Joachim Peiper, who had murdered 150 American POWs—half of them at Malmedy—and 150 Belgian civilians. McCarthy centered his attack on the American investigators—said they were refugees from Hitler Germany with a vengeance motive—said Baldwin was trying to whitewash an American officer Major Fanton who was Baldwin's law partner and who—according to McCarthy headed the investigation—attacked a man by the name of Ralph Shumacker as another American wrongdoer and tied Shumacker to subcommittee member Sen. Kefauver. (Shumacker 18 years before had been a young law clerk in a firm of which Kefauver was a law member.) MCCarthy's attacks—backed by German conservative and communist press attacks, plus American reluctance to lose a propaganda war in Germany—and despite evidence asto guilt of Storm Troopers—all added up to a stalemate of Malmedy justice.

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Cong. Record, p. 10160, Sen. McCarthy: "If then we feel it is this important to keep alive in the world the principle of the dignity of man, and our standards of justice and right; if we think it important enough to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men, and jeopardize the economy of our country by giving away billions of dollars, then it is of utmost importance that we demonstrate at all times to the people of the world that our form of government actually is what we say it is—that it is more fair, more honest, more decent than the governments they have known under Hitler and Stalin, and that our form of government stands for the rights of the individual over and above those of the state. In the face of what it has cost us to date to halt the spread of dictatorships and totalitarian governments, it is our duty to demonstrate by our actions the purpose behind these two great conflicts—our firm belief in the importance of the rights of the individual."

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Cong. Record, Kuly 26, 1949, p. 10163. (McCarthy had demanded that Baldwin step down from the committee because Baldwin's law partner Major Fanton was involved; Baldwin invited McCarthy to sit on committee, produce witnesses, interrogate; Baldwin told his full committee he'd be glad to step down; full committee said, in view of circumstances, no reason for Baldwin to do so. This is background.) SEN. McCarthy: "While I do not doubt that the Senator from Connecticut honestly felt that it was necessary for him to head this subcommittee so as to bring out what he considered to be the truth, it has long been the practice of judges and chairmen of committees to step aside under similar circumstances—not because they themselves felt they could not be fair, but becauseconditions were such that in the eyes of the public a fair hearing would be impossible. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. Baldwin. (Recounts background as above.—p. 10163.)

Mr. McCarthy. (p. 10163) May I interrupt the Senator a moment? Do I correctly understand that the Armed Services Committee was informed that Major Fanton was in charge of the interrogation during all the alleged brutalities, that it was informed that he was the Senator's law partner, that he was the man who was principally to be investigated, and that the Armed Services Committee took the position that it was perfectly proper for the Senator to act as chairman of the subcommittee investigating his own law partner?

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p. 10166, Sen. McCarthy: "Mr. President, let me make it clear that I am not asking the Senate to discharge the Senator from Connecticut as chairman of the subcommittee. If the Senator from Connecticut thinks it is proper for him to sit in judgment on his own law partner, and do something which I think is completely shameful, I do not believe that it is incumbent upon the Senate to discharge him. I think, however, we should recognize the fact that the work of the committee and its report will be completely useless and worth nothing at all.

"I wish to repeat what I have already said: I do not doubt that the Senator from Connecticut honestly felt that it was necessary for him to head this subcommittee so as to bring out what he considered to be the truth. However, it has long been the practise of judges and chairmen of committees to step aside under similar circumstances, not because they

themselves felt that they could not be fair, but because conditions were such that in the eyes of the public a fair hearing would be impossible.

"I understand that the Senator from Connecticut is very shortly to go on the bench. I sincerely hope that when he sits on the bench, if ever a situation like this arises, in which he is called upon to pass upon the rights of someone as close to him as Mr. Fanton is, he will have learned a lesson, and will disqualify himself.

"The Senator from Connecticut has said that no one is on trial today. I submit that someone is on trial. The entire United States Senate is on trial. The American system of justice--if we can call it that--in our occupied area is on trial. We should be engaged in the most soul-searching investigation to find out whether or not all the charges and countercharges which have been made by two disinterested judges who went to Europe are true. ....(cont., p. 10167) It is not a question of whether the Senator from Connecticut can fairly conduct the subcommittee. It is a question of what the people of the Nation will think about the United States Senate. It is a question of what the people of the world will think about this country if we appoint a man to conduct an investigation and make a report on his own law partner, who is now bragging that he himself is writing the report.

(Mr. Baldwin indicated denial that anyone was bragging about report.)

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P. 10169: (Compare this with McCarthy's opening current speeches on Korea vet who describes communist atrocities.) Mr. McCarthy: I informed the subcommittee that in my opinion the only purpose of calling witnesses to rehash the details of this war crime was to inflame the public mind and attempt to create a blind demand for vengeance on someone in retribution without regard to the question of the guilt or innocence of those being punished.

Mr. Baldwin: "I should like to ask the Senator if it is his position, in the conduct of an investigation by the Senate of these trials of the particular men who were tried and convicted, that a man who had actually been present when one of the massacres occured, who saw his comrades shot, and who escaped, God knows how, with his life, was not a competent witness?

Mr. McCarthy: "The Senator is not as naive as he tries to make out. He knows there was never any question that the Malmedy massacre occured; he knows that the young man who appeared

could not recognize any of them men who took part in the shooting; he knows that the young man could shed no light whatsoever on whether the men in charge allowed illegal torture methods. The only purpose, as I told the Senator before he called that witness, was to attempt to wave the flag and try to recreate a situation which he said existed at the time of the tortures and which he tried to use as a justification or an excuse for the tortures."

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P. 10170: Mr. McCarthy: "The core of the situation we were investigating was, of course, the truth of the charges that members and employees of our military were guilty of applying torture to the accused in order to secure confessions. The four men principally charged with these alleged brutalities were Mr. Perl, Mr. Kirschbaum, Mr. Steiner, and Mr. Thon, at least three of whom were refugees from Hitlerian Germany.....

"I thereupon suggested to this interrogator, Perl, that he submit to the Keeler lie detector which has been proven infallible in hundreds of important criminal cases and which has been used extensively in Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and other states with the consent of the defendant."

****

P. 10173: Mr. Baldwin: "I say to my distinguished friend (McC), in the burst of his enthusiasm here, he has taken up the side of these Nazi SS troopers. He may do that if he wants to. I say too, Mr. President, my distinguished friend here is prejudging thecase; the evidence is not all in. My distinguished friend is basing his judgment largely--on what? Largely on the affidavits of condemned men, some of whom the shadows of the gallows crossed. Thank God, we were able to hold that up until we had an opportunity to get to the bottom of this thing."

P. 10174, Mr. Baldwin. "But I know there are some influences at work in this case that arouse a grave doubt in my mind. (Baldwin talks about Libby of Society for the Prevention of War.etc) ...Mr. President, I took an oath here in the Senate to do my duty. I expect to do it as long as I am here, without fear or favour to any man, just as I hope my distinguished friend from Wisconsin will do. I sometimes wonder about this case. I sometimes wonder why it is, what other reason there can be, other than the human one of wanting to see justice done. I wonder why

there should be such a tremendous interest in the Nazi SS troopers, the cruelest troops of the war." (Baldwin went on to say that role of Major Fanton--his law partner--had been completely blown up--Fanton had spent but 3 months on case.)

Anderson and May in their book "McCarthyism" say that MCCarthy wasbeing fed by one Rudolph Aschenauer, who--Anderson and May say--was reported by Army Intelligence Officers to be a member of a German communist spy ring....The authors also claim: Part of McCarthy's attack was to reach for "German" votes in Wisconsin; they claim that Tom Korb wrote McCarthy's speech; they claim that Korb was an employee of the Harnischfeger Corporation of Milwaukee, that Harnischfeger was an old McCarthy friend; that in 1942 Harnischfeger was accused by President's FEPC of discrimination against Negroes, Jews--advertised for "gentile, white and protestant" help; that Harnishhfeger made frequent trips to Germany, criticized war-crimes trials, protested dismantling of German industries; urged return of Germany's pre-war colonies, had his views reprinted by Upton Close and Joe McCarthy in Congressional record. See pp 158-164 "McCarthy: The Man, the Senator, the 'Ism.'"

*****

from RS

Item:

Two days before the Reed Harris hearing Roy Cohn spoke (officially) at a conference of the ACLU in the Henry Hudson Hotel. This week in Washington Mr. Cohn told Mr.Malan of the ACLU:"We knew the Tenny committee citation of ACLU was a mistake, otherwise I would not have appeared at your meeting and spoken." My attempt to get Malan's consent to use this quotation in your broadcast failed.

Comment:

I believe you should take pains to point out that the Moscow summer school was in connection with the University of Moscow, and not of a propaganda school teaching subversion, that is, not of a school so named and identified. McCarthy gave that impression last night. In saying the Russian authorities cancelled the project you can point out they must have been afraid of capitalist infiltration; at any rate you were not afraid of Communist contamination. etc etc.

Item.

The publication in the Record of the Reed Harris hearing carries a footnote correcting the McCarthy statement about the subverside listing of the ACLU and attributing the charge only to the California committee.

Suggestion.

Can you call the Tenny committee "notorious and discredited"?

Wes Price says he doesn't remember if we looked at his script in advance. He may have given it to you..and got it back from Miss Mac. Just doesn't remember..sometimes he submits script, sometimes not.

(It has been our practise for JZ or JA to look stuff over ~~mmmmmm~~ frequently without you seeing it)

Re Wobblies..Wes doesn't recall if you mentioned it in joking.. was surprised to be reminded that it turned up in script.

also says: hit him again.

jz

p.s its my memory that I read it over in advance without corrections.

On November 17th, 1953 one Don Surine, who I am informed has been on Senator McCarthy's personal and committee payrolls, found a way to acquaint me with the fact that photostates had been made of some pages of a 1935 Pittsb[illegible] newspaper. These photostats were handed to ANOTHER REPORTER (a colleague of mine) in the Senate Office Bldg with the admonition from Surine: "Mind you, I'm not accusing Murrow of being a commie, but why did he do that Radulovitch piece." I once did a television Report on the case of Lt. Milo Radulovitch.

The colleague who relayed to me the Surine message and the photostates handed him by Surine felt that this was a blatant attempt to intimidate me.

~~Tomorrow night on my radio program at 7:45 I shall attempt~~ to deal ~~adequately with~~ the junior senator from Wisconsin's ~~ancient material and half-truths, as they affect me.~~

I was a member of the advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow in 1935 which he refers -- In addition to the newspaper article published 18 years ago -- this information was made public more recently in a broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Junior.

And various versions of both these stories were widely mention in former Senator Frank Graham's campaign in North Carolina in 1950.

In actual fact, the [redacted] summer school was cancelled by Russian authorities before it began. Those [redacted] graduates students and professors who had signed-up for the school spent the summer travelling in the Soviet Union, and activity which was not then, and is not now, illegal. I did not [redacted] this group of distinguished educators. [redacted] the Soviet Union.

The Senator's reference to the Civil Liberties Union is another example of his too familiar technique.

In a recent television broadcast I actually said:"The attorney general's list does not, and has never listed, the American Civil Liberties Union as subversive, nor does the F. B. I, nor any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General McArthur."

The Junior senator from Wisconsin now [redacted] accuses me of lying, his contention being that the A.C.L.U. was listed by the California State Senate Committee investigating un-American activities.

I specifically stated---"the attorney general's list"...."the F.B.I."....
and "any other government agency."

I shall attempt to deal adequately with Senator McCarthy's latest reckless handling of the truth on the radio tomorrow night.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

CBS--Matter of M

D. H. Rivkin April 20, 1954

At the direction of Ned Perkins, I have sent the following documents to the files (attention of Bob Tangel):

1. Cumulative Index to Publications of the Committee On Un-American Activities

2. The McCarthy Record

3. Hart, McCarthy Versus The State Department

4. The Reporter (July 21, 1953) ("The Purgers and the Purged --articles on USIS investigation)

5. The Reporter (April 27, 1954) ("The People Vs. McCarthy" -- pp. 25-28)

6. The Saturday Review (April 3, 1954) (Review of Buckley book-- pp. 15-16, 55, 61)

7. The Commonweal (March 26, 1954) (Cogley article on ERM--p. 618)

8. New Republic (March 30, 1953) ("McCarthy's Money")

9. The Financial Affairs of McCarthy (New Republic reprint, March 30, 1953)

10. Statement of Senator William Benton before the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Rules Committee, September 28, 1951, Relating to Senate Resolution 187.

11. Note from Elliot D. Pratt to ERM attached to file folder containing series of articles in the Las Vegas Sun by Hank Greenspun ("Is Senator McCarthy A Secret Communist?")

12. Memorandum of conversation with California State Selective Service Director Kenneth Leitch.

13. AFL News-Reporter (March 19, 1954) ("Joe's Record")

14. Letter from Morris Ernst to ERM dated March 16, 1954, attaching editorial from the Trenton Evening Times of February 28, 1954 ("McCarthy a Communist?")

15. Letter from Sanford H. Bolz to ERM dated March 10, 1954, attaching materials relating to McCarthy's Senate voting record.

16. Letter from Ben Custer to ERM dated March 16, 1954, enclosing letter from Julian Boyd relating to appointment of Clapp as Librarian of Congress.

17. Memorandum from DHR to AFM dated March 5, 1953, headed Time--Libel--General, McCarthy Claim, containing a rough index of the McCarthy XBT in the Post-Standard case.

3/25/54 Revised

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2. Right Wing
3. Left Wing

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2. Statements by ERM re McC
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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MAULSBY

Time--Libel--General
McCarthy Claim

D. H. Rivkin March 5, 1953

The following is a rough index of the transcript of the examination before trial of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, held before William B. Mangin, at the offices of Bond, Schoeneck & King, 1400 State Tower Building, Syracuse, New York, on Saturday, March 29, 1952, at 10:10 a.m.:

Pages

2-3 Protest by witness that hearings are closed.

3-6 Preliminary matters such as addresses, occupation, education, etc.

6-7 McCarthy's early political ventures; campaigns for District Attorney of Shawano County and for Circuit Judge.

7-11 Criticism of McCarthy by highest court of Wisconsin for running for the Senate while a member of the Circuit Court.

11-14 McCarthy's military service and the shrapnel episode.

14-38 Personnel of McCarthy's staff in 1950; histories and activities of staff (Driscoll, Alermas, Kerr, Greeley, Nillo, Surine); circumstances under which political contributions were delivered by Miss Jean Kerr; circumstances attending separation of Donald A. Surine from the FBI.

38-46 Fedder incident; "Chicago gangland midnight ride" involving alleged kidnapping by Surine.

Pages	
46-52	Surine's investigations at Suracuse University.
52-55	Surine's conference with Charles Davis.
55-61	Sources of Surine's pay and that of other investigators; persons who contributed to pay of investigators.
61-63	Identification of Robert Voorhees and Richard Amberg.
63-75	Circumstances attending publication of the Tydings-Browder composite picture in tabloid "From the Record".
75-79	Further colloquies as to necessity for open hearings and Surine's investigation.
79-87	Miss Kerr's testimony before Monroney committee as to questioning of Browder by Tydings.
87-90	Consideration of testimony of Perry Patterson; consideration of whether McCarthy considered all testimony at Monroney hearings before writing minority report.
90-93	McCarthy's telephone conversation with Mrs. Miller concerning necessity of defeating Tydings.
93-97	McCarthy's activities in Butler campaign.
97-109	Miss Kerr's activities respecting tabloid; method of handling Butler campaign contributions received at McCarthy office; Fedder's role in distributing tabloid; McCarthy's failure to criticize Miss Kerr for her Monroney committee testimony; discussion of whether McCarthy approved of Miss Kerr's taking money to Fedder, knowing that it was to be used to distribute the tabloid.
109-113	McCarthy speech on tabloid on Senate Floor on August 20, 1951.
113-117	Miss Kerr's vacation after Butler campaign.
117-118	McCarthy's speeches during Butler campaign.
118-120	McCarthy's practice of recording speeches.

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120-121 Sources of Surine's income.

121-124 Number of investigators retained by McCarthy.

124-128 Procedure followed in McCarthy office for handling reports and offers of information relating to Communism in government; relations of McCarthy office with FBI and McCarran committee.

128-137 Procedure followed in the case of Davis's offer of information; production of subpoenaed letters and other documents relating to Davis.

137-143 Affidavit of Charles Davis, dated October 21, 1951, relating to relations with McCarthy and Ferrand.

143-144 Letter to Davis from McCarthy, dated August 15, 1950.

144-145 Letter to McCarthy from Davis, dated September 7, 1950.

145-147 Letter to McCarthy from Davis, undated.

147-148 Letter to Davis from Surine, dated November 28, 1950.

148-151 Letter to Irelan (United States Attorney) from McCarthy, recommending perjury indictment of Davis.

151-152 Diary of John Carter Vincent.

152-154 Newspaper clippings relating to Davis case.

154-155 Letter from Hummelstein to Benton relating to Davis case.

155-156 Telegram from Staempli to Vincent in Berne.

156-159 Questioning as to whether McCarthy has further Davis documents; Davis's relations with Ferrand; other contacts with Davis.

159-162 Nature of Ferrand's employment.

162-163 McCarthy's personal contacts with Davis.

163-164 Buckley's connections with Gillette committee.

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164-179 Number of American Communists and structure of American Communist Party; McCarthy's fight against Communists in State Department; tactics used by McCarthy.

179-182 Extent to which McCarthy's activities and investigations conflict with or complement those of FBI, Loyalty Review Board, and Civil Service Commission.

182-198 McCarthy's possession of loyalty files and minutes; sources of McCarthy's information for Senate speeches.

198-199 McCarthy's role in Remington case.

199-202 Sources of McCarthy's information.

202-203 Jessup case; Eisenhower letter.

The following is a rough index of the transcript of the examination before trial of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, held at an Adjourned Special Term at the Court House, Syracuse, New York, before Honorable Jesse E. Kingsley, Justice of the Supreme Court, on Monday and Tuesday, June 23 and 24, 1952:

Pages

3-15 Submission of requested communications between McCarthy and Ferrand; money payments by McCarthy to Ferrand; production of expense vouchers submitted by Ferrand; disbursements to Davis.

15-24 McCarthy's first contacts with Davis; personal contacts with Ferrand; Robert Morris's connections with Ferrand; further request for production of all correspondence with Ferrand.

24-29 Long-distance telephone calls relating to Davis case; telephone conversation with Pfortszeimer.

Pages	
29-35	McCarthy's connection with Davis proceedings; transcript of Davis trial; telephone conversations with FBI on Davis case; first letter from Davis to McCarthy; further contacts with FBI relating to Davis case.
35-36	Morris's recommendation of Ferrand to McCarthy.
36-39	McCarthy's use of Ferrand and others to investigate John Carter Vincent.
39-40	McCarthy's receipt of information from Ferrand.
40-42	McCarthy's investigation of John Carter Vincent.
42-43	Statement under oath by Ferrand in McCarthy's files.
43-45	Receipt by McCarthy of FBI or CIA reports on Davis.
45-48	McCarthy's efforts to check on Davis's reliability; McCarthy's decision that Davis was a "phony".
48-49	Telephone calls from Ferrand in Europe in 1950.
49-51	Davis letter to McCarthy; enclosure of Staempli telegram; Davis telegram to John Carter Vincent.
51-56	Davis trial in Lausanne; indictment and findings of Swiss court.
56-58	Ferrand letter to Davis.
58-61	Benton's charges against McCarthy; Veller story in Washington Star re same.
61-62	Press releases from McCarthy as to Davis case.
62-119	Various aspects of the Lustron matter, including: circumstances attending publication of booklet; McCarthy's participation in hearings on housing and formulation of Housing Act of 1948; contacts with various publishers; quality and purpose of booklet; profits realized by Lustron and McCarthy on booklet; contacts with Foley, Goodman, Simon, Denton, Widemer and Byers.

Pages

119-131 Cover story in Time Magazine, October 22, 1951.

131-156 Marking for identification of various articles on McCarthy (a list of the publications cited appears at pages 151-152).

156-158 Benton's speech in Congressional Record of August 13, 1951.

158-166 Attempts by counsel to establish elements of special damages sustained by McCarthy.

166-172 Documents to be produced at future examinations.

172-174 Persons ousted from positions of governmental responsibility as a result of McCarthy's activities.

3/24/54 Revised (6 copies)

~~FILES~~
~~ECP~~
~~JER destroyed~~
~~DHR destroyed~~
~~I file (spare)~~
~~II file (spare)~~
~~III file returned~~

3/25/54 Revised (5 copies)

1. ECP
2. SALANT
3. FILES
4. EXTRA (MEMO DUPS FILE)
5. DHR

3/24/54 (8 COPIES)

~~ECP returned~~
~~FHB returned~~
~~DHR returned~~
~~JER returned~~
SALANT
~~FILES returned~~
~~1 copy~~
~~extra copy~~
~~extra copy~~

MOST IMPORTANT: Will use folders of 1933 and 1934 trips to Russia..quoting from glowing reports of what can be seen in " great experiment ", etc...Also bringing in sponsorship by Intourist, VOKS, etc....Stephen Duggan, " father of Lawrence," etc

EDWARD R. MURROW... and associates (one of writers and at least one ad man, probably from Kenyon & Eckhardt)

Might find it helpful to check some of this material which is being prepared for use by McCarthy:

THEME: Murrow is a long time ally and associate of Communist Russia; he has been closely associated and identified with Commies, fellow-travelers, and subversives.

Material being researched:

1. Institute of Pacific Relations: Report #2050
   p. 37: Testimony of Bozolepoy on VOKS (which sponsored Soviet trips)
   p. 49: Holland report

2. Indianapolis Star ..editorial of Feb. 24, 54 : " Daily Worker praises Murrow "

3. The Bulletin, League of Free Nations Association: Vol. 1, No. 3 and No. 4

   apparently trying to tie Murrow in with directors, notably Stephen Duggan,

   Lillian Wald, Owen Lovejoy.

4. William T. Gernaey testimony before Special Committee on Un-American activities 75th Congress, Vol. 2: p: 1482-83; 1494; 1561; 1654; 1658; 1660 (or either of pages which open at these spots).

   Vol 4: 2514 2516

   Vol 1: 90 115 116 125 162 248 250 254 423 424 438 440
   462 527 536 570 689

   Object: League of Peace and Democracy.

5. THE WORLD CRISIS...OUR WAY OUT....Address given before Annual Meeting of the American Council of Education, Chicago, Ill. May 6, 1950

   Object: to tie in Owen Lattimore.

6. Publishers Weekly..Nov. 8, 1947. Currents in the Trade. p. 2251

Other research on: Civil Liberties Union to show that it was cited as subversive by:California Legislative Committee (will use quotes from Roger
Ham Fish Committee in 1930 or 1931. Baldwin..Harvard Class Book)

Also attempt to show that hump-backed lady who was great influence on Murrow was either Pink or Communist.

Also tie in with National Students Union.

NOTE: A Dr. Shotwell who testified in IPR hearings that he was ina room with 19 Marxists and one anti-Marxists(himself)..attempt will be to have Shotwell swear Murrow was among 19.

Other themes being studied: Harold Laski

Anti-Conscription Campaign

SCRIPTS PULLED OUT OF FILE

Laurence Duggan	December 21, 1948
Harry Dexter White*	November 9, 1953 November 11, 1953 November 12, 1953
Hiss-Chambers*	June 1, 1949 June 2, 1949 June 3, 1949 June 23, 1949 June 24, 1949 June 25, 1949 June 27, 1949 June 28, 1949 June 29, 1949 June 30, 1949 November 18, 1949 January 25, 1950
Owen Lattimore*	May 2, 1950 May 3, 1950 June 24, 1952 April 6, 1950
Dr. Oppenheimer	April 13, 1954
Hollywood Ten	October 27, 1947

* Scripts lawyers have

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

June 12, 1964

Dear Ed:

Gordon Ewing has just sent me a long article on American television standards which appeared in the Italian weekly Espresso. A paragraph that I thought you would enjoy is enclosed.

We all hope you are having a good vacation. Are you writing the book?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert A. Lincoln

Enclosure

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Glen Arden Farm
Pawling, New York

Excerpt from article: "TV Journalism in Other Countries: U. S. A." (Espresso, Italian weekly)

We learn from history, however, that neither the best technical apparatus nor the best constitutional and juridical guarantees are enough to create and maintain an atmosphere of true freedom. This can be done only by courageous individuals. Fortunately there were people in the American television who preferred the risk of freedom to an easy life. It is hard to say how much America is indebted to Edward Murrow's courage. In 1954, when McCarthy was at the peak of his terrifying political adventure and even President Eisenhower was afraid to attack him publicly, Murrow prepared a documentary which could have cost him his career. Analyzing with ferocious precision the methods and the ambitions of the senator from Wisconsin, throwing in his face the contradictions of his intimidating and slanderous campaign, Murrow clearly exposed the dangers of McCarthyism. High members of the government, who had seemed paralyzed with fear, began acting; shortly after the Army accepted McCarthy's challenge that the American Forces were a den of subversion. Within a few months the senator who had terrorized thousands of citizens had become a lone man without followers. The McCarthy documentary is however only one of Ed Murrow's memorable shows. His last great act of courage, before Kennedy called him to the office of Director of USIA, was a documentary on the national shame of labor migration.

This reporter stands before family and friends of Edward Klauber, as a result of an undertaking given several years ago. It was a request casually asked, and almost laughingly agreed to, without a thought of the total absence of qualifications to honor the pledge, when it was called. On that happier day Ed Klauber said to me: "When I am finished, I want you to do something for me - just say a few words." Having lightly agreed, I realized his seriousness and inquired as to what I should say. He replied: "That's your problem." And he added: "You'll at least be brief, though not brilliant, and this will give some pleasure to those friends who may be there.

He wanted no eulogy, and I shall attempt none. He fully realized the futility of words, when friends draw together for a few tranquil moments of remembrance and respect.

Being unable to voice what is in <u>your</u> hearts, I shall try to speak of what is in <u>mine.</u>

Ed Kaluber was an intolerant man - intolerant of deceit, deception, distortion and double talk. He was also a man equipped with great curiosity, prepared and eager to pursue the truth wherever it might lead him. He was willing, and indeed determined, that the citizenry should be supplied in abundant quantity, with that most dangerous and explosive force known to mankind - knowledge. He deeply believed, that equipped with this weapon, they would in the end of the

day, consolidate and secure the position of tolerance, human dignity, due process and forbearance, the vision of which had sustained and uplifted our ancestors. Democratic processes were to him not something to be jettisoned in time of peril.

Upon one occasion this reporter was unable to finish the draft of a speech. It had to do with these very subjects wo which I have referred. I sought Ed Klauber's advice. He said: "You have it all there, in your fashion." And then he leaned back in that red leather chair, and said: "It is our heritage, and it must remain our habit."

Ed Klauber believed that: "Search for the truth is the noblest occupation of man. Its publication is a duty." He was always willing to "give to every other human being every right that he claimed for himself."

He was a great editor, always insisting that it had to be right, before it was written. He was sparing with his praise and penetrating with his criticism, sometimes satisfied with the best a reporter could do, but always expecting improvement. If there be standards of integrity, responsibility and restraint, in American radio news, Ed Klauber, more than any other man, is responsible for them. Insofar as those elements are lacking, those of us who worked for him have departed from his teachings.

He was not a doctrinaire man. He believed, I think, that a man should be held accountable for everything he said, not throughout eternity, but until facts

or events caused him to change his mind. He believed in what has been called the long, sober second look of the American people. He did not, I think, require agreement with his views as aprerequisite for friendship; and he would, I think, have stood with Thomas Moore when he said: "Shall I ask the brave soldier, who fights by my side in the cause of mankind, if our creeds agree? Shall I give up the friend I have valued and tried, if he kneel not before the same altar with me?"

I have said that Ed Klauber was an intolerant man. Someone once said: "It is easy to be tolerant when you do not care." He cared till the last. He believed that democracy was both workable and exportable. He knew that there were mysterious areas in human faith and belief, and he was prepared for them to remain mysterious. But he wanted no mystery about discernible, ascertainable facts and actions. He would, I think, have agreed with Milton, who said: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose, to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do ingloriously by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple who ever knew truth put to the worst, in a free and open encounter." He believed that the greatest friend of truth is time. Her greatest enemy is prejudice." And the greatest weapon against prejudice is knowledge and yet more knowledge. He knew of no alternative.

I do not know whether he believed in the essential goodness or badness of man, but I do know that he believed passionately that the communication of information, unslanted, untarnished and undistorted, was the only means by which mankind would progress. He knew that just because injustice, indignity and inhumanity was not happening to him - he knew that it was still happening. He was capable of feeling the suffering of others, capable, too, of great confidence in a future that often appeared to him both dim and dismal.

His confidence and friendship were not easily won, and once given were not lightly withdrawn. I do not know that he loved his fellow men, but he trusted them collectively.

It would be presumptuous of any reporter to attempt to express what an old and well-beloved friend believed. But I do know that last year - ill, tired and thoughtful - Ed Klauber cut out of a newspaper and kept, these lines written by Wallace Stegner:

"In all honesty, what I believe is neither inspirational nor evangelical. Passionate faith I am suspicious of, because it hangs witches and heretics, and generally I am more in sympathy with the witches and heretics, than with the sectarians who hang and burn them. I fear immoderate zeal, Christian, Moslem, Communist, or whatever, because it restricts the range of human understanding,

and the wise reconciliation of human differences, and creates an Orthodoxy with a sword in its hand.

"I cannot say that I am even a sound Christian, though the code of conduct to which I subscribe, was preached more eloquently by Jesus Christ than by any other. About God I simply do not know; I don't think I can know.

"However far I have missed achieving it, I know that moderation is one of the virtues I most believe in. But I believe as well, in a whole catalogue of Christian and classical virtues; in kindness and generosity, in steadfastness and courage and must else. I believe further that good depends not on things, but on the use we make of things. Everything potent, from human love to atomic energy, is dangerous; it produces ill about as readily as good; it becomes good only through the control, the discipline, the wisdom with which we use it. Must of this control is social, a thing which laws and institutions and uniforms enforce, but much of it must be personal and I do not see how we can evade the obligation to take full responsibility for what we individually do. Our reward for self-control, and the acceptance of private responsibility, is not necessarily money or power. Self-respect and the respect of others are quite enough.

"All this is to say, that I believe in conscience, not as something implanted by divine act, but as something learned from infancy, from the tradition and society which have bred us. The outward forms of virtue will vary greatly from

nation to nation; a Chinese scholar of the old school, or an Indian raised on the Vedas, has a conscience that will differ from mine. But in the essential outlines of what constitutes human decency, we vary amazingly little. The Chinese and the Indian know as well as I do, what kindness it, what generosity is, what fortitude is. They can define justice quite as accurately. It is only when they and I are blinded, by tribal and denominational narrowness, that we insist upon our differences, and can recognize goodness only in the robes of our own crowd."

I have attempted no words to describe our collective sense of sorrow, nor our sympathy for the members of Edward Klauber's family, because I do not command such words. And even if I did, they would be altogether superfluous. Those of us who worked for him, and with him, will remain in his debt. We are beholden for what he taught us, for he lived a life and not an apology.

Washington, Feb. 15--1948--General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower said in his final report as Chief of Staff of the Army to Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall that the European Recovery Program (the "Marshall Plan") insures the survival of Western European countries without which "we would [redacted] find ourselves facing across narrowing [redacted] ocean and Arctic barriers a despotic Colossus spread over and beyond the combined Eurasian territories of the Roman Empire, the Persia of [redacted] antiquity, the Germanic kings and the Mongol khans."

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Words for the Day:

Benjamin Franklin, At the signing of the Declaration of Independece, July 4, 1776:

"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

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Thomas Paine, The Crisis, Number 1.

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it NOW, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap. we esteem too lightly; 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange ineeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated."

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Paine, The Crisis, Number 1.

"'Tis surprising to see how rapidly a panic will sometimes run through a country....H Yet panics, in some cases, have their uses; they produce as much good as hurt. Their duration is always short; the mind soon grows throug them, and acquires a firmer habit than before. But their peculiar advantage is, that they are the touchstones of sincerity and hypocrisy, and brings things and men to light, which might other wise have lain forever undiscovered In fact, they have the same effect on secret traitors which an imaginary apparition would have upon a private murderer. They sift out the hidden thoughts of men and hold them up in public to the world."

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Paine, The Crisis, Number 1.

"And what is a tory? Good God! what is he? I shouldnot be afraid to go

with a hundred whigs against a thousand tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every tory is a coward; for servile, slavish, self-interested fear is the foundation of toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave."

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Paine, The Crisis, Number One.

"Though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire."

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Paine, the Crisis, Number One.

"The heart that feels not now, is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made them happy. (I love a man that can smile at trouble; that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection.) 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light."

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Paine, The Crisis, Number One.

"Let them call me rebel, and welcome, I feel no concern from it; but I should suffer the misery of devils, were I to make a whore of my soul by swearing allegiance to one whose character is that of a sottish, stupid, worthless, brutish man. I conceive likewise a horrid idea in receiving mercy from a being, who at the last day shall be shrieking to the rocks and mountains to cover him, and fleeing with terror from the orphan, the widow and the slain of America."

words.

Paine, The Crisis, Number One.

"There are cases which cannot be overdone by language, and this is one. There are persons too who see not the full extent of the evil which threatens them; they solace themselves with hopes that the enemy, if he succeed, will be merciful. Is this the madness of folly to expect mercy from those who have refused to do justice; and even mercy, where conquest is the object, is only a trick of war; the cunning of the fox is as murderous as the violence of the wolf; and we ought to guard equally against both."

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The Crisis, Number 4, Paine.

"Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it. "

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Paine, the Crisis, Number 4.

"Men who are sincere in defending their freedom,will always feel concern at every circumstance which seems to make against them; it is the natural and honest consequence of all afectionate attachments, and the want of it is a vice. But the dejection lasts only for a moment; they soon rise out of it with additional vigor; the glow of hope, courage and fortitude, will, in a little time, supply the place of every inferior passion, and kindle the whole heart into heroism."

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Paine, the Crisis Number 4.

"There is a mystery in the countance of some causes, which we have not always present judgement enough to explain. It is distressing to see an an enemy adanding into a ountry, but it is the only pace in whcih we can beat them, and in whih we have ah always beaten them, whenever they made the attempt."

words.

Paine, the Crisis, #4.

"The nearer any disease aproaches to a crisis, the nearer it is to a curer. Danger and deliverance make their adunces together, and it is only the last push, in which one or the other takes the lead."

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Paine, the Crisis, #4:

"There are many men who will do their duty when it is not wanted; but a genuine public spirit always appears most when there is most occasion for it."

Paine, the Crisis, #4.

"To argue with a man who has renounced the use and authority of reason, and whose philosophy consists in holding humanity in contempt, is like administering medicine to the dead, or endeavouring to convert an atheist by scripture. Enjoy, sir, your insensibility of feeling and reflecting. It is the prerogative of animals And no man will envy you these honors, in which a savage only can be your rival and a bear your master."

Paine, The Crisis, #4.

"As you have already made your exit from the moral world, and by numberless acts both of passionate and deliberate injustice engraved an "here lyeth" on your deceased honour, it must be mere affectation in you to pretend concerns at the humours or opinions of mankind respecting you. What remains of you may expire at any time. The sooner the better. For he who survives his reputation, lives out of despite of himself, like a man listening to his own reproach."

Senator Leverett Saltonstall is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Saltonstall is a Republican. He is up for re-election. He is worried about the votes in Boston. The Boston vote may swing the tide against him if Saltonstall says anything against McCarthy. Saltonstall's friends say that he does not like McCarthy or his methods. But they say Saltonstall must remain silent lest the so-called pro-McCarthy vote in Boston is aroused against him. Many Senators say that the controversy between the Army and McCarthy over the Cohn-Schine case should most properly be investigated by Saltonstall's committee. The argument is that if it is left to the McCarthy committee, McCarthy becomes defendant, complainant, witness, prosecutor, defense attorney, judge, jury. On the other hand, Saltonstall's armed services committee is charged with responsibility for activities conerned with the armed forces. But Saltonstall says he wants nothing to do with the McCarthy-Cohn case. Saltonstall says he hopes and prays his committee will not have to concern itself with the controversy.

Leverett Saltonstall is one of the most peasant, best-liked men in the Senate of the United States. He came to the Senate six years ago with the reputation for decency, righteousness, self-respect. He is regarded as a "middle-of-the-road" Eisenhower Republican. Saltonstall is a New Englander whose American ancestry dates back far beyond the American Revolution. One of his ancestors was a judge in the Salem Witch Trials of 1692. It is rather an instructive story. I should like to tell it.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692 was sorely beset. The colonists had fallen upon hard times. Smallpox, Indian raids, fear that land rights would be upset because the colony's charter had earlier been revoked (1684); there was also a widespread fear that Doomsday was at hand, that the world would come to an end at the close of the century--8 years away.

Into this climate of fear stepped some of the young, unmarried girls of Salem. The girls had experienced flashes of dizziness, fainting spells,

body twichings, fits of epileptic proportions. They said they were being persecuted by withces. At first, some townspeople of Salem said that what the girls needed were a good whipping. But in that climate of anxiety of 1692, there were many Salem townspeople--including the most respectable--who felt that where there was smoke, there was fire. (This was before the days when it became common knowledge that men could make their own smokescreens.) And then, those young girls began to name names.

One after another, the young Salem girls called off the names of the witches--witches who by powers of evil, could cast an evil eye, could cast a Shape and without touching their victims, or saying anything, or doing anything, these witches were capable of great physical and moral evil. The names were called, trials were held, the young accusers rolled in torture on the courtroom floor, the ~~victims~~ accused were brought before trial, they were found guilty, and one by one, they were hanged. They had been accused of witchcraft.

Now there were many decent, self-respecting people in Salem who felt the horror and repugnance of these witchcraft trials. At first they protested, but when they did, the young girls turned their pointing finger at the protestants--and those who protested were also found guilty...and hanged...as witches. At least fourteen were hanged in Salem alone--more elsewhere throughout the collny--dozens if not hu dreds were accused of being withhes, brought to ~~trik~~ prison and condemned by accusation ~~x~~ if not by proof.

One of the judges in the early Salem witchcraft trials was Nathaniel Saltonstall. Saltonstall came from Haverhill, quite a distance--in those days--from Salem. Haverhill had hot yet been subjected to the Salem witchcracft hysteria. Saltonstall--Nathaniel--had a reputation among his Haverhill friends--a reputation for decency, righteousness, fair play.

Here, I should like to quote from "The Devil in Massachusetts," by Miss Marion L. Starkey. (One of Miss Starkey's ancestors was born on the Mayflower--an event we understand which happened before Yalta, Tehran, Potsdam.)

P. 156: "When the (witchcraft) trials were resumed on June 28, (1692) not the closest observer could detect any deviation in procedure. Presently however, there was one. Saltonstall, whose Haverhill home was far removed from the storm center of witchcraft, could not bring himself to believe the pretensions of the afflicted girls or the evidence on which convictions were being obtained; nor on the other hand could he single-handed reform such proceedings. Accordingly he resigned from the bench and the experienced Corwin of Salem took his place.

"Saltonstall did not retreat from such a battle unscathed. His nerves must have been sorely, for in Haverhill he took to drinking heavily, so heavily that Sewall, (another judge) himself no teetotaler, felt obliged to write and reprove him. In the same letter he assured him that he still trusted him in spite of recent reports. For although Saltonstall had withdrawn so quietly that the general public probably supposed that he had no other reason than the necessity of giving his full attention to renewed raids on Haverhill by the Indians, his defection had not escaped the attention of the afflicted girls and their counsellors. Some of them were now crying out on him; they had plainly seen his Shape under incriminating circumstances."

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The reign of terror that began in Salem in 1692 extended throughout the Bay Colony--and no one was safe from the accusations of the young girls: Everyone was a potential witch--clergymen, a judge--and finally, the accusation of witchcraft was made against a member of the highest family of the colony--against the wife of Governor Phips. It was when this madness reached into such high places that the witch hunt in Salem

cracked. The respectable people, the honest people, the decent people whp hadn't believed the accusations of w tchcraft in the first place, finally found their tongue. Restitution began to be made; but the witches who had been hanged on Gallows Hill could be the beneficiaires of retroactive sympathy only. The climate of fear lasted for over ten years; the scars of shame went deep, and even to this day have not been healed. For it was only recently (check this) that the Massachusetts Legilsature refused to exonarate the last two witches of 1692. Not that any legislator thought their ancestorswere witches, but--as one of them said--Salem depended on tourist trade to see the site of old witchcraft... and if all the witches were exonerated, it would be bad for business.

Nathaniel Saltonstall does not seem to be heard from after his defection from the bench. Although he himself was accused of being a witch, he avoided being brought to trial. Miss Starkey notes (p. 222) that in the early days, Saltonstall was the only one in authority who had indicated by some sign that he disagreed with the ~~witxxx~~hunt.for witches. He had given the sign by silence, by withdrawal, by taking to drink. And Miss Starkey adds a comment that may be of value to all/descendants of Nathaniel Saltonstall's--actual and spiritual--

"Silence may have an eloquence of its own, but only in the long run. Opposition can hardly rally around a man who merely withdraws and shuts his mouth."

From the beginning of time we have had Salem witch hunts. They were born in sick minds, and fed upon minds sickened with fear. And like any sickness of epidemic proportions, no one is immune. The difference between animal and man is that man'~~xxxx~~ brain teaches him that sickness can be cured. The good doctor does not ask a sick nation to commit suicide. He brings in medicine, calls on the sick to help cleanse themselves, the better to fight off the disease. In our present case, it would seem that

the medicine is in plenty supply, does not cost a penny, and is carried by every single person who wants to use it. That medicine is guts.

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Word for the Day: Thomas Paine, The Crisis Papers, #4:

"The hearer any disease approaches to a crisis, the nearer it is to a cure. Danger and deliverance make their advances together, and it is only the last push, in which one or the other takes the lead.

"There are many men who will do their duty when it is not wanted; but a genuine public spirit always appears most when ~~their~~ there is most occasion for it."

Or,

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Paine, The Crisis, Number One,

"The heart that fee;s not now, is dead; the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made <u>them</u> happy. (I love a man that can smile at trouble; that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection.) 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm , and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death. My own line of reasoning is to myself as straight and clear as a ray of light." ******

Who Said That...

Congressional Record, July 26, 1949--

"If then we feel it is this important to keep alive in the world the principle of the dignity of man, and our standards of justice and right; if we think it important enough to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of thousands of young men, and jeopardize the economy of our country by giving away billions of dollars, then it is of utmost importance that we demonstrate at all times to the people of the world that our form of government actually is what we say it is--that it is more fair, more honest, more decent than the governments they have known under Hitler or Stalin, and that our form of government stands for the rights of the individual over and above those of the state."

--Joseph Raymond McCarthy--in his attack on the United States Army for having prosectued German Nazi Storm Trooper (SS) Generals) who had been responsbile for the slaughter of 150 American soldiers and many more civilians in the Malmedy Massacre at the Battle of Bastogne, Christmastime, 1944.

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(Anderson and May, in their book McCarthy: The Man, the Senator, the Ism, say that a German Commu ist Rudolph schenauer, fed McCarthy material in Mccarthy's onslaught against the US army and defense of the Nazis. McC still hasn't sued.)

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Who Said That

"The hopes of civilization rest on the worthy sxix shoulders of the courageous Russian army." --Gen. Douglass MacArthur, 1942.

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"In Russia's fight to survive as a nation lies the great hope of the world for early peace." --Chicago Tribu e, 1942.

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"Russia is likely to come out of the war the greatest democracy in the world."--Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, quoted in Time, 1943.

1

D.MC

LESIS: Now, Mr. Edward R. Murrow on another television network nade an attack on you, ahalf-hour attack, I believe it was, night before last. Would you care to comment on that attack by Mr. M against you.

MCC: (2) I may say Fulton that I have a little difficulty answering the specific attack he made because I never listen to the extreme left-wing, bleeding heart element of radio and television However, after you invited me to come over here and appear on your program, I started to check into Mr. Murrow's background a bit, and you'll note I have in my hand a copy of the Pittsburgh Sun Telegram. It's dated Feb. 18, 1935; the headline: "American advisors to communist propaganda school". You'll see there is reproduced the front of a booklet entitled: "Moscow University Summer Session". on the national advisory council, Edward R. Murrow, assistant director, Institute of International Education. The story goes on to tell what the Moscow University taught. If I may quote from it; "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order".

also - NY Herald Paper

McC: This may explain whey Edward R. Murrow, week after week, feels that he must smear McCarthy. Now, just what distrubed him so much the other night I don't know. Maybe he is worried about the fact that he having been on the natioanl advisory council of Moscow University, having advised people to attend that school, which according to this teaches, again I quote "the overthrow of the entire traditional social order". Maybe Mr. Murrow was worried about the exposure of some of his friends. I don't know.

LEWIS: Now, the American Civil Liberites Union, he said...he quoted you as having said something about the American Civil Liberties Union as being...as having been listed as a subversive organization, and said that that was not so. Do you care to comment on that?

McC; Yes, I don't mind...may I say there are some individuals in the ACLU who are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not been listed. I have as you see here, Fulton, the fourth report of the un-American Activities Committee in Californai. I quote

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McC: from page 107...this is a quotation in regard to the organization Murrow said had not been listed, "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a communist-front or transmission-belt organization. At least ninety percent of its efforts are expended on behalf of communists who come into conflict with the law." So that again, Mr. Murrow is not telling the truth.

LEWIS: ...Flanders

re ACLU

53

Times.. Feb 13.. page 9

Feb 12

says Cohn and Robert Morris, counsel Sen subcom internal security among 16 speakers who addr ssed NY Civil Liberties Union Henry Hudson hotel

on "Civil Liberties in a world of tension"

~~[illegible]~~

Mc started questioning Harris in Was March 3 4

IE.. two weeks after Cohn at ACLU

Mc attacks Harris re aclu

VOICE OF AMERICA REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

MADE BY ITS SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

DOCUMENT REPORT #928--83rd CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

PAGE EIGHT, FOOTNOTE 20.

"Testimony at Page 333, Part 5, of instant hearings discloses that Harris, when suspended from Columbia University in 1932, was supplied with an attorney by the American Civil Liberties Union which had been listed as a front of the Communist Party. It is noted that this organization has not been so cited by the HCUA or so listed by the Attorney General. It was so cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities."

Copy of this document will be given to you this afternoon. It exists.

TRANSCRIPT OF FILMED INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR MCCARTHY - OCT. 23, 1953.

REPORTER'S QUESTION: What is the net result so far of your investigation of possible security leaks at Fort Monmouth?

SEN. MCCARTHY'S ANSWER: It's pretty hard to give you the net result in one minute's time. But some of the good results...number one, the number of suspensions out there indicates the forceful, the intelligent, and energetic attempt being made by General Lawton here who is the commanding officer and by the new Army Secretary Stevens to really do a housecleaning job. I think one of the most encouraging things from the standpoint of men like General Lawton, I know he's not in a position to comment on it, is that they know now that they have a Secretary of the Army now who will back them up when they suspend communists and suspected espionage agents. In the past many of the commanding generals, especially at Fort Monmouth found that when they would suspend a man because of communist activities, because they thought he was an espionage agent, and if the suspension is upheld by the first army it would go down to the political board in Washington.

I'm talking about the old administration, the old Truman Administration. And the case would be reversed and sent back

and the generals here and other generals would be ordered to reinstate them....and put them back handling secret work. I think the most encouraging thing we found is the complete, wholehearted cupport of the new Secretary of the Army, of the commanding generals in Fort Monmouth and other points who want to clean communists and potential espionage agents out of the organization.

Edwards: One subject that keeps cropping up at the Hearings is Fort Monmouth--- the McCarthy investigations there....

So we though it might be instructive tonight to return to the source of that continuing story---- Fort Monmouth--- the "home of the signal corps" in New Jersey---- 50 miles outside New York City..

Here on these sprawling acres last fall--- where super-sensitive work goes forward on radar and other secret signal equipment---- Senator McCarthy began his search for spies and subversives...

On the twentieth of October, before the relationship between Secretary Stevens and Senator McCarthy started turning sour, the Secretary and the Senator visited the signal laboratories----

Very amicable that day and all smiles.... that mood prevailing apparently, right up until

the moment of departure----McCarthy and Stevens leaving for the return trip to Washington on the same plane...

The investigations were at Monmouth---- the actual hearings on signal corps subversion were held at the Federal Court House in New York---- And there during those hearings, we glimpse (then still a civilian) G. David Schine (in the light suit standing behind the Senator)---investigative aide to the Senator without pay.

Schine walking: Our cameras caught Schine with Monmouth Commander General Lawton, Signal Corps Chief General Back and Senator McCarthy as they left for lunch.

Court house: While the Mohmouth investigations were still underway on October 23rd last, we asked how things were going---

Comm. session and this is what Senator McCarthy told us.

SOUND

Hitler: Mein Kamf: Reynal Hitchcock, 1941. Page 313.

"Therewith, one started out with the very correct assumption that in the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of a people may be more corrupt in the bottom of their hearts than they will be consciously and intentionally bad, therefore with the primitive simplicity of their minds they will more easily fall victims to a great lie than to a small one, since they themselves perhaps also lie sometimes in little things, but would certainly still be too much ashamed of too great lies." ~~Thus such~~

(Hitler here has preceded with an attack on the German ~~communistic~~ "Jewry and its Marxist fighting organization" (presumably German Social-Democratic party) for having blamed Ludendorff with the loss of the war. Hitler called this the great lie, but then went on —above—to explain sympathetically why the Great Lie is useful.) He followed directly, by saying:

"Thus such an untruth will not at all enter their heads, and therefore they will be unable to believe in the possibility of the enormous impudence of the most infamous distortion in others; indeed, they may doubt and hesitate even when being enlightened, and they accept any cause at least as nevertheless being true; therefore, just for this reason some part of the most imprudent lie will remain and stick; a fact which all great lying artists and societies

of this world know only too well and therefore also villainously employed."

Russian interests at that conference. There is more to the book than that. I find ~~it~~ in it almost textually exact the blueprint for unlimited, indiscriminate benevolence abroad comprehended in the Marshall Plan. In fact, in 1945 Browder in his book gave almost a complete blueprint of the Marshall Plan and of the administration's point 4 program."

Perhaps neglectfully, McCarthy does not mention that Eisenhower was a firm supporter of the Marshall Plan. (Check Ike's Senate appearance pro Marshall Plan.) Amazingly, we find Senator McCarthy endorsing the widespread reading of a book by a man who was head of the Communist Party in the United States. Musingly, we recall that McCarthy testified as a defense witness for Earl Browder in 1951 (years after Browder deposed as head of communist party.) (check date.) McCarthy had every right to do so, and there is no accusation here of guilt by association—on neither side—although McCarthy's office was not averse to using a composite picture of Browder and Senator Tydings in the successful campaign to defeat Tydings in the Maryald elections of 1950.

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As the junior senator from Wisconsin is fond of saying: here are the coldly documented facts. The fact is that on June 15, 1951 Joseph Reynolds McCarthy delivered a speech on the floor of the Senate charging a plot in America's Retreat from Victory, "a product of a great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such ventures in the history of man." "How can we account for our present situation unless we believe

that men high in this (Truman) government are concerting to deliver us to disaster." And: "It is when we return to an examination of General Marshall's record since the Spring of 1942 that we approach an explanation of the carefully planned retreat from victory." And, when McCarthy examines Marshall's record he finds that Marshall's planning section "was under the command of Colonel Dwight D. Eisenhower." And: "In all these attitudes (on Sicily versus Second Front) Eisenhower, who had become commander in chief in North Africa, was Marshall's firm supporter." And: "In Tunis, Churchill brought to bear upon Marshall and Eisenhower, who invariably sided with Marshall...."

edit. note

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If we were Joseph Reynolds McCarthy, we would be tempted to draw a conclusion from this socalled immense conspiracy against America which McCarthy links to Marshall and then links to the man who is now the President of the United States. We are not Joseph Reynolds McCarthy—but McCarthy is—and his capabilities would appear to be endless. It is of course possible that the junior senator from Wisconsin will produce secret witnesses to testify that he never wrote this speech. And many might agree that while the language of June 14th, 1951 may have been the voice of Joseph Reynolds McCarthy, the words may have been put in his mouth by others. The Senator may produce secret witnesses to prove that a group of men around him have been urging him over the past few years to use the slogan of anti-communism to: Demoralize the state department; divide our allies; charge treason against a party of 27 million voters; demoralize our armed forces; imply that any one who ever had

an idea, thought or association that was unpopular in the past, can be linked with treason through the alien processof guilt by association; instilled in our population the fear that fascism at home is becoming more dangerous than communist imperialism abroad; and charged that elements of treason can be linked directly to the present government. We submit that any one man who can so divide his country and weaken its position in face of the communist enemy abroad, is a man who would enjoy the fullest approval by that enemy—Soviet communist imperialism. As Republican Senator Flanders has said: Senator McCarthy no longer claims or wants any support from the communist fringe which may have been active in his primary victory in 1946. It appears that Joseph Reynolds McCarthy never actually joined the communist party, nor ever actually paid any dues. And we would be willing to stick our necks out and defend him against any such charges by any secret witnesses who might suddenly appear on the scene. Consciously or unconsciously, it would seem that someone has been following the communist line of dividing America at home, and dividing America from its allies abroad.

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Adolf Hitler—Mein Kamf, quoted in St. Louis Post Dispatch, Feb 18, 1951 (checking book now

"The greatness of the lie is always a certain factor in being believed; at the bottom of their hearts, the great masses of a people are more likely to be misled than to be consciously and deliberately bad, and in the primitive simplicity of their minds, they are more easily victimized by a large than by a small lie...Some part of even the boldest lie is sure to stick."

Hitler—Mein Kamp—Reynal and Hitchcock edition, 1941, p. ~~235~~ 234

"The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. As a consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them like ~~xxxxxxx~~ slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word. As soon as one sacrifices this basic principle and tries to become versatile, the ffect will fritter away, as the masses are neither able to digest the material offered nor to retain it. Thus the resultis weakened and finally eliminated."

Jefferson.

Mr. Hurlow

Jefferson to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, his oldest and favorite grandson, Nov 24, 1808.

"In stating prudential rules for our government in society, I must not omit the important one of never entering into dispute or argument with another. I never saw an instance of one oftwo disputants convincing the other by argument. I have seen many, on their getting warm, becoming rude and shooting one another. Conviction is the effect of our own dispassionate reasoning, either in solitude, or weighing with ourselves, dispassionately, what we hear from others, standing uncommitted in argument ourselves. It was one of the rules which, above all others, made Doctor Franklin the most amiable of men in society, "never to contradict anybody." If he wasurged to announce an opinion, he did it rather by asking questions, as if for information, or by suggesting doubts. When I hear another express an opinion which is not mine, I say to myself, he has a right to his opinion, as I to mine; why should I question it? His error does me no injury, and shall I become a Don Quixote, to bring all men by force of argument to one opinion? If a fact be misstated, it is probable he is gratified by a belief of it, and I have no right to deprive him of the gratification. If he wants information, he will ask ~~for~~ it, and then I will give it in measured terms; but if he still believes his own story, and shows a desire to dispute the fact with me, I hear him and say nothing. It is his affair, not mine, if he prefers error. There are two classes of disputants most frequently to be met with among us. The first is of young students, just entered the threshold of science, with a first view of its outlines, not yet filled up with the details and mondifications which a further progress would bring to their knowledge. The other consists of the ill-temepered and rude men in society, who have taken up a passion for politics. (Good humor and politeness never introduce into mixed society, a question on which they foresee there will be a difference of opinion.) From both of these classes of disputants, my dear Jefferson, keep aloof, as you would from the infected subjects of yellow fever or pestilence. Consider yourself, when with them, as among the patients of Bedlam, needing medical, more than moral counsel. (Our itals.) Be a listener only, keep within yourself, and endeavour to establish with yourself the habit of silence, especially on politics. In the fevered state of our country, no good can ever result from any attempt to set one of these

fiery zealots to rights, either in fact or principle. They are determined as to the facts they will believe, and the opinions on which they will act. Get by them, therefore, as you would by an angry bull; it is not for a man of sense to dispute the road with such an animal...My character is not within their power. It is in the hands of my fellow citizens at large, and will be consigned to honor or infamy by the verdict of the republican mass of our country, according to what themselves have seen, not what their enemeies and mine shall have said. Never, therefor, consider these puppies in politics as requiring any notice from you, and always show that you are not afraid to leave my character to the umpirage of public opinion.

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Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Rush, Sept 23, 1800 (Jeff attacked clergy which had slandered him.)

"The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, and they believe that any portion of power confided to me, will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly: for I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. (itals ours.) But this is all they have to fear from me: and enough too in their opinion... (underlined words appear in Jefferson Memorial in Washington.)

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Jefferson's first inaugural address, March 4,1801. (Background: Alien and Sedition Acts,1798, in moments of frenzied fear of French Jacobinism, led Federalists in power to pass acts making it crime for an citizen to criticize American govt, and stripping aliens of right to stay in America if they were found guilty of un-American Jacobinist ideas. Jefferson fought laws, country in 1800 election threw out Federalists and made Jefferson president.)

Jefferson spoke for: "...the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trials by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the

blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith--the text of civil instruction--the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

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Also from Hefferson's first inaugural address, March 4, 1801.

"All too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which, would be oppression. Let us then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not (surprising) wonderful that the agitations of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others; that this should divide opinions as to measures of safety. <u>But every difference of opinion</u> is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans--we are federalists. <u>If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.</u> I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this,

on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the laws, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

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Jefferson to Dr. William Backe, Feb 2 1800.

"Our citizens...should...rally firmly and in close bands round their Constitution. Never to suffer an iota of it to be infringed. To inculcate on minorities the duty of acquiesence in the will of the majority; and on majorities a respect for the right of the minority. (Itals Jefferson's.)

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Jefferson to John Dickinson, March 6, 1801.

"The storm through which we have passed, has been tremendous indeed. The tough sides of our Argosy have been thoroughly tried. Her strength has stood the waves into which she was steered, with a view to sink her. We shall put her on her republican tack, and she will now show by the beauty of her motion the skill of her builders. Figure apart, our fellow-citizens have been led hoodwinked from their principles, by a most extraordinary combination of circumstances. But the band is removed and they now see for themselves. I hope to see shortly a perfect consolidation to effect which, nothing shall be spared on my part, short of the abandonment of the principles of our revolution. A just and solid republican government maintained here, will be a standing monmument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries; and I join with you in the hope and belief that they will see, from our example, that a free government is of all others the most energetic; that the inquiry which has been excited among the masses of mankind by our revolution and its consequences, will ameliorate the condition of man over a great portion of the globe."

*****

Jefferson to Samuel Adams, March 29, 1801.

"I hope we shall once more see harmony restored among our citizens, and an entire oblivion of past feuds. Some of the leaders who have most committed themselves cannot come into this. But I hope the great body of our fellow citizens will do it. I will sacrifice everything but principle to procure it. A few examples of justice on officers who have perverted their functions to the oppression of their fellow citizens, must, in justice to those citizens, be made. But opinion, and the just maintenance of it, shall never be a crime in my view: nor bring injury on the individual. Those whose misconduct in office ought to have produced their removal even by my predecessor, must not be protected by the delicacy due only to honest men."

******

Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Rush, Aprl 21, 1803 (on religious freedom.)

"It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behooves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself."

*****

Jefferson to Judge John Tyler, June 28, 1904.

"...No experiment can be more interesting than that we are nowtrying, and which we trust will end in establishing the fact, that man may be governmed by reason and truth. Our first object should therefore be, to leave open to him all the avenues to truth. The most effectual hitherto found, is the freedom of the press. [It is, therefore, the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions. The firmness with which the people have withstood the late abuses of the press, the discernment they have manifested bewtween truth and falsehood, show that they may safely be trusted to hear everything true and false, and to form a correct judgment between them.]. I hold it therefore, certain, that to open the doors of truth, and to fortify the habit of testinf everything by reason, are the most effectual manacles

we can rivet on the hands of our successors to prevent their manacling the people with their own consent. The panic into which we were artfully thrown in 1798, the frenzy which was excited in them by their enemies against their apparent readiness to abandon all the principles established for their own protection, seemed for awhile to countenance the opinions of those who say they cannot be trusted with their own government. But I never doubted their rallying; and they did rally much sooner than I expected. On the whole, that experiment on their credulity has confirmed my confidence in their ultimate good sense and virtue...."

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Jefferson to John Wyche, May 19, 1908. (on need for general education.)

"The people of every country are the only safe guardians of their own rights, and are the only instruments which can be used for their destruction. And certainly they would never consent to be so used were they not deceived. To avoid this, they should be instructed to a safe degree."

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Jefferson to Rev. Samuel Knox, Feb. 12, 1810.

" ...The boys of the rising generation are to be the men of the next, and the sole guardians of the principles we deliver over to them. That I have acted through life of those on sincere republicanism I feel in every fibre of my constitution. And when men who feel like myself, bear witness in my favour, my satisfaction is complete....The times which brought us within mutual observation were awfully trying. But truth and reason are eternal. They have prevailed. And they will eternally prevail, however in times and places they may be overborne for a while by violence, military, civil, or ecclesiastical. The preservation of the holy fire is confided to us by the world, and the sparks which will emanate from it will ever serve to rekindle it in other quarters of the globe, numinibus secundis...(with the help of the gods--ed. note.)

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Jefferson to Col. William Duane, Mar 28, 1811.

"The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us....Our dearest rights (are) the trial by jury, the freedom of the press, the freedom of opinion, civil or religious, (we should oppose) the opening on our ~~mix~~ peace of mind or personal safety the sluices of terrorism..."

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Jefferson to Marquis de Lafayette, Feb 14, 1815.

"I urged...securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, habeas corpus, and a national legislature...."

****

Jefferson to Sameul Kerchival, July 12, 1816.

"...I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom."

****

Jefferson to Charles Thomson, Jan 29, 1817.

"...It is a singular anxiety which some people have that we should all think alike. Would the world be more beautiful were all our faces alike? were our tempers, our talents, our tastes, our forms, our wishes, aversions and pursuits cast exactly in the same mould? If no varieties existed in the animal, vegetable or mineral creation, but all move strictly uniform, catholic and orthodox, what a world of physical and moral monotony it would be.'"

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Jefferson to Monsieur A. Coray, Oct 31, 1823.

"And true it is that the people, especially when moderately instructed, are the only safe, bexause the only honest, depositaries of the public rights, and should therefore be introduced into the administration of them in every function to which they are sufficient; they will err sometimes and accidentally, but never designedly,..."

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Jefferson to Henry Lee, Aug 10, 1824.

"Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties: 1. Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. 2. Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository of the public interests."

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Jefferson to Roger C. Weightman, the last letter Jefferson wrote, June 24, 1826.

"May it be to the world, what I believe it will be (to some parts sooner, to othere later, but finally to all) the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and supprstition had permitted them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. That form which we have substituted, restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened, or opening to the rights of man. [The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them." (The "day" meant July 4, 1826.)

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FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY 1909-1954 FOUNDED BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.

The PROGRESSIVE magazine
MADISON 3, WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL MONTHLY MORRIS H. RUBIN, EDITOR

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Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing a copy of the April issue of The Progressive and the news release based on it. I hope very much you will find it possible to make mention of this issue on your radio and television programs. This study of McCarthy in action represents a year of painstaking work, and is certainly the most comprehensive and carefully documented study of the man and the ism yet published.

I shall be glad to answer any questions that might come up in connection with this issue.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Morris H. Rubin

Morris H. Rubin
Editor

MHR/bh
Enc.

Published by The Progressive, Inc., a Non-Profit Foundation

For Release at 11 A.M. Monday, Mar. 29

Madison, Wis.--A comprehensive, carefully documented study of the public record of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, published today by The Progressive magazine in his home state of Wisconsin, concluded that "this man who has made anti-Communism his political career has contributed dangerously to strengthening the Communist cause. If the Kremlin could succeed in planting one of its own agents in the Senate of the United States, it could hardly hope for greater results in creating doubt, disunity, and fear in America than it has gained from McCarthy's operations."

The Progressive's study of McCarthy, more than a year in preparation, said it was noteworthy that although he now has full investigative powers, which he did not have when he made his original charges in 1950, a $200,000-a-year budget, and a tremendous staff of investigators, "McCarthy has made no effort to prove his original charges that there were 205 Communists in the State Department, or 81, or 57. He has, in fact, made no references whatever to the original accusations which first vaulted him into national prominence."

The Progressive, which fought Communism under two generations of LaFollettes and continues on that course today under its present management, is a nationally circulated magazine published in Madison, Wisconsin. All 96 pages of its April number, which is

(more)

its 45th Anniversary Issue, are devoted entirely to an examination of McCarthy's career. This special issue includes 60,000 words of documented text and scores of photostats, cartoons, and other illustrations.

The Progressive was founded in 1909 by the late Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and was subsequently published under the direction of his two sons, the late Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., and former Gov. Philip F. LaFollette. It is now published by The Progressive, Inc., a non-profit foundation, under the editorship of Morris H. Rubin, who was formerly associated as aide to Sen. LaFollette, Jr., and the then Gov. LaFollette. Among recent contributors to The Progressive are Ralph J. Bunche, Chester Bowles, Stuart Chase, Elmer Davis, Justice William O. Douglas, Judge Learned Hand, Sen. Wayne Morse, Sen. Paul Douglas, Sen. Estes Kefauver, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, and Walter White.

Copies of this Anniversary Issue of The Progressive are available at many of the nation's newsstands or can be secured directly from The Progressive, Madison, Wis. The single copy price is 75 cents. Reduced rates are available for quantity orders.

The April issue of The Progressive, entitled "McCarthy: A Documented Record," carries on its cover this dedication: "Dedicated to the People of the United States of America Who Share Our Determination to Make the Principles of Democracy Prevail Over Communism and McCarthyism."

(more)

The 45th Anniversary Issue of The Progressive deals with every phase of McCarthy's public career, and documents its material with citations from official records, public documents, and scores of leading American, European, and Asian publications.

Separate chapters deal with McCarthy's record while a judge in Wisconsin, when he was severely censured by the Wisconsin Supreme Court and the State Board of Bar Commissioners; his wartime record as a Marine, a record which The Progressive charges was greatly distorted by McCarthy for political purposes; the curious story of McCarthy's complex financial transactions and tax troubles; a documented study of his original charges of Communism in the State Department under the Truman-Acheson regime--charges which, The Progressive demonstrates, "exploded" when the facts became available.

The longest chapter in The Progressive's April issue is a comprehensive study of McCarthy's operations as chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. This chapter examines critically and in considerable detail most of the major cases brought before the McCarthy Subcommittee.

The Progressive's study records the fact that McCarthy, who brands those who refuse to answer questions by invoking their Constitutional protection as "Fifth Amendment Communists," refused repeatedly himself to testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections regarding his strange financial operations, and declined the suggestion that he tell all regarding his stockmarket deals and special accounts in a lie-detector test.

Other chapters in this 45th Anniversary Issue of The Progressive include, "McCarthyism in Action--Case Studies of the Major Ingredients of McCarthyism, including Smearing the Innocent, the Big Lie, and 'Shoot First, Ask Later;'" "Striking at Freedom of the Press," an analysis of the extent to which McCarthy has sought to intimidate the nation's press by smearing his critics as local editions of the Daily Worker; "Win At Any Cost," a detailed, chapter-and-verse study of McCarthy's political activities, including documentation of the fact that when he first ran successfully for U.S. Senator he had the support of Communists, and the extent to which he now has the support of the Far Right, including Texas oil millionaires, merchants of racist hate, and especially individuals and groups who are avowedly identified with anti-semitism in the United States.

One of the most significant chapters in The Progressive's special issue on McCarthy is entitled "Sowing Seeds of Disunity." This chapter quotes President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles to show that the unity of the Western world, in the face

(more)

of the Communist strategy to divide the West, is more imperative than ever. The Progressive then goes on to demonstrate by quoting from a multitude of domestic and foreign sources that McCarthy has done more than anyone else to drive a wedge between the United States and our allies.

In preparing this chapter The Progressive had special correspondents in London, Paris, Rome, Vienna, Frankfurt, Berlin, Oslo, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Madrid compile a cross-section of reaction to McCarthy's operations among our friends abroad.

The results of the survey show that the overwhelming majority of non-Communist and anti-Communist newspapers has characterized McCarthy as a menace to Western unity and an effective instrument for the advancement of Communist propaganda.

One striking report on press reaction, prepared by Lionel Durand of Paris, former foreign editor of Paris-Presse, one of the major dailies in the French capital and more recently editor of the official organ of the World Veterans Federation, showed that "over a sample period of two months in 1953 papers of all but one political and religious complexion--conservative, middle-of-the-road, Catholic, Protestant, and independent--expressed alarm and disgust over McCarthy's operations. The one exception was the French Communist daily, L'Humanite, which alone made no direct attack on McCarthyism."

Typical of the quotations in this chapter of The Progressive's special issue is this quotation from La Croix, the French Catholic daily: "Far from being a formidable foe of Communism, McCarthy is fast becoming the precious ally of Communism.... Led by another man than McCarthy, the Committee to investigate the danger of Communism would certainly have appreciable results. Unfortunately that is not the case...it cannot be said too often how much that war (between McCarthy and the whole Democratic Party, half the Republican Party, the State Department, and perhaps even the White House) has done to America and the whole world; that war of lies, of groundless attacks, slander, and pompous declarations that McCarthy has waged with pitiless violence...McCarthy doesn't care a bit about results. What interests him is the publicity these affairs bring him."

In its concluding chapter, entitled "The Big Truth," The Progressive emphasizes the extent to which McCarthy has aided the Communist cause. The Progressive maintains that its documented material shows that:

"McCarthy has struck violently at the very principles of freedom and fair play which distinguish democratic self-government from Communist regimentation.

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"McCarthy has sown seeds of suspicion and disunity among the nations of the free world at the very moment they most need unity against the threat of Communist aggression.

"McCarthy has flagrantly demoralized the civil and military establishments of our government at a time of unparalleled world crisis."

The Progressive finds in McCarthy's techniques a "successful harnessing of Hitler's concept of 'The Big Lie' to his own purposes." So successful has McCarthy been that many Americans feel that, however much they despise his methods, "we need someone to do 'the dirty work' of exposing the subversives in our midst.

"This widely held feeling might be more understandable if McCarthy were in fact exposing Communists in government and saving us from a Red plot. But fact piled relentlessly on fact in this issue of The Progressive shows that the evidence does not in any way support such a conclusion.

"In the pitifully rare cases that he has focused his sights on what may have seemed like a worthwhile target, McCarthy has so totally distorted the evidence and overplayed his hand as to render his 'revelations' less than useless. In his eyes honest mistakes, misjudgments, or misunderstandings become part of a sinister pattern of conspiracy.

"The evidence seems to us overwhelming that if we overlook methods because it is results we say we want, McCarthy has not in any measurable way contributed to strengthening the security of our country against spies and saboteurs. More than four years of hit-and-run accusations have yet to produce a single conviction of a Communist in government on evidence uncovered by McCarthy."

Said The Progressive in conclusion:

"We live in a dangerous age, and surely one of the greatest dangers that confronts us is the counterfeit philosophy of Communism and its appeal to the underprivileged of humanity. But we do not begin to meet that menace by burning books, by crushing dissent, and by creating an atmosphere of hysteria."

The Progressive quotes President Eisenhower's Dartmouth College speech of last year, "We have got to fight it (Communism) with something better," and then goes on to say: "Here is the heart of our problem in this dangerous age--the challenge to oppose Communism with something better. This we can never hope to do if we abandon our most cherished democratic principles and embrace the very methods we abhor in Communism.

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"This process of diluting precisely those qualities which distinguish us from those we oppose is dangerously far advanced in McCarthyism. McCarthy's daily activities carry us perilously close to the Kremlin concepts that trial by jury must be replaced with trial by mere accusation; that honest, human error of judgment is equivalent to criminal offense; that dissenters are traitors, and that every friendly foreign nation must become our regimented satellite or suffer our wrath and reprisals.

"If we are to be true to ourselves and effective in action with others, ours must be more than a mere negative adherence to anti-Communism. A fighting faith in freedom, not cringing fear of Communism, alone will qualify the United States of America to lead the free world in the historic clash of ideologies that is the dominant fact of life in our time.

"We of The Progressive are convinced that our best chance to keep the lamps of hope and liberty burning brightly in a world hungry for light and leadership is to deal head-on with the conditions which create the doubts and fears on which McCarthy and Malenkov thrive. The first great stride down that road of hope must be to replace 'The Big Lie' of Communism and McCarthyism with 'The Big Truth' of a working democracy."

# # #

A Progressive Reprint

McCARTHY AND THE COMMUNISTS

BISHOP SHEIL

two important articles:

The Immorality Of McCarthyism

By Bernard J. Sheil

The Bishop and The Senator

By Saul D. Alinsky

Reprinted from **The Progressive** MADISON, WISCONSIN

PUBLISHED MONTHLY • $4 A YEAR • FOUNDED IN 1909

The Immorality Of McCarthyism

Bernard J. Sheil

The article below was adapted from the celebrated address by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Sheil, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, before the International Education Conference of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, in Chicago last month. Bishop Sheil is the founder and international director-general of the Catholic Youth Organization.—THE EDITORS

MY SUBJECT is one of which we hear a lot these days—anti-Communism. Note that I used *anti*-Communism. I think it is necessary that we give a little thought to just what form anti-Communism should take at this point in America's history. That all decent Americans are against Communism, I should think, would go without saying. That we are opposed to Communism, both as individuals and as a nation—and why—hardly needs an explanation.

I could tell you that Communism is morally evil because it is militantly, viciously, one might even say *diabolically* set against God and man. I could tell you that Communism deprives men and women of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I could detail the bloody history of Communism as it operates in every land where it has taken hold. I could repeat the story of Communist treason in the United States. I could outline the well known attempts of the Communists to infiltrate into our great national institutions. But what purpose would be served in going over all that we know to be so bitterly true?

The problem is no longer one of alerting people to the danger of Communism. We are all aware of that danger. The problem we are facing is what do we do about it. The unsolved problem, in other words, is what constitutes effective anti-Communism. More than that, what kind of anti-Communism is moral? What kind of anti-Communism is proper in a freedom-loving country like ours? The three go together, in my mind. If anti-Communism is immoral, it is not effective. You cannot effectively fight immorality with *more* immorality. If anti-Communism flouts the principles of democracy and freedom, it is not in the long run effective. You cannot effectively fight tyranny with tyranny. And if anti-Communism is not effective, it is so much sound and fury, signifying nothing.

It is not enough to say that someone is anti-Communist to win my support. It has been said that patriotism is the scoundrel's last refuge. In this day and age, anti-Communism is sometimes the scoundrel's first defense. One of the noisiest anti-Communists of recent history was a man named Adolf Hitler. He was not wrong because he was anti-Communist. He was wrong because he was *immorally* anti-Communist; he countered Communist tyranny with a tyranny of his own. And inevitably, Herr Hitler was a dismal failure as an anti-Communist. Half of his own Germany now lives under Communism and half of Europe lives in Communist slavery. Would this be true, I wonder, if Hitler had been *morally* anti-Communist? If Hitler had fought Communist tyranny with democratic freedom, the world we live in—I am persuaded—would be quite different today. And I venture to say there would be less, not more, Communism in it than there is.

No Hitler has risen in America, and I think it is nonsense when foreign reporters and journalists describe us as living in a kind of Hitlerian reign of terror. We are still free, and we will remain free—let us have no doubts about that. But, it seems to me that *now*, while we are free, is the time to cry out against the phoney anti-Communism that mocks our way of life, flouts our traditions and democratic procedures and our sense of fair play, feeds on the meat of suspicion, and grows great on the dissension among Americans which it cynically creates and keeps alive by a mad pursuit of headlines.

How much more of this are we going to tolerate before we remember that we are proud Americans, with values of our own? If we throw away values like our tradition that a man is innocent until proved guilty, our concern for *means* as well as ends, our trust in our basic institutions—then we will be left with our anti-Communism, but very little else.

An America where the accused is guilty until he is proved innocent; where means don't matter, only ends; an America which has lost faith in the integrity of the government, the Army, the schools, the churches, the labor unions, the press, and most of all an America whose citizens have lost faith in each other—*such* an America would not need to bother about being anti-Communist; it would have nothing to lose. Such an America would have nothing to recommend it to freedom-loving men—nothing at all, not even the shining image of its victorious junior Senator from Wisconsin.

In my view, we have been victims in the last few years of a kind of shell

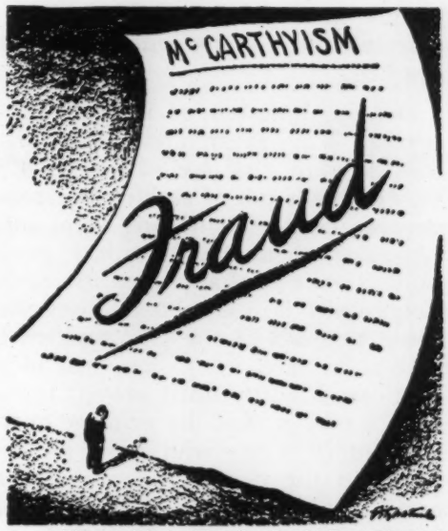
game. We have been treated like country rubes to be taken in by a city slicker from Appleton, Wis. "Now you see it, now you don't"—the government is full of Communists; we are all in mortal danger. We hear there are 205—now we hear 81—now the voice says 57 card-carrying Communists in the State Department. We hear that Gen. Marshall is a traitor, a leader of a black conspiracy that dwarfs every other conspiracy in history. This charge is never proved, and now, a few years later, in a recent book has been gently explained away as an "exaggeration" by the carnival man's intellectual shills. Who cares about the good name of the venerable General who has given a lifetime of service to his country? The game must go on.

The Army is "soft on Communism"; another heroic general is told that he is not fit to wear the uniform. Hubbub, commotion, everybody suspecting everybody else. Our colleges are called hotbeds of subversion. Then a Communist is found decoding secret messages (only she doesn't decode messages and she isn't a Communist). Excitement galore there is, but precious few results while Communists, supposed Communists, phantom traitors, and innocent people are alike pursued from headline to headline, from edition to edition. What kind of a spectacle are we becoming anyway? What has happened to our sense of balance, our sanity—our sense of humor?

If we Americans could stand off in space and look at this foolishness—the mad, merry search for the spotlight that has been going on for the past two or three years in the name of anti-Communism, I think our native sense of humor, our ability to laugh at ourselves, to recognize that we had been taken in, would save us, if nothing else.

Anti-Communism is a serious business. It is not a game to be played so publicity-mad politicos can build fame for themselves. If someone were to tell me that the masters of the Kremlin inspired this burlesque to distract us from our real dangers and keep us from taking effective anti-Communist measures, I would have half a mind to believe him. I can't imagine what would please the Kremlin more than to turn America

Report Card



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

into a frantic, hysteria-ridden place, full of suspicion of an American for an American.

If the Kremlin masters wanted to weaken us—and they do—I suppose that they would be delighted to see Americans lose confidence in the integrity of their political leaders, lose confidence in the stability of their army, suspect clergymen and teachers. I imagine they would delight in seeing us lose faith in our Constitutional privileges, in seeing us ape *their* courtroom procedures and hound innocent little government clerks who are blown up to seem like important spies and saboteurs as long as it is good for a front-page story. Congressional committees have done good work, are doing good work, and will do more. But when they are cynically used to trap headlines rather than spies, they mock themselves—and they mock us, too.

Aside from the actual undermining of democracy that such procedures entail and the harm done to the individuals involved—and is there anyone who will deny that Gen. Marshall, to name only one, was truly injured, or is to be accounted as nothing that an honorable soldier is berated as a traitor to his duty and his country?—there is the fundamental problem that these shenanigans distract us from our real problems, including the problem of Communism. They distract us from pursuing a truly effective program of anti-Communism.

Are we any safer, for instance, because Gen. Marshall was branded as a traitor? No, we aren't. But we are a little less honorable. We have taken what a devoted public servant gave us and offered him abuse and calumny as our gratitude in his years of retirement. Are we any safer because the line between a liberal or a nonconformist and a Communist or subversive is hopelessly blurred? I doubt it. Are we any safer because nonconformity has been practically identified with treason? I think not. Do we have anything less to fear because people have been bullied by the chairman of an investigating committee and his council? I doubt it. Is America a safer place for ourselves and our children because the morale of our State Department has been blitzkrieged? Or because our fine officer corps has been insulted? Or because political controversy has sunk to a new low of name-calling? Again, I would say no.

Are we any more to be feared by the Communists because of all the hundreds of headlines the Senator from Wisconsin has piled up? I don't believe so. Just what has been accomplished? I wonder. The large-type charges almost always peter out

to a back-page item after they have served their purpose: to gain a headline. But by then, our Man on Horseback is charging off in another direction—tomorrow is another day, another edition, there is need for another headline.

This kind of ridiculous goings-on is seriously described as anti-Communism. If you will pardon a very lowbrow comment, I say, "Phooey!" America today is faced with a world challenge—military, political, social, religious, the protection of its own institutions from subversion within and aggression from without. It's about time we start taking that challenge seriously and drop the cops-and-robbers game that has been going on.

In my book, if a man is truly anti-Communist, he is concerned with meeting the challenge of Communism on every level:

- He is interested, first of all, in seeing to it that conditions here and abroad are such that they don't provide a fertile breeding ground for Communism.

- He is interested in such matters as seeing to it that people get enough to eat, have decent homes, are able to raise their children in dignity.

- He is interested in measures to share the wealth of "have" nations with the have-nots.

- He is interested in breaking down the barriers that separate people—national barriers, religious barriers, class barriers.

- He is interested in making a better place of his own little corner of the world and of doing all he can to see that others are not in want.

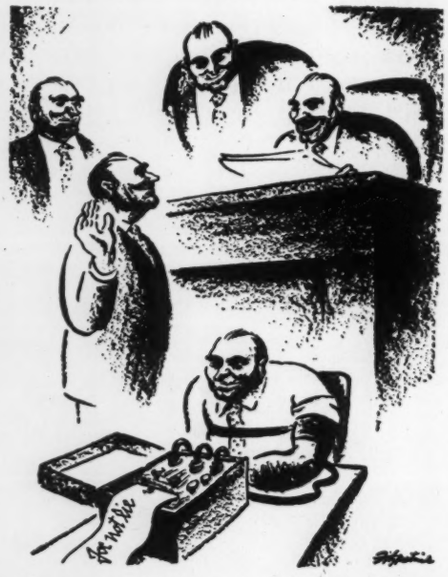
I judge an anti-Communist—the real thing, not the cops-and-robbers version—by how well he does these things. If he happens to be a legislator, I look at his record. I see how he voted on measures, to make freedom a reality and not merely an aspiration in the lives of his own fellow citizens and of the poor of the world. By this standard, a number of famous anti-Communists, I'm sorry to say, simply don't measure up.

Communism is a military problem. I judge an anti-Communist according to his record of supporting military measures taken to hold back the Communist forces. I judge him according to how much he helped the Army do its work and not according to how much harm he did to Army morale or how many generals he has insulted.

On the question of internal subversion, I judge an anti-Communist according to how well he does the very difficult job of seeking out subversives, clearly identifying them and removing them from critical positions. I take it that a genuine anti-Communist is one who despises the court methods of the Communists. I take it he hates the Communist idea that one is guilty until proved innocent. I take it that the genuine anti-Communist is one who above all believes in the democratic procedures and is willing to stand by them, even in the face of great temptations to lose one's temper and to lose one's faith in the method of free men. I judge an anti-Communist by how well he fulfills all these responsibilties in a difficult, delicate job.

I judge an anti-Communist according to how well he succeeds in doing what he is supposed to be doing—not according to how many headlines he makes. I judge him according to how well he clarifies the difference between treason and non-conformity—not according to how well he blurs the distinction. I judge him according to how many innocent people he has helped prove inocent and how many guilty people he has proved guilty. I do not admire him as an anti-Communist according to how many guilty and innocent both leave his courtroom without his having made clear and convincing just what their status is but only fogging the issues and the reputation of innocent and guilty alike.

McCarthy's Rules of Order



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

II

As you can see, I take a pretty dim view of some noisy anti-Communists—one in particular, the junior Senator from Wisconsin. I do not take a dim view of them because they are anti-Communists, but because they are such pitifully ineffective anti-Communists. I hate to see anti-Communism identified with this kind of playing-for-the-grandstand.

Now I want to make clear that what I have said is my personal opinion. I am not speaking for the Catholic Church but only for myself, a citizen. Other Catholics may take a more kindly view of the public career of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and of the effect he is having on the nation. That certainly is their privilege, as it is my privilege to speak as I have.

Other Catholics may agree or disagree with the judgment I have reached. On political matters such as these, a Catholic's statement—even a bishop's—bears no more authority than whatever he can bring to it as a citizen and public figure. I know that there are many in my Church who do not agree with me on this. So be it. Time will tell which of us is right.

But although the Church takes no position, and will not, on such a matter of public controversy, the Church does take a position on lies, calumny, the absence of charity, and calculated deceit. These things are wrong—even if they are mistakenly thought of as means to a good end. They are morally evil and to call them good or to act as if they were permissible under certain circumstances is itself a monstrous perversion of morality. They are not justified by any cause—least of all by the cause of anti-Communism, which should unite rather than divide all of us in these difficult times.

The Bishop and The Senator

Saul D. Alinsky

THE EARLY Chicago traffic rush was beginning to ease as delegates filed into the Civic Opera House that morning of Friday, April 9, 1954. They came for the first session of the International Educational Conference of the CIO's United Automobile Workers. An invocational address was scheduled by Chicago's Senior Auxiliary Catholic Bishop, Bernard J. Sheil. Here and there sleepy-eyed delegates yawned as they settled into their seats for the opening. Everyone, including the UAW's officials, expected some words on the morality of the living wage; that is not what they got.

The delegates did not notice the hint of things to come in the imposing battery of photographers, motion picture cameras, and reporters overflowing the section reserved for the press. Invocational speeches are not usually hot copy, but the word had gone out over the press grapevine that something quite different was to come. What Bishop Sheil said sent newspaper editors ripping open their front pages for new headlines that were to make Bishop Sheil's name the most celebrated among the clerics of the nation. For the Bishop spoke with righteous wrath as he fired searing, specific charges which quickly moved into the headlines:

BISHOP SHEIL CALLS MCCARTHY PHONY!

MCCARTHY PHONY CITY SLICKER, SAYS SHEIL

MCCARTHY MAN ON HORSEBACK AFTER HEADLINES

MCCARTHY CALCULATED DECEIT, SAYS BISHOP

Many leading newspapers printed the full text of the Bishop's speech. Radio stations everywhere joined in carrying his views on McCarthy to millions of Americans. Almost overnight the Bishop's words became the most discussed speech of the year. Countless Americans began to ask:

Who is this Bishop Sheil?
Why did he decide to speak out on McCarthy when he did?
What was the reaction to his speech?

The Bishop is no stranger to battle. During depression days of the early thirties he saw juvenile delinquency and Communism rise because democracy was not meeting its responsibilities.

Recognizing the futility of name-calling and the general negativism of the opposition to Communism, the Bishop boldly struck out into the field of community organization. He founded the Catholic Youth Organization of America, of which he is now director-general. He knew that Communism thrived on apathy, fear, and insecurity. He struck at causes with results that are now a matter of record.

Watching the rise of fascism abroad, Bishop Sheil was quick to act at home when Detroit's Father Coughlin began to play little Caesar. On two different occasions Bishop Sheil, speaking over a national radio network, denounced Father Coughlin, saying, "He does not speak for the Catholic Church." For the Bishop hates totalitarianism of the right as well as of the left.

In 1939 he was the first Catholic prelate to appear publicly with John L. Lewis, then head of the CIO. The occasion was a white-hot crisis in the CIO's drive to organize the meat packers against the bitter opposition of the packers and other vested interests of Chicago.

The battle was rough. The Bishop's life was threatened. A bullet shattered the window of a restaurant where he was having lunch. Chicago police had to clear eight blocks between his office and the Coliseum the night of the meeting, and they assigned him a private bodyguard of 50 policemen.

Bishop Sheil doesn't care whose toes he steps on, including those of dignitaries of his church, so long as he

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SAUL D. ALINSKY, sociologist and author, is an intimate associate of Bishop Sheil and had complete access to the mail received by the Bishop in response to his speech on McCarthy.

is convinced his cause is just. He has fought for organized labor. He has fought against racial discrimination. On anti-Semitism his curt comment has been, "The only Jew the Gentile has to fear is the imaginary one he has created in his own mind."

When Upton Close attacked Bishop Sheil as an apologist for Communism, he made the mistake of assuming that a Catholic Bishop would not reply to so scurrilous an attack. Bishop Sheil promptly asked for and got equal radio time. On the way to the broadcasting station he told his intimates, "When a skunk cometh into the house someone must kick it out. It is my house and I go forth to kick it out."

Close wired the Bishop in a desperate effort to make peace. But again he didn't know the Bishop. What he said on that broadcast might well have served to warn the junior Senator from Wisconsin that his chicanery and "calculated deceit" would sooner or later bring public denunciation in words every American could understand. Said the Bishop then:

"No, Mr. Close, I defy you to prove that I have at any time made any statement that could possibly be interpreted by honest, objective observers as favorable to either communism or socialism. You can make such a statement, Mr. Close, only by a nauseating disregard for fact, and a revolting violation of justice. I have never hesitated to condemn, with all the power at my command, every form of totalitarian government. And by totalitarian government I mean Fascism and Nazism as well as communism. I do not think you can truthfully say the same, Mr. Close . . ."

But most meaningful was the episode I first reported in *The Progressive* three years ago.

Just before Pearl Harbor the Bishop, overriding the protests of associates, went unannounced and uninvited to a mass meeting sponsored by a number of groups like the Christian Front. Many of those present were Catholics, and many of them followers of Father Coughlin, Elizabeth Dilling, and others of that breed.

Here, in a hall full of hate, Bishop Bernard Sheil rose, and for 15 tense minutes denounced anti-Semitism, white supremacy, and every other

A Torch Without Light

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

doctrine of intolerance shouted by the demagogues on the platform. The audience listened restlessly, seething with hostility.

When he had finished, the Bishop turned and began slowly to walk out down the center aisle. Suddenly the silence was shattered by a scream of anger. It came from a fanatical old woman who stepped out and blocked the Bishop's way just as he was passing her row.

When the Clouds Roll Away

Burck in Chicago Sun-Times

"I'm a Catholic," she shrieked, "but you, you're not a Catholic Bishop. God damn you! Nigger lover. Jew lover! A Bishop! Ha! Ha! Rabbi Sheil!"

Now completely hysterical, she deliberately cleared her throat and with all her strength spat over one side of the Bishop's face. The Bishop did not raise his hand to wipe it off. By this time, most of the people were standing on their chairs. A mad roar began and as quickly died. For the Bishop, with the dignity of immortality, had turned the other cheek! He waited. The old woman froze, as did hundreds about her. Then, as though a sudden chill had gripped her, she began to shake violently. What had been a mob of snarling faces an instant before became a mass of lowered heads.

The Bishop waited another moment, then spoke softly. "Rabbi? That is what they called our Lord." He walked out in a silence of Judgement Day.

This, perhaps, may help answer the question, "Who is this Bishop Sheil?"

II

Now, why did the Bishop decide to speak up on McCarthy when he did?

The Bishop has kept a thoughtful eye on McCarthy for a long time—ever since the latter, running without repudiating the support of Communists in Wisconsin, defeated the late Bob LaFollette for the Senate in 1946. It was the conduct of the Communists that provided the margin of McCarthy's victory. The Bishop knew that the Communists, then in control of that state's CIO, were enraged at LaFollette's public warning of the aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union.

Over the years the Bishop watched McCarthy's campaign of national demoralization; his vicious attempt to destroy the reputation of Gen. George C. Marshall; his denunciation of the Democratic Party as "the party of treason," his behavior toward President Eisenhower which undermined the President's world prestige. The Bishop watched with mounting suspicion McCarthy's first attack against the U.S. Army in the case of the Malmedy massacre by Nazis of unarmed American prisoners. He

noted how McCarthy's position was giving aid and comfort to Soviet propagandists abroad. He saw McCarthy antagonizing the nations of the free world whose support is so essential to our world policy. And to all this was now added the demoralizing harassment of the U. S. Army during a time of acute military emergency. All of these acts of McCarthy seemed to parallel the strategy of the Kremlin. Certainly, no top Communist agent could have done a more effective job.

The Bishop knew that in many non-Catholic quarters suspicion was hardening into conviction that the Catholic Church supported McCarthy. Bishop Sheil became deeply concerned about this issue when he saw McCarthy hire J. B. Matthews, who had publicly stated: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen . . . "

The Bishop was painfully aware of the storm clouds of anti-Catholicism gathering above America as the result of McCarthy's irresponsible operations. Bishop Sheil commented to his intimates, "Religious divisions and hatreds would also be what the Kremlin wants. What a perfect Kremlin record that man is establishing."

The Bishop watched McCarthy travel the country spreading discord. Like thousands of Americans of Irish background he flushed with anger and shame when Chicago's Irish Fellowship Club invited the Senator to address its last St. Patrick's Day dinner.

The Bishop saw much more that sickened him to his soul, until finally he decided to do what he could to rouse the American people to the danger of McCarthyism. This was the reason for the Bishop's speech—a speech whose purpose was to enlist all freedom-loving Americans to stand up and say, *"So far and no further!"*

III

Why did the Bishop word the charges as strongly as he did?

Because he was fed up with pontifical platitudes aimed at sin in general. He wanted this speech to be a declaration of war—couched in the specific, simple language which every American could understand. He was shocked at the popular identification of his Church and McCarthy.

What was the reaction to his speech?

Within fifteen minutes the switchboards of his Catholic Youth Organization were jammed with calls. The first deluge came in organized fashion from McCarthy's supporters. Angry denunciations included: "Bishop Sheil is a Red," "Judas Iscariot Sheil," and "He's a disgrace not only to the Catholic Church but to Ireland."

Abuse trickled away until by mid-afternoon the hostile call had become the unusual. By then a wave of approval and applause came rolling in from all over the nation.

Altogether Bishop Sheil has received 21,763 letters and telegrams, of which 409 were almost hysterical in their condemnation. Three others expressed the opinion, "McCarthy is unfortunate, but it was undignified for a Catholic Bishop to speak out as Bishop Sheil did," and 21,351 unreservedly acclaimed the Bishop's action.

Of the 21,351 letters and wires, 738 were from Catholic priests or nuns, 329 from dignitaries and ministers of the various Protestant denominations, 14 from Jewish rabbis, 14,836 from Catholic laymen, 297 from college professors in both secular and religious institutions, 78 from Army and Navy officers, 59 from newspaper men, and the balance from just about every segment of American society.

From many leading Americans came words of praise. Former President Harry S. Truman wrote: "I can't tell you how much I enjoyed the privilege of reading that speech . . . It is a dangerous situation; there is only one source from which that situation can be met at the present time, and you represent the Catholic hierarchy in this country in the best way that I know."

From Adlai Stevenson: "Bravo! My esteemed and honored friend."

From Washington the mail was heavy with the letterhead of the U. S. Senate. New York's Sen. Herbert Lehman wrote, "As always in the past you have unfailingly lifted the beacon of reason and hope for the American people. You are truly the Bishop of all America."

Arkansas's Sen. William Fulbright wrote, "Permit me to congratulate you on the finest speech I have heard about in many a day! Your speech will give many who agree with you the courage to speak up."

Montana's Sen. James E. Murray wrote, "Many Catholics in the Congress have been highly embarrassed by the methods pursued by our so-called 'anti-Red' colleagues in Congressional committees. We have been fearful that it might eventually develop into religious warfare . . . I wish to express my deep appreciation of the great service you have rendered to the nation and particularly to the Catholic people of our country . . . "

Francis B. Sayre, Jr., dean of Washington Cathedral of the District of Columbia, wrote:

"May I add my voice to the great many raised in acclamation for your statement on McCarthy. Your recent pronouncement was exactly to the point, and expressed the moral indignation that a great many American Christians feel at the unscrupulous methods used by the junior Senator from Wisconsin."

From Phillip L. Graham, publisher of the Washington *Post and Times Herald:* "The Bishop's greatest service was to remind us that there are forms of anti-Communism which defy God just as much as Communism defies God. Hitler, as he said, was one example. The Bishop has pointed to the central issue of today—we can fight evil without adopting evil methods."

National leaders of labor, Walter Reuther, president of the CIO, and David Beck, president of the AFL's International Brotherhood of Teamsters, sent enthusiastic congratulations.

IV

All of the 738 letters received from Catholic priests and nuns were in full support of the Bishop.

From a well-known Catholic priest who had suffered greatly under the Communists in China:

"We have waited a long time for someone like you to make such a needed, practical, unequivocal application of the principles of morality to the problems of our day . . . We are all indebted to you. Again we can hold our heads high and look our fellow Americans in the eye. The McCarthy technique is the very same technique which I saw operating in Communist China."

From a New York City Catholic priest who is loved by vast numbers of Catholics and non-Catholics for his Christianity and intellect:

"If the cool breeze of your notable address had not come from high places, we would all have died from the unrelieved humidity. Congratulations. You are saving our souls before the American public."

A well-known priest from the Middle West wrote:

"To me it has always been a cause of sad wonder that our Catholic leadership confines its efforts to administration and routine, while so many opportunities go begging for initiative and outspoken guidance, at least in recent years. For this reason it was a thrill and an inspiration to hear that you were so brave as to touch a subject thoroughly distorted just now."

'Amending' the Constitution

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

The state chaplain of the Knights of Columbus of a northeastern state wrote:

"Sincere congratulations on your wonderful, forthright talk on the extremes and the excesses of some investigators! Of course you will pay for being so honest. You will be blasted for it. But it is wonderful and refreshing to hear a Bishop speak out unafraid. I am astounded at the almost universal notion among the laymen that every Catholic priest must approve of everything Sen. McCarthy does and says."

From a priest in another state:

"Just a word of deep, personal gratitude for your intrepid re-statement of our Catholic position on the validity of the Eighth Commandment in political affairs. Surely it was imperative that a member of the hierarchy make it clear that the fair Bride of Christ has no need for scandal-mongering guttersnipes to defend her now or ever. St. Thomas Moore and Bishop Fisher must certainly take time to smile their approval and applaud your courageous pronouncement."

A well known Catholic nun, beloved for her work in education, wrote:

"Your statement will help. There is a healthy sanity about it that lifts the spirit from the fog of unreason. I trust that you may continue to offer this type of encouragement to those Catholics, and indeed non-Catholics, who need support in the stand they have taken against this un-American hoax being foisted upon our country in the name of Americanism."

Eleven nuns signed a letter which said in part, "We take new heart from your address. A statement like yours has been needed and earnestly desired for many months."

Letters and wires from both secular and Catholic institutions of higher learning totaling 297 were, with but one exception, high in their praise of the Bishop's stand. The following excerpts are representative.

From the junior Senator's home town of Appleton, Wis., came a letter from a professor at Lawrence College: "One such lucid, principled, and courageous act as yours does a great deal to redress the balance and to allow us non-Catholics to be as tolerant as we would wish to be."

From Beloit College in Beloit, Wis., a professor wrote: "We sincerely hope that there will be thousands who will take courage and join in the movement to put an end to intolerant and prejudiced and un-American activities in these times, when all the world stands in need of courageous and spiritual help."

A professor at Cornell University wrote: "As a college teacher I have seen shocking and dangerous effects upon students (because of the trends of the times and McCarthy), and as an educator and a scholar I have been confronted with numerous examples of the very harmful effects upon non-Catholic intellectuals. I do not know of anything that has so hurt Catholicism in these spheres in recent years, and that is in itself so morally wrong. Everything that you said, it seems to me, was urgently needed to be said, and was magnificently said."

From a leading Eastern Catholic college: "As a Roman Catholic I wish to express my appreciation . . . Many of us have been waiting for some member of the Catholic hierarchy to

come out as you did. Many of us with children are particularly grateful."

The dean of a leading Catholic university wrote: "Your recent criticism of the methods and results . . . of the junior Senator from Wisconsin came as a most needed revelation."

From the superintendent of public schools of one of the most thickly populated counties in America and one of the largest Catholic archdioceses in the world: "My respect for you was greatly increased because of your recent speech on the conduct of the junior Senator from Wisconsin, whose un-American methods of investigation jeopardize our precious civil liberties . . . "

A Catholic woman active in the field of education in a secular school wrote: "My own Catholicism had been regarded with suspicion by some of my Catholic brethren because I did not approve of the 'methods' of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. You have clarified the moral issue and I am grateful."

V

The 329 letters from Protestant ministers and the 14 from Jewish rabbis made the Bishop tremble as he realized how the widespread identification of the Catholic Church and McCarthy had begun to fan hatred against his Church. Implicit in almost every letter was the idea that if Bishop Sheil had not spoken out as he did, many leaders in the Protestant faith would have become convinced of an unholy alliance between McCarthy and the Catholic Church. Excerpts from the following letters are characteristic of the tone of practically all of the letters in this category.

From the director of the Christ Episcopal Church of a city in Michigan: "The junior Senator from Wisconsin has been guilty of stirring up strife between Roman Catholics and Protestants in this country and I do not know of anything that would advance the cause of Communism more than that. I can't tell you what your message means to many Protestants."

From the First Congregational Church of a city in Massachusetts a minister wrote: "Frankly, Bishop Sheil, I was prepared to write off the Catholic Church as a fascist front until I and my associates read your inspiring address."

From a leading rabbi in Chicago: "McCarthy has not hesitated to use the cloak offered him by mistaken leaders, and it was extremely important for you to make clear, as you did, that Catholics, like other people, are of many minds on this or any political issue. Bless you for disengaging the moral issue from the political."

VI

The largest share of the mail, by far, came from Catholic laymen in all walks of life.

G. Howland Shaw, retired diplomat with a distinguished career of 28 years in the U.S. State Department and outstanding Catholic layman who was three times president of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and recipient of the Laetare Medal of Notre Dame University, wrote: "It is a very great pronouncement expressed with a sincerity, a force, and a clarity which put it in a special category of significance."

William P. Mahoney, Jr., district attorney of Maricopa County, Arizona, who led the successful fight to eradicate racial segregation in the schools of that state (prior to the Supreme Court decision) and a devout Catholic, wrote, "Yours is indeed a voice in the wilderness. . . Thank God, you spoke out and condemned him so devastatingly on moral grounds."

Mistaking the Witness Chair for a Pedestal

The Milwaukee Journal

Otto Spaeth, prominent civic leader in New York City and a Catholic, wrote, "Opinion among Catholics on Sen. McCarthy of course has been sharply divided from the first, but unfortunately . . . there was a false impression that American Catholicism formed a solid phalanx behind the Senator. Bishop Sheil's clearly reasoned analysis of McCarthy and his 'ism' has demonstrated not a break in the ranks but that the ranks were never there."

Charles S. Dougherty, chief justice of the Criminal Court of Cook County, Illinois, and chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, wrote: "I am thoroughly convinced that the right-thinking people of America feel as you do on this subject, and only a small fringe support McCarthy's views."

A man of the Catholic faith who is a prominent member of an American Embassy in a foreign nation wrote: "Now Americans, and particularly American Catholics abroad, can hold their heads a little higher. You did a very decent and helpful thing, and we are grateful."

A banker of a Northeastern State wrote: "It is about time some of the higher Catholic clergy took a stand on this matter instead of letting this man run wild as he has been doing without somebody coming out in a strong way, as you did . . . I have been a member of the Knights of Columbus for 38 years, and when they got Sen. McCarthy as a principal speaker last fall I refused to come. I noticed too that the Bishop of this state was not present, and the person he designated to come in his place did not show up."

There were many letters from students in Catholic universities. In one, a graduate student at the University of Notre Dame wrote:

"I have long shared views similar to those which you so cogently expressed. However, I only awaited the day when a prominent Catholic prelate would publicly proclaim that the American Church is far from unanimous in supporting the junior Senator from Wisconsin . . . "

From thousands of Catholics who sent telegrams there were two statements common to most of the wires:

"We have always believed that the prelate who would tell the truth on McCarthy would be you, and you

have done it magnificently."

"Many Catholics like myself have been praying for someone like you to speak the truth on McCarthy."

Then there were many letters like this one from a retired Army general: "What you said about that city slicker from Appleton, Wis., will prove more effective and stimulating than the salvos of an entire division of howitzers; and so we thank God for having you and your quality of American patriotism."

From a retired rear admiral of the United States Navy came: "I never write letters to the editor and I am not a Catholic. But I can't help writing to tell you how wonderful your message of real Americanism was."

In the face of mounting national approval of the Bishop's speech, some of McCarthy's Eastern supporters in high places began a false rumor that Bishop Sheil was seriously ill. The idea was to cast a shadow over the Bishop's attack on McCarthy by connecting it with personal illness. The rumor reached Drew Pearson who wrote me to ask about the Bishop's health. My answer was this:

"I have just spoken to the Bishop and read your letter to him, and he has authorized me to tell you that 'I have never felt better in my life and I intend to keep my health and my profound indignation against all actions of deceit and bigotry.' "

The letters and postcards attacking the Bishop's position were characterized for the most part by anger, bigotry, hysteria, or all three. Here are some samples.

From the president of a major railroad: "With due respect to the Holy Office that Bishop Sheil holds, I think that as a Catholic, I have a right to expect that a Bishop conduct himself with the dignity befitting his high office . . . When he, a member of the hierarchy of our Church, allies himself with those who are arch enemies of the Church and therefore gives aid and comfort to those who would destroy our religion, he is a traitor to Christ. The only ones that will approve the action of Bishop Sheil in full are the publishers of the *Daily Worker,* Communists, atheists, and anti-Catholics, including Mrs. Roosevelt . . ."

"As for Gen. Marshall, for whom the Bishop's heart bleeds, one has only to remember the part the General played in working with the Hiss, White, Remington *et al* group in turning over China to the Reds, and the part the General played in the Pearl Harbor fiasco, to know that the General's hands are dripping with the blood of thousands of American youths lost in the Pacific in Korea."

"Certainly Mr. McCarthy is fighting Communism, *and even though he might be reaping some personal benefits from it,* he is still fighting the Church's battle in arousing the American people to the dangers of Communism in government." [Author's emphasis]

"Bishop Sheil accuses McCarthy of being a phony. I think that the Bishop in his relationships with labor leaders (including the ones to whom he spoke) has been dealing with so many phonies that he has lost his perspective and cannot recognize the true phony."

There were those who wrote:

"It was men of your type and your kind that crucified Christ—alone you are trying to do the same thing to Sen. Joe McCarthy—a great American."

"God help protect the Catholic souls under your direction. They will need it."

Then there were many who used a form postal card with red print reading:

"Destroy all Communists in America—it's either them or us!"

There were about two dozen of these cards which carried handwritten inscriptions reading: "Say! Whose side are you on anyway?" All of the inscriptions were in the same handwriting.

A scattering of letters from rural areas of Wisconsin was significant for the violent hysteria of some of McCarthy's supporters. Discussing a group of these letters, the Bishop sadly commented:

"This is madness. These words are madness. This is the stuff of the support of that demagogue!"

The words of madness were letters of this sort from a Catholic woman in Sturgeon Bay, Wis.:

"Please stick to your own profession and say a few prayers for our 'Beloved Savior,' our Joe McCarthy. God and Joe will save us from having the hammer and sickle flying over us because of the kind of destructive criticism of yours."

* * *

This is the story of a Bishop, a speech he gave, and the response it evoked. He is saddened by the knowledge that most of the violent criticism comes from fearful people. He is greatly cheered by the overwhelmingly warm response of Americans—Catholics and non-Catholics alike. He is confident of the outcome in the struggle ahead to revive America's courage and rekindle the faith of Americans in themselves and their democratic institutions.

The Great Flop

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

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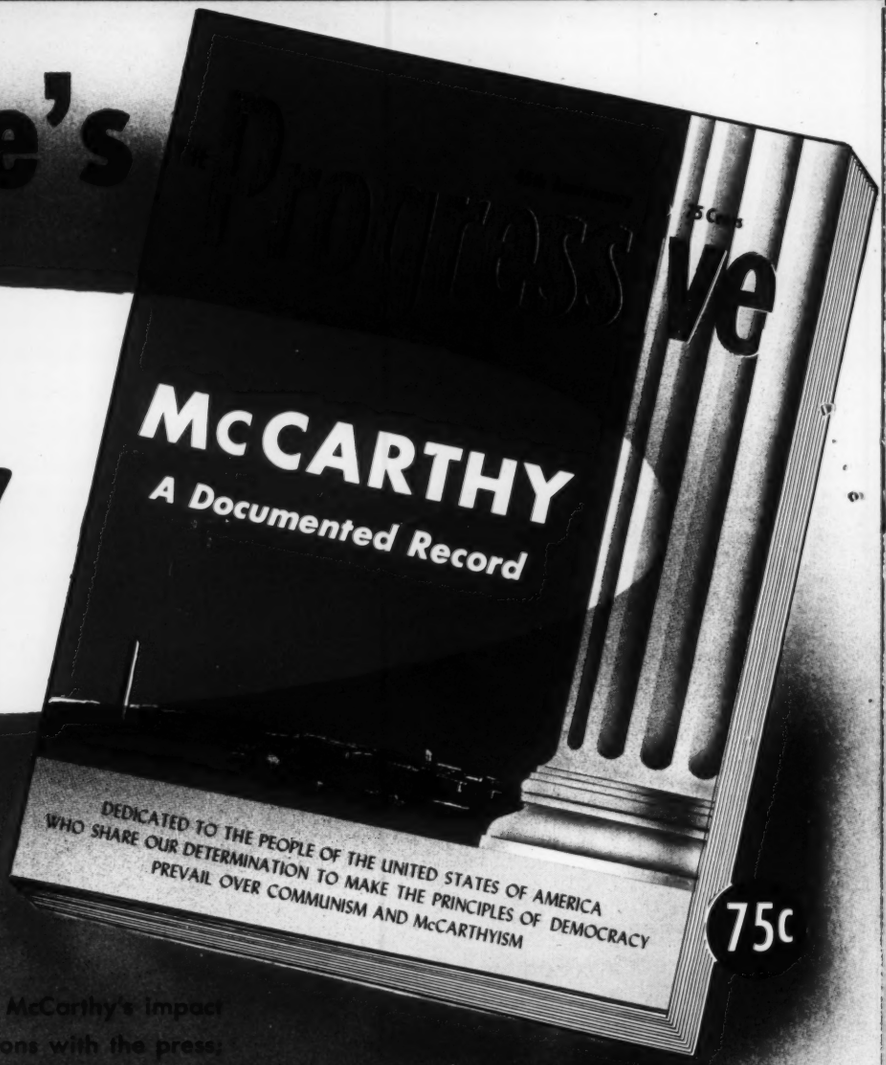
THE Progressive's

45th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE



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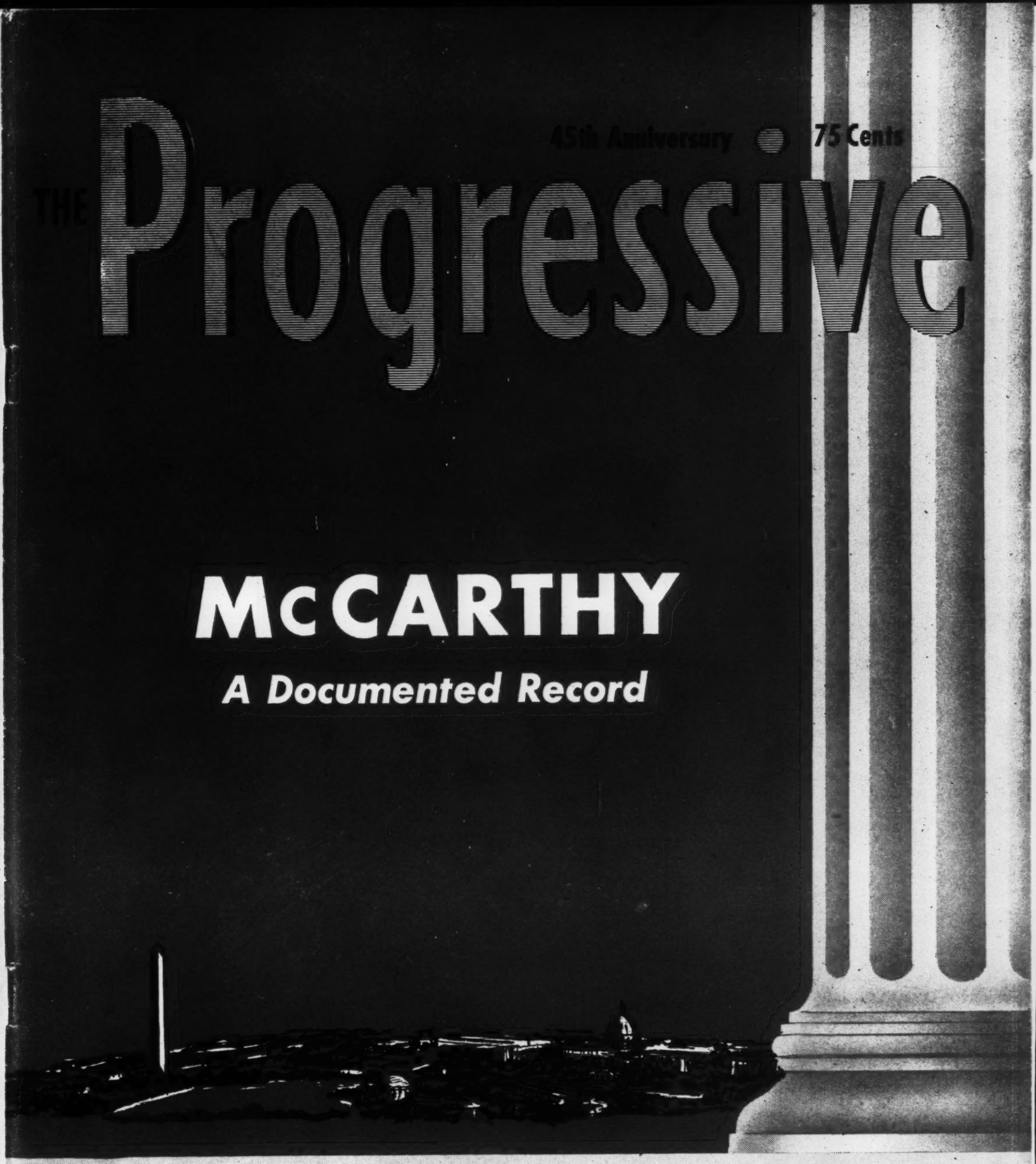

DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WHO SHARE OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY
PREVAIL OVER COMMUNISM AND McCARTHYISM

The Progressive

'Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free'

McCARTHY: *A Documented Record*

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Founded in 1909 by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr.

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April, 1954

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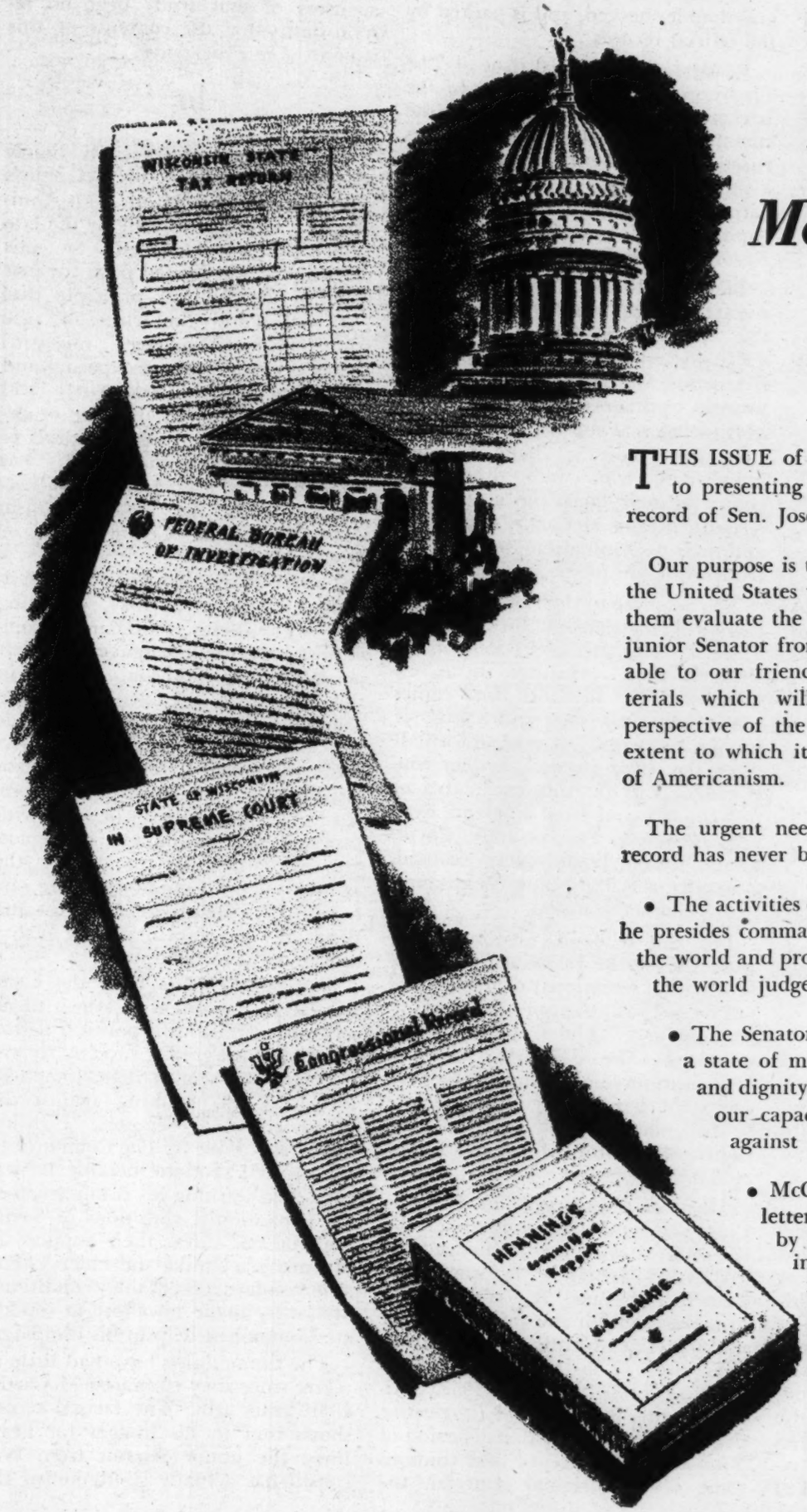


Freedom's Most Effective Weapon

THIS ISSUE of *The Progressive* is devoted entirely to presenting a documented report of the public record of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Our purpose is two-fold: 1) to provide the people of the United States with the factual background to help them evaluate the public statements and actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin; and 2) to make available to our friends of the free world authentic materials which will enable them to gain a clearer perspective of the meaning of McCarthyism and the extent to which it is at war with the finest traditions of Americanism.

The urgent need for a solid study of McCarthy's record has never been greater:

- The activities of the Senate Committee over which he presides command front-page headlines throughout the world and provide much of the material by which the world judges American policy and purpose.

- The Senator himself has become the symbol of a state of mind which has lowered our stature and dignity as a nation and reduced measurably our capacity for leadership in the struggle against Communism.

- McCarthy has struck repeatedly at the letter and the spirit of our Bill of Rights by using methods of intolerance and intimidation in an effort to create a national climate of hysteria, fear, and suppression.

- The "ism" added to his

name has become a generic symbol of guilt by accusation, character assassination, the big lie, and the repudiation of our country's traditional devotion to fair play and a fair trial.

• He has impaired the functioning of some of our most important defense laboratories, and he has battered at the morale of those who administer our country's program of military defense.

• He has exercised a decisive influence, for the worse, on our civil service and our foreign service.

• He has left his mark of intolerance on the government, the churches, the schools and colleges, the literature and the press of our country.

• He has appointed himself a one-man purge squad committed to smearing and destroying those who disagree with him, and he has proclaimed to the country that he and his methods are to be *the* dominant issue in the political campaign of 1954.

It is in this last field of political action that the problem is most immediate, because Sen. McCarthy has announced that he plans to campaign in a number of states this year for the purpose of defeating Senators who have refused to embrace his policies. This, of course, is his privilege, just as it is the privilege of those who find his ways repugnant to fight back by exposing his record.

II

The purpose of this issue of *The Progressive* is to do just that by providing an arsenal of facts for those who share our abhorrence of McCarthy's political morals and methods.

We don't pretend to present McCarthy's story; he has published books on it, filled countless pages of the *Congressional Record* and his Committee *Reports* with his own views, and has had access to the press, platform, radio, and television facilities of this country to a degree unmatched by any other member of the Senate. This, unashamedly, is a *reply to McCarthy*—a documented reply whose every fact has been checked and double-checked, and is backed by the official records.

Readers of this special issue of *The Progressive* may be interested in the background of the project. In the summer of 1952, when McCarthy was running for reelection to the Senate, a non-partisan group, the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, published *The McCarthy Record* for use in that campaign.

Based on 18 months of exhaustive research, *The McCarthy Record* bore the sponsorship of a group of distinguished citizens—Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike—farmers, workers, educators, industrialists, merchants, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, editors, bankers, and housewives, who were drawn together by their "deep concern for the consequences of McCarthy's conduct" and their determination "to make the truth available to the people."

The response to their efforts was an extraordinary demand for copies at $1 each. *The McCarthy Record* ran through three printings in a few months. The demand for copies came from every state and a score of foreign countries. A year and a half after the 1952 election, orders continue to pour in from every area of our country and from England, Sweden, Germany, France, Italy, Egypt, Israel, India, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippine Islands, and many another country.

But this demand, growing apace with the world headlines made by McCarthy's sensational charges, could not be met. The supply was exhausted long ago. The Committee that produced *The McCarthy Record,* formed to serve only during the 1952 campaign, has dissolved. But before it disbanded, it assigned the copyright to its Editor, who is also Editor of *The Progressive.*

Much of the material in *The McCarthy Record*—whose accuracy, by the way, was never challenged by McCarthy—appears in condensed form in this issue. It was condensed to make room for the vast amount of new material which has become available since *The McCarthy Record* went to press in June, 1952. Although this issue of *The Progressive* thus represents an up-dated version of *The McCarthy Record* and contains some of the original material, the sponsors of that study bear no responsibility for the contents of this issue of *The Progressive.*

III

We believe it is especially timely to publish this study of McCarthy's record in this year of our 45th Anniversary. Founded in 1909 by the late Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr., this magazine was dedicated from the first issue to the Biblical principle that "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." *(See cut.)* It has a long record of exposing and combating political doctrines and demagogues bent on diluting or destroying the great American ideals of freedom and tolerance. This has been true for four and a half decades, whether the un-Americanism were Kluxism, Communism, or McCarthyism.

Thirty years ago, in his Presidential campaign of 1924, "Fighting Bob" LaFollette repudiated Communist support in language that left no doubt of his position. Writing in this magazine, he denounced the Communists for seeking to "divide and confuse the Progressive Movement and create a condition of chaos favorable to their ends. . . . To pretend that Communists can work with progressives who believe in democracy is deliberately to deceive the public. The Communists are antagonistic to the progressive cause and their only purpose in joining such a movement is to disrupt it."

Twenty-two years later the Communists again sought to attach themselves to a Wisconsin political figure, this time with greater success. It was the campaign year of 1946; Joseph R. McCarthy was running against the incumbent U.S. Senator, "Fighting Bob's" son, Bob, Jr. The Communists, furious at LaFollette because he was even then warning his countrymen of the expansionist ambitions of Soviet imperialism, threw their support to McCarthy. Unlike the elder LaFollette under comparable conditions, McCarthy made no effort to repudiate Communist help in his campaign.

The Communists have had little to regret since they embraced McCarthy eight years ago. The factual record shows that in his hunger for headlines, the junior Senator from Wisconsin has actually strengthened the

Communist cause by exploiting and magnifying tensions at home and sowing the seeds of doubt and disunity among our friends and allies abroad.

Similarly, contrast the political practices of a LaFollette and McCarthy in dealing with support from racists and merchants of hate. In the campaign of 1946, Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the country's most notorious racists, sought to attach himself to the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. But Bob LaFollette repudiated that support in unmistakable terms July 5, 1946:

"I want to make it as emphatically clear as I can that I absolutely and without reservation of any kind whatsoever repudiate the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and any others who preach a gospel of hate and intolerance."

In contrast, McCarthy has made no public statement repudiating the support of Smith and his breed.

In publishing this special issue of *The Progressive* on McCarthy's record, we are mindful of the fact that we shall be criticized by sincere and thoughtful Americans who share our repugnance for McCarthy. Their position, we suspect, will be based on their genuine conviction that we are aiding and abetting him by "giving him more publicity" and "building him up by taking him so seriously."

We can respect and sympathize with this point of view because we held it once ourselves. We abandoned it, however, when the facts proved us wrong. It is a dangerous error, we are convinced, for the forces of decency in America to fail to regard the man and his "ism" with deep seriousness. His power today comes in great measure from our failure to fight back earlier. The evidence is overwhelming that McCarthyism cannot long survive where the people are given the truth about the character of his "crusade."

The most convincing proof was the 1952 election in Wisconsin. McCarthy carried every county in the state where all or a majority of the newspapers supported him, or refused to expose his contemptible conduct, or stood silent. *But he lost every county in the state in which either a daily paper or a labor weekly fought him with the facts.*

Milwaukee County, by far the largest in the state, is a good example. Although it had tipped the election to McCarthy in 1946, Milwaukee turned against him by nearly 100,000 votes in 1952—mainly because the Milwaukee *Journal* had conducted a crusading campaign against the man and his methods. Dane County (Madison) rejected McCarthy 48,000 to 29,000, largely because of the superb exposure of McCarthyism by the Madison *Capital Times*.

The great hope of the professional demagogue is to avoid public exposure while he plies his trade of creating hysteria, capitalizing on people's fears, and diverting public attention from basic problems with side-show stunts. We are convinced —and the events of the recent past strengthen that conviction—that the most effective weapon against McCarthyism, as, indeed, against Communism, or any other counterfeit philosophy, is the *truth*.

Volume 1, Number 1, 45 Years Ago

LaFollette's
WEEKLY MAGAZINE
YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE
VOL. I, NO. 1 MADISON, WISCONSIN. JANUARY 9, 1909
The Truth
IN THIS MAGAZINE
Lincoln Steffens
PRESENTS
A Remarkable Article
"THE MIND OF A STATE"
HE SAYS:
¶ Cities and states are jelly-fish now. They have a life of their own, but no mind. Nothing but instinct guides them. This is the beginning, then, of the brain of the state.
William Allen White
ON
"THE KANSAS FIGHT"
Next Week

The Judge On Trial

Wisconsin Supreme Court Accuses McCarthy of Violating State's Constitution and Laws

IN ANY great controversy the character and credibility of the principal antagonists play a decisive part. The first portion of this study is devoted to an examination of McCarthy's beginnings in public life. It is a story in which documented evidence shows that even in his first years in politics he was accused of unethical conduct, ran afoul of the highest legal and judicial agencies of his state, and was condemned by the Wisconsin Board of Bar Commissioners for a characteristic which was to become even more dominant in his career in the years to follow:

> **"Knowingly and willfully placing the gratification of his personal ambition above the interests of the public and the rights of litigants."**

Following his graduation from the law school of Marquette University, Milwaukee, McCarthy began his legal career in Waupaca, Wis., in 1935. Less than a year later he left Waupaca to become associated in Shawano, Wis., with Mike Eberlein, a prominent Republican lawyer, although McCarthy had already identified himself as a Democrat.

This was the year the Democrats were riding high with the New Deal. McCarthy decided to cling to his Democratic Party affiliations for a while. In August, 1936, he was elected president of the Young Democratic Clubs of Wisconsin's Seventh District, which includes eleven counties. Shortly afterward he announced his candidacy for district attorney of Shawano County on the Democratic ticket. McCarthy was defeated, and thereafter never ran as a Democrat.

In 1939 McCarthy, aged 29, announced his candidacy for judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit, which includes Shawano, Outagamie, and Langlade Counties. The announcement of his candidacy came as a staggering blow to his senior partner and benefactor, Mike Eberlein, who had had his heart set on running for the circuit judgeship in that district. Greatly saddened by the experience, Eberlein decided against running but announced that the young McCarthy and he were no longer associated in the practice of law.

McCarthy won the election. He received 15,165 votes. The incumbent, Judge Edgar V. Werner, received 11,219 votes, and the third candidate got 9,949. Here is a description of McCarthy's first successful race, published in *Time* magazine, Oct. 22, 1951:

"He made few speeches, but he met every farmer in the district. His specialty was sick cows. He would get the cow's symptoms, drive on to the next farm and ask the farmer what he would do for a cow with those symptoms. He kept a dictaphone in his car, and as he drove away he would dictate a letter to the first farmer, giving the second farmer's advice as Joe's own. Both farmers would be flattered by this attention."

McCarthy served about four years altogether as a Wisconsin circuit judge. In 1941 he gained considerable state-wide attention when the Wisconsin Supreme Court sharply rebuked him for improper conduct on the bench. Marvin B. Rosenberry, highly respected Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, on June 18, 1941, wrote the sharp criticism of McCarthy for the Court.

Justice Rosenberry said that McCarthy had committed an "abuse of judicial power," had been "highly improper" in ordering the destruction of a portion of the record, and had, in general, created a "regrettable state of affairs."

State ex rel Department of Agriculture, Petitioner v. McCarthy, Circuit Judge, Respondent. 238 Wis. 258

This sharp denunciation of Judge

McCarthy resulted from a case in which the State Department of Agriculture had asked the court Nov. 4, 1940, to force the Quaker Dairy of Appleton to obey the state marketing law. Although the law was not to expire until Dec. 31, 1941, Judge McCarthy dismissed the case in June, 1941, after a number of postponements.

The State appealed to the Supreme Court, where it was quickly discovered that an important statement made by McCarthy in dismissing the action was missing. Judge McCarthy explained *he had ordered the statements destroyed by the court reporter.*

The Wisconsin Supreme Court unanimously found McCarthy's actions an abuse of judicial power.

"We are cited no authority and we find none which justifies a court in suspending the operation of a statute on the ground that it will work a hardship if it is enforced," the Court said.

"It must be concluded that the grounds upon which the trial court [McCarthy] acted did not constitute a sufficient or proper legal reason therefor and that this action constituted an abuse of judicial power."

Moreover, the Court found, "a judicial officer is required to administer the law without respect to persons so long as it is enforced. Any other course would constitute an infringement upon the powers and functions of the legislature, interfere with the operation of agencies . . . and result in advantage to persons who disobey the law."

The Court sharply criticized McCarthy for having ordered the destruction of notes he had dictated during the case—notes on which he had based his "improper" ruling.

"Ordering destruction of these notes was highly improper," the Court said. ". . . We can only say that if, it were necessary to a decision, the destruction of evidence under these circumstances could only be open to the inference that the evidence destroyed contained statements of fact contrary to the position taken by the person [McCarthy] destroying the evidence." *238 Wis. 258*

The Supreme Court's shocked response to Judge McCarthy's destruction of trial records and his flouting of the law was not to be its only public denunciation of McCarthy during his career as a judge, as the report below of the case *State of Wisconsin v. Joseph R. McCarthy* makes clear.

Meanwhile, when McCarthy returned from his wartime service *(See Pages 9-11)* he early decided to build a political machine around the Young Republicans of the state. At about this time, McCarthy, the judicial records of Wisconsin show, began to grant "quickie" divorces to couples not resident in his judicial district. The records show that in several cases one of the principals, or the attorney, or both were active in supporting McCarthy's political ambitions, sometimes with cash.

McCarthy's granting of "quickie" divorces to political friends and supporters created a considerable stir in the state. Said the independent Milwaukee *Journal,* largest daily in Wisconsin:

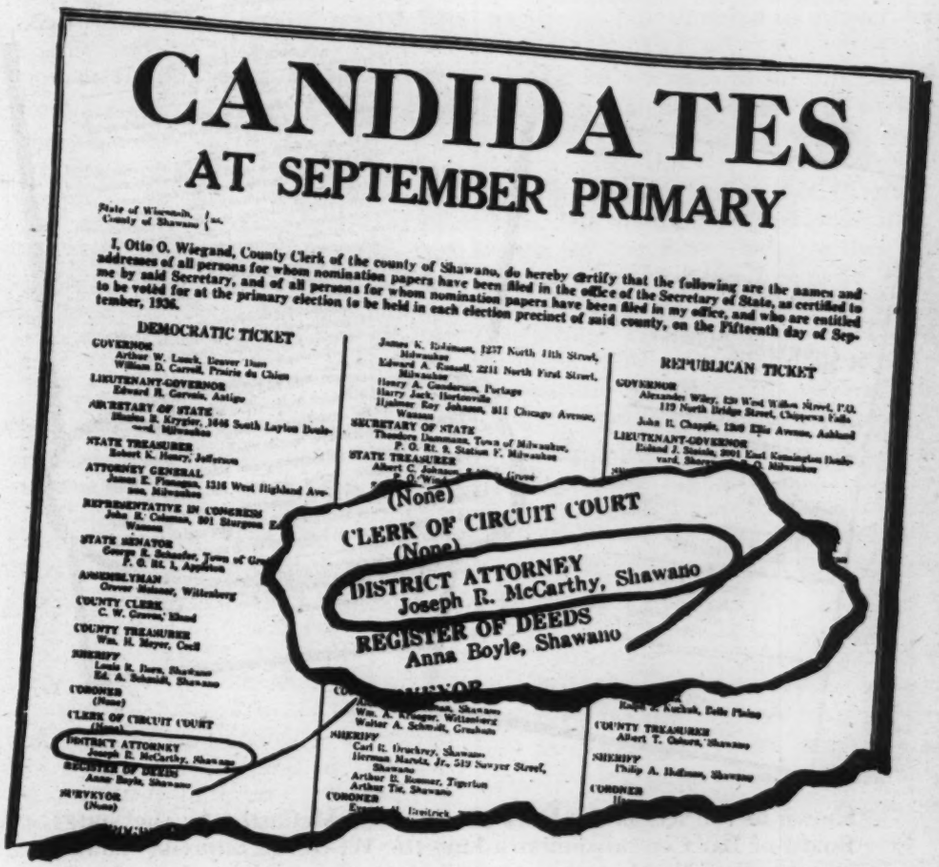
"Is Wisconsin justice to be used to accommodate political supporters of a presiding judge? Are Wisconsin courts the place in which to settle political debts?"

The editorial concluded that **"Judge McCarthy, whose burning ambition for political advancement is accompanied by an astonishing disregard for things ethical and traditional, is doing serious injury to the judiciary of this state."**

But the most severe attack on McCarthy's legal and judicial ethics came as a result of his decision to run for the U.S. Senate in 1946 while still sitting as a circuit judge.

The basic law of Wisconsin, the State Constitution, which McCarthy swore to support, is clear in its attempt to keep judges out of partisan politics. Section 10, Article VII, of the Wisconsin Constitution reads:

"Each of the judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts . . . *shall hold no office of public trust,* except a judicial office, during the term for which they are respectively elected,



CANDIDATES
AT SEPTEMBER PRIMARY

State of Wisconsin, } ss.
County of Shawano }

I, Otto O. Wiegand, County Clerk of the county of Shawano, do hereby certify that the following are the names and addresses of all persons for whom nomination papers have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State, as certified to me by said Secretary, and of all persons for whom nomination papers have been filed in my office, and who are entitled to be voted for at the primary election to be held in each election precinct of said county, on the Fifteenth day of September, 1936.

DEMOCRATIC TICKET

GOVERNOR
Arthur W. Lueck, Beaver Dam
William D. Carroll, Prairie du Chien

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
Edward B. Corwin, Antigo

SECRETARY OF STATE
Shelton B. Krygier, 1646 South Layton Boulevard, Milwaukee

STATE TREASURER
Robert K. Henry, Jefferson

ATTORNEY GENERAL
James E. Finnegan, 1316 West Highland Avenue, Milwaukee

REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS
John R. Coleman, 301 Sturgeon E
Wausau

STATE SENATOR
George R. Schneider, Town of Gr
P. O. Rt. 1, Appleton

ASSEMBLYMAN
Grover Malmser, Wittenberg

COUNTY CLERK
C. W. Greene, Elcho

COUNTY TREASURER
Wm. H. Meyer, Cecil

SHERIFF
Louis R. Dorn, Shawano
Ed. A. Schmidt, Shawano

CORONER
(None)

CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT
(None)

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano

REGISTER OF DEEDS
Anna Boyle, Shawano

SURVEYOR
(None)

James K. Robinson, 1237 North 11th Street, Milwaukee
Edward A. Rossell, 2211 North First Street, Milwaukee
Henry A. Goodman, Portage
Harry Jack, Hortonville
Hjalmer Roy Johnson, 811 Chicago Avenue, Wausau

SECRETARY OF STATE
Theodore Dammann, Town of Milwaukee, P. O. Rt. 9, Station F, Milwaukee

STATE TREASURER
Albert C. Johnson

(None)

CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT
(None)

DISTRICT ATTORNEY
Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano

REGISTER OF DEEDS
Anna Boyle, Shawano

Wm. A. Kroeger, Wittenberg
Walter A. Schmidt, Gresham

SHERIFF
Carl R. Druckrey, Shawano
Herman Marek, Jr., 519 Sawyer Street, Shawano
Arthur B. Bonner, Tigerton
Arthur Tie, Shawano

CORONER

REPUBLICAN TICKET

GOVERNOR
Alexander Wiley, 120 West Wilson Street, P.O. 119 North Bridge Street, Chippewa Falls
John E. Chapple, 1209 Ellis Avenue, Ashland

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
Roger W. Kuchek, Falls Phelps

COUNTY TREASURER
Albert T. Osborn, Shawano

SHERIFF
Philip A. Hellman, Shawano

CORONER

Here is a facsimile of the 1936 Wisconsin election notice showing that Joseph R. McCarthy, then a young attorney in Shawano, ran on the Democratic ticket the first time he sought public office.

and *all votes for either of them for any office, except a judicial office, given by the legislature or the people, shall be void.*" (Italics ours.)

McCarthy's term as Circuit Judge did not end until December, 1951. He ran for Senator in 1946—five years before his judicial term was to expire.

McCarthy defeated Robert M. La-Follette, Jr., for the Republican nomination by a vote of 207,935 to 202,557—a margin of 5,378 votes.

While the campaign was in progress, the Wisconsin Supreme Court was asked to bar McCarthy from the ballot because of the Wisconsin constitutional ban on judges running for political office during their term on the bench.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court concluded, however, that it had no jurisdiction in this case because it was a *federal* office that McCarthy was seeking in running for U.S. Senator. The Supreme Court made it clear, however, that if McCarthy were running for governor or another state office, his votes would have been thrown out and his candidacy disqualified.

In 1949 the State Board of Bar Commissioners, the official state body governing the conduct of lawyers, asked the Wisconsin Supreme Court to take disciplinary action against McCarthy for "violating the public policy of the State of Wisconsin, the Code of Judicial Ethics, his Oath of Office as Judge, and his Oath of Office as a Member of the Bar."

The unprecedented petition by the official state agency in this case which became known as *State of Wisconsin v. Joseph R. McCarthy,* had this to say:

"It is difficult to conceive of any conduct upon the part of a presiding judge which would bring judges into greater disrepute and contempt than the conduct of the defendant [McCarthy] challenged in this proceeding.

"*The defendant [McCarthy], by his conduct, chose to defy the rules of ethical conduct prescribed by the Constitution, the laws of the State of Wisconsin, and the members of the profession in order to attain a selfish personal advantage.* (Italics ours.)

"The gratification of his ambition was in defiance of the declared policy and laws of Wisconsin . . ."

Continuing, the State Board of Bar Commissioners said:

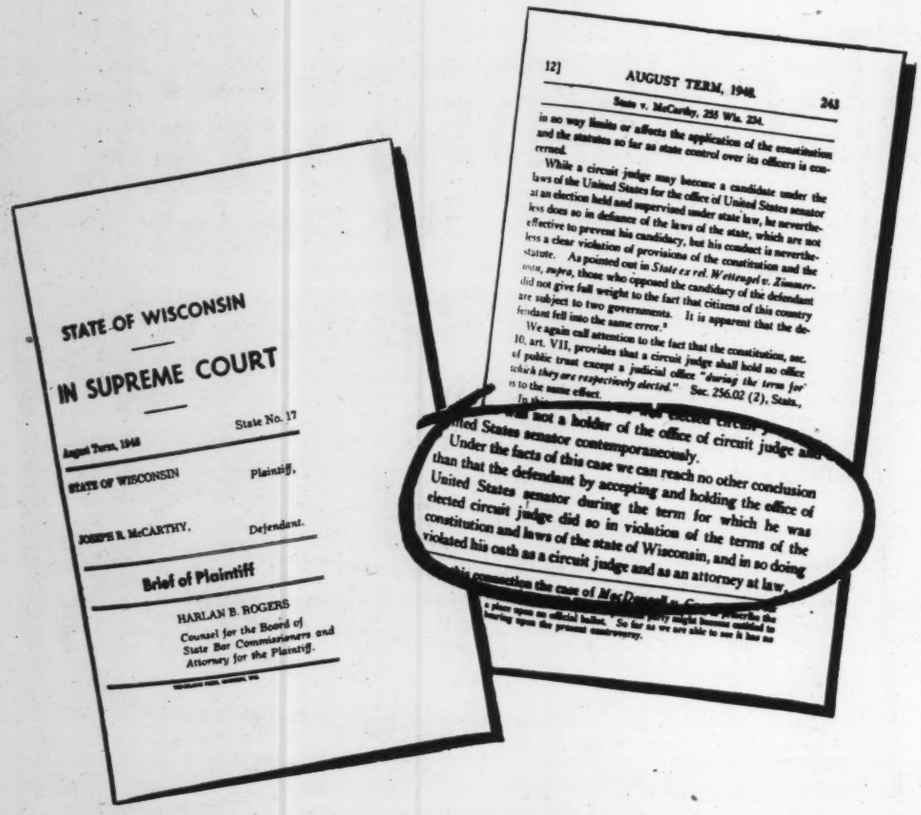
"The breach of official trust and obligation is as great when applied to a candidate for the office of United States Senator as it would be if applied to one for governor of the state.

"In either situation, to have a judge passing upon the rights of litigants appearing before him *and using his judicial position and power to influence votes for his candidacy and others of his political party, constituted a violation of the State Constitution and state laws and was in direct conflict with the duties and obligations of the trust which he assumed by his Oath of Office.*" (Italics ours.)

After studying the petition of the State Board of Bar Commissioners and McCarthy's reply, the Wisconsin Supreme Court, although deciding against disciplinary action, made this judgment of McCarthy's conduct:

"Under the facts of this case we can reach no other conclusion than that the defendant [McCarthy], by accepting and holding the office of United States Senator during the term for which he was elected Circuit Judge, *did so in violation of the terms of the Constitution and laws of the State of Wisconsin,* and in so doing violated his oath as a Circuit Judge and as an attorney of law."

State v. McCarthy
255 Wis. 234


STATE OF WISCONSIN

IN SUPREME COURT

August Term, 1948 State No. 17

STATE OF WISCONSIN Plaintiff,

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, Defendant.

Brief of Plaintiff

HARLAN B. ROGERS
Counsel for the Board of State Bar Commissioners and Attorney for the Plaintiff.

12] AUGUST TERM, 1948. 243
State v. McCarthy, 255 Wis. 234.

in no way limits or affects the application of the constitution and the statutes so far as state control over its officers is concerned.

While a circuit judge may become a candidate under the laws of the United States for the office of United States senator at an election held and supervised under state law, he nevertheless does so in defiance of the laws of the state, which are not effective to prevent his candidacy, but his conduct is nevertheless a clear violation of provisions of the constitution and the statute. As pointed out in *State ex rel. Wettengel v. Zimmermann, supra,* those who opposed the candidacy of the defendant did not give full weight to the fact that citizens of this country are subject to two governments. It is apparent that the defendant fell into the same error.[9]

We again call attention to the fact that the constitution, sec. 10, art. VII, provides that a circuit judge shall hold no office of public trust except a judicial office "*during the term for which they are respectively elected.*" Sec. 256.02 (2), Stats., is to the same effect.

In this [illegible] not a holder of the office of circuit judge and United States senator contemporaneously.

Under the facts of this case we can reach no other conclusion than that the defendant by accepting and holding the office of United States senator during the term for which he was elected circuit judge did so in violation of the terms of the constitution and laws of the state of Wisconsin, and in so doing violated his oath as a circuit judge and as an attorney at law.

In this connection the case of *McDonald v. Carey* [illegible] a place upon an official ballot. So far as we are able to see it has no bearing upon the present controversy.

Shown at the left is the brief filed against McCarthy by the State Board of Bar Commissioners asking the Wisconsin Supreme Court to take disciplinary action against McCarthy. Right above is an excerpt from the Supreme Court decision in State of Wisconsin v. McCarthy finding that McCarthy violated the constitution, the law, and his oath as a circuit judge and attorney.

McCarthy angrily demanded the resignation of the entire Board of Bar Commissioners because it dared to petition the Supreme Court for disciplinary action, but no one took this seriously. The branding of McCarthy as a lawbreaker and mocker of the Constitution he had sworn to uphold was the last official mark on McCarthy's career in Wisconsin as he moved on to the U.S. Senate. Before we turn to a study of McCarthy's career in the Senate we pause to examine briefly the story of his wartime service in the Marines.

Off to War

Some Notes on the Conflicting Stories of McCarthy's Service and the Decorations He Has Been Awarded

ONE OF McCarthy's favorite flourishes in winding up a speech is to recite an incident which he claims was a wartime experience in the Southwest Pacific. The point is never quite clear, but the story carries a powerful emotional impact for thousands whose lives have been touched by the tragedy of war.

As McCarthy tells it, it was his "task at night after we had lost a number of our boys in raids on enemy installations to sit in my dugout and write home to the young wives, the young mothers with the hope that the blow could be made to fall less heavily." The picture of McCarthy struggling over these letters in his shell-scarred dugout is an heroic one— but, like so much of the widely publicized McCarthy war record, there is considerable debate over whether the incident ever actually occurred.

For example, the official records of the U.S. Marines show that McCarthy's outfit, VMSB-235, lost altogether five officers and two men in its *entire* military tour in the South Pacific from January, 1943, to September, 1944. It hardly seems plausible that McCarthy could have written very many letters to young wives "at night after we had lost a number of our boys."

Much has been written and said about McCarthy's service record. McCarthy and his friends have one version. His opponents have another.

The facts are difficult to establish because many of the official records are not available to the public. As a matter of fact, McCarthy threatened the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, John F. Floberg, with drastic reprisals early in 1953 when he thought Floberg had made some of the official data available. *(See Page 57).*

Perhaps no Wisconsin citizen entered military service in World War II with more press fanfare than McCarthy received. On June 6, 1942, McCarthy, then a circuit judge, showed up in Milwaukee and announced to the press that he wanted to join up as "a private, an officer, or anything else in the Marines." (Milwaukee *Journal.*) Even some of his friends say that he selected the Marine Corps as the branch of service offering the most political advantage. In a friendly appraisal of McCarthy in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Aug. 9, 1947, Jack Alexander said, "It was in the cards, too, that a young public official with a good war record would have a distinct edge with the voters . . . McCarthy asked his close political friends what branch of the service they thought had more political appeal . . . The unanimous answer was the Marine Corps."

McCarthy's story of his military exploits has undergone several curious changes in the past eight years. Thus, after the war and his election to the Senate, McCarthy's biographical data in the *Congressional Directory* for the 80th Congress, his first term, stated that "in June of 1942 McCarthy *enlisted* in the Marine Corps as a *buck private* and was later commissioned." (Senators have an opportunity to write or approve the *Directory's* biographical data.)

Biographies in *Who's Who In America* are also presumed to have the approval of the individuals listed. McCarthy's biography in *Who's Who* says that he "served as Pvt., U.S. Marine Corps, 1942."

Actually, when McCarthy appeared in Milwaukee that June day of 1942 and told the newspapers he wanted to get into the Marines as a private or in any way he could be of use, he had two days earlier made formal application for an officer's commission. *(Cited in Milwaukee* Journal, *June 8, 1952.)* Official records show that he got his lieutenant's commission on July 29, 1942.

Of this much of his service record

there is little dispute: He was in training at Quantico from August to December, 1942. He spent three months on the Pacific coast and then shipped out for the Southwest Pacific. From here on the reports conflict.

'This Is Worth 50,000 Votes to Me'

The official records show that he was an intelligence officer. His campaign literature in 1946 hailed him as a "tail gunner." A public relations officer in McCarthy's squadron, Lt. P. T. Kimball, now of New York, told the Milwaukee *Journal* of one incident that helped in spreading the story back home that he was a "tail gunner."

"I remember a day when we were both at Munda," Kimball said, "when Joe's squadron was flying a 'milk run' to Bougainville. The job was bombing runways on old airfields to make sure the Japs didn't try to come back. It was dull duty, and the bored fliers decided to see how many flights they could make in a day. McCarthy, like other ground officers, joined in the fun to ride as tail gunner.

"As public relations officer, I wrote a form story about the 'record breaking day of bombing,' filled in the names of the men involved and sent them along slugged 'from an advance Marine base.' I forgot the whole thing till McCarthy came around with a handful of clippings from Wisconsin papers.

" 'This is worth 50,000 votes to me,' McCarthy said. 'Come, have a drink on it.' "

The conservative Washington *Evening Star,* in a detailed story of his war record, said on Nov. 14, 1951, that McCarthy's "Pentagon record of Marine Corps service shows no notation of his having qualified for an aerial gunner's wings or being credited with combat missions."

McCarthy has clung stoutly to his claim that he flew many missions as a tail-gunner. In his unsuccessful campaign for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1944, a campaign pamphlet claimed "14 dive-bombing missions over Japanese positions." In his autobiographical sketch in the *Congressional Directory* of 1948 McCarthy claimed "17 official missions," but testifying in a legal proceeding in 1951, he said, "I was on 30 dive-bombing missions, plus liaison missions."

The "mission" question came up again in 1952 when McCarthy was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with four stars by the Navy. These are the medals furnished at the request of the applicant on a showing that he participated in a sufficient number of missions. The Air Medal is awarded for five missions and the DFC for 25.

According to Doris Fleeson, columnist for the Washington *Evening Star,* the armed services have handed out 1,310,422 Air Medals since World War II began and 157,974 DFCs.

McCarthy has denied that he had made application for the medals, but Miss Fleeson reported in 1952, after investigation in the Pentagon, that on Sept. 27, 1951, McCarthy supported "his request [for the awards] by what are said to be 'certified copies from his flight log book.' "

An interesting aftermath of the announcement of McCarthy's medals was the declaration of Leonard Burns, Milwaukee, who described himself as a "staunch Republican," that he was mailing his Distinguished Flying Cross and four air medals to McCarthy. Burns told the Milwaukee *Journal* that he was "disgusted" that McCarthy received the same awards that he had received for 30 torpedo bombing missions flown from the carrier *Hornet* in the Pacific.

In his letter to McCarthy, Burns asked if the Senator had threatened to expose someone in the Marine Corps "as being a Communist" in order to obtain the awards. "Joe," asked Burns, "was it necessary for you to apply for the medals? I never heard of anyone having to remind one of the various branches of the service that he was a hero and deserving of medals." Burns added that if McCarthy had really seen combat service he wouldn't "brag" about it. In replying to Burns, McCarthy seemed to concede he had applied for the medals when he said: "The rules provide how such awards shall be made, and there isn't any other way to do it." *(Associated Press dispatch in* Wisconsin State Journal)

Perhaps the most disputed part of McCarthy's service record is the "wound" he is supposed to have suffered during his tour of the Southwest Pacific. Some of his supporters adamantly insist that he was wounded and was awarded the Purple Heart. On Nov. 15, 1943, the Appleton *Post-Crescent* reported McCarthy "was wounded in one of the actions." The fact is he does not hold the Purple Heart. There is nothing in his record to show that he was wounded in action, according to information given the Milwaukee *Journal* by former Secretary of the Navy Dan Kimball who reviewed McCarthy's personnel file.

McCarthy denies a much publicized incident at Badger Village in Wisconsin when he was asked by some University veterans and their wives why he wore built-up shoes, which served to give him greater height. McCarthy is reported to have said that he wore the shoes because he was carrying "shrapnel in my leg." *(Quoted in Anderson and May's* McCarthy, *p. 65.)*

There is a disagreement among those who heard him about whether he said "10 pounds of shrapnel" or some other amount. There is no disagreement, however, that he attempted to create the impression that he had been wounded and that he specifically referred to the shrapnel in his leg. *(Milwaukee* Journal, *June 8, 1952.)*

On a TV program in May of 1952 in which he was interviewed by Jack Steele of the New York *Herald Tribune* this exchange took place:

STEELE: Were you wounded or weren't you?

MCCARTHY: Oh, yes. I had a leg badly smashed up, burned and broken. In fact, I got a citation from Nimitz based on that. Do I have shrapnel in my leg? No. I wasn't shot. It was an airplane accident.

'Liar'

"In the other corner is the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, the spy-catcher, who has yet to catch a spy, the 'warrior' given to boasting about non-existent shrapnel in his leg, the only major politician in the country who can be labeled 'liar' without fear of libel."

THE ALSOPS
New York *Herald-Tribune*
Dec. 3, 1953

STUART SHAFTEL (program moderator): Your file doesn't show a Purple Heart.

MCCARTHY: Now, just a second, my good friend. The files show—my file shows the complete record of McCarthy. It shows that I got a citation from Adm. Nimitz in connection with a badly injured leg. Now I don't claim that I'm a hero, you understand. I think there's nothing wonderful about being injured.

McCarthy offered to accompany Steele to the Marine Corps headquarters and go through the file with him. He never made good on that offer. Instead, McCarthy sent Steele photostatic copies of the Nimitz citation. The citation says that "although suffering from a severe leg injury, he [McCarthy] refused to be hospitalized and continued to carry out his duties as an intelligence officer in a highly efficient manner." It also commended him for "meritorious and efficient performance of duty as observer and rear gunner of a dive bomber attached to a Marine scout bombing squadron operating in the Solomon islands area from Sept. 1 to Dec. 31, 1943."

One of the Most Debated Wounds of World War II

The letter requesting this citation originated in McCarthy's outfit and was dated Feb. 11, 1944. It is signed by McCarthy's commanding officer, Maj. E. E. Munn, though, according to the records, Maj. Munn had finished his duty as commanding officer of the outfit on Feb. 10, 1944. Maj. Munn's letter contained this language:

"On 22 June 1943 Capt. McCarthy suffered a broken and burned foot and leg. He, however, refused to be hospitalized and continued doing an excellent job as intelligence officer, working on crutches. *(Cited in the Milwaukee* Journal, *June 8, 1952.)*

An examination of McCarthy's service records reveals that on June 22, 1943, the day he received the "wound," McCarthy was a great many miles away from any area in which the enemy was firing guns in anger. He was aboard the Navy's seaplane tender *Chandeleur* as an "officer passenger" along with the rest of his outfit being transported to the war area.

On that day the *Chandeleur* crossed the equator, and the usual shipboard hi-jinks marking the event occurred. One of McCarthy's shipmates, who kept a diary of the trip, was interviewed by the Milwaukee *Journal*. He requested that his name not be used, saying, "I'm not in favor of four-flushing, but I still like McCarthy."

"Things were so quiet [on the trip]," he said, "that the skipper, Commander Albert K. Norehouse, gave the enlisted men permission to have a mild 'shellback' ceremony on June 22, the day we crossed the equator. . .

"McCarthy was nearly through his initiation when he was hurt. He was going down a ladder with a bucket fastened to his foot when he slipped. His other foot caught on a lower rung—an iron pipe a few inches from the steel bulkhead—and he fell backward, injuring his foot."

McCarthy's friend went to the sick bay to see how "Joe was getting along."

"They had decided that three bones were broken," he said, "and I watched them put a cast on his foot. It was either then, or that night when we were drinking together, that Joe said to me, 'Don't tell Maybelle [McCarthy's girl] I broke my foot in this silly way.'

"Joe kept going despite the cast, too. My diary shows we were quite drunk together three nights later and he did what work there was for him to do. But an intelligence officer in a squadron like his was mainly concerned with talking to pilots back from strikes, so Joe had little to do until his outfit began action against the enemy. And that was *ten weeks after he was hurt.*"

This version of McCarthy's "war wound" was checked by the then Secretary of the Navy Dan Kimball with official records in the Pentagon. McCarthy's personnel file shows no evidence of any wound—only the prank injury of June 22, 1943, which occurred ten weeks before his squadron went into action.

In August of 1944, McCarthy returned to Wisconsin, where he was a candidate for the Republican nomination for U. S. Senator while still in military service.

After his defeat in the primary, he went back to the Marine base at El Centro, Calif., and alternated his duty between there and the base at El Toro. On Oct. 19, 1944, he asked for a four months' leave of absence to return to Wisconsin and his judicial duties. The request was rejected, but he was told he could resign. On Dec. 11, 1944, the man who had told the Milwaukee *Journal* on June 4, 1942, "I want to join for the duration," handed in his resignation.

Still ahead of American forces in the Pacific were these bloody dates:

Feb. 19, 1945: The Marines suffered 3,650 casualties in the first 48 hours as the struggle for Iwo Jima got underway.

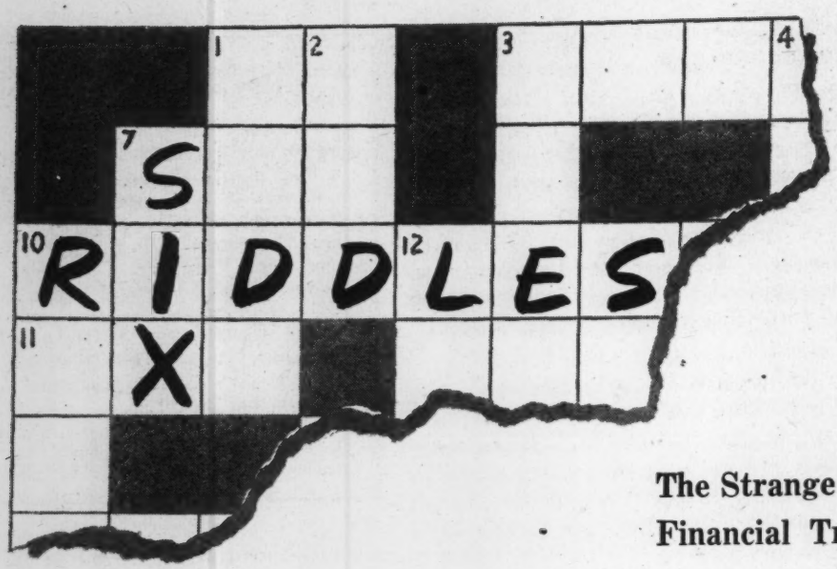
April 1, 1945: The battle of Okinawa began.

Back in Wisconsin, McCarthy launched a different kind of battle. More than a year before the election in which the people of Wisconsin would pick a U.S. Senator, a "Fighting Marine" and "Marine Tail Gunner" had already started the campaign against Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.—a campaign which was to exploit his career as a wounded Marine for all it was worth. Actually, McCarthy's record in military service was neither more nor less heroic than that of countless other Americans; it was the exaggerations and distortions, for political purposes, which drew widespread criticism and resulted in a variety of conflicting stories.

Seeing through McCarthy

"In the long run, the American people can be trusted to see through a man like McCarthy, and they will not entrust great responsibilities to those who identify themselves with him. Once upon a time a great American said, 'You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.' We have sufficient confidence in American democracy to believe that is still so."

The Christian Century
Nov. 7, 1951



The Strange Story of McCarthy's Complex Financial Transactions and Tax Troubles

NEXT to his sensational charges of Communist influence in government (analyzed in subsequent chapters), the phase of McCarthy's public career which has attracted most attention is the singular story of his financial operations. It is a story of tax troubles, market speculation, over-extended bank loans, investigations by the Senate, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and a curious capacity of the Senator's for making thousands of dollars quickly in fields in which he was active as a Senator.

The quest for the documented facts leads the investigator over many trails, but perhaps the simplest starting point is the celebrated Lustron case. This case, along with other aspects of McCarthy's conduct, was thoroughly investigated by the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration, which encountered but could not solve six riddles in McCarthy's hectic financial operations.

The Subcommittee conducted its inquiry pursuant to a resolution introduced Aug. 6, 1951, by the then Sen. William Benton, Connecticut Democrat. The resolution called for an investigation "to determine whether expulsion proceedings should be instituted against Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy." Its final report was signed by two Democrats, Sens. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Missouri, chairman, and Carl Hayden, Arizona, and one Republican, Sen. Robert C. Hendrickson, New Jersey. Much of the material in this and the succeeding chapters is based on that report, which will be referred to as the *Hennings Report*.

It was Feb. 28, 1949, that McCarthy held a press conference in his Senate office and distributed a 94-page booklet entitled *How to Own Your Own Home Now*. The publisher was the Lustron Corp. of Columbus, O., and some 40 pages in the middle of the book comprised an article by McCarthy.

McCarthy said he had written that article and edited the rest of the booklet. He declined to tell what his fee had been.

"It's embarrassingly small," he said. "Besides, I have to split it with 10 people who helped me."

The Milwaukee Journal
Mar. 1, 1949

But what McCarthy said that day did not agree with what he said later. When he filed his 1948 Wisconsin income tax return, he showed that he had received $10,000 from the Lustron Corp. in royalties for the booklet.

All this could seem a simple matter: a Senator wrote an article and received $10,000 for it. But the official records show it was not that simple.

Consider first the Lustron Corp. It was a manufacturer of prefabricated steel houses, located in Columbus, O., and headed by Carl Strandlund. Lustron was financed largely by the government's Reconstruction Finance Corp., which made seven loans totalling $37,500,000 to Lustron between June 30, 1947, and August 29, 1949. In the period of the 80th Congress (1947 and 1948) "McCarthy was a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, which had jurisdiction over both the RFC and the housing agencies, as well as the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, which Committee was also interested in some of the Lustron operations."

Hennings Report
Page 15

The Wisconsin Senator had maneuvered his way into control of a joint Congressional committee on housing that conducted extensive hearings in 1947, and he had announced that he would produce a book on that work. Thus far, we have a housing firm operating on huge government loans and a Senator studying housing and anxious to produce a book about it.

Out of McCarthy's study came suggestions for the Housing Act of 1948 that gave the RFC $50,000,000 for loans to manufacturers of prefabricated houses like Lustron. "This provision," Senate investigators found, "gave the RFC additional funds and authority to make its third Lustron loan of $7,000,000 on Feb. 14, 1949, as well as the subsequent loans. The Act also provided for an increase in the salary of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Administration."

A few days after the bill became law, McCarthy asked Raymond Foley, the Administrator whose salary was increased under the new law, to help Miss Jean Kerr, then a member of the Senator's staff and now his wife, with research on a housing manuscript. Foley and his staff cooperated, and the article that was to become part of the Lustron booklet began to take form.

Meanwhile Lustron's president, Carl Strandlund, had been trying to win friends and influence Congressmen to think well of Lustron. He had first met McCarthy at a race track, Strandlund told the Senate investigators May 14, 1952. McCarthy, he swore, was "a complete stranger" to him when the Senator came over to his box at the Laurel race track in September or October, 1948. Strandlund cashed a check "in the hundreds" for McCarthy that day. It was shortly afterward, in October, 1948, according to Strandlund, that McCarthy proposed to sell Lustron a manuscript on housing. The paper was "not yet in publishable form," Strandlund was told, but nevertheless McCarthy put the price at $10,000. Without consulting his public relations advisors and other officers of his firm, Strandlund agreed to the price.

He wasn't happy about the transaction, he told Senate investigators. "It scared me some," he testified. "I made it a point never to confer, to discuss, to contact or concern myself with Sen. McCarthy from that point on."

The Senators pressed Strandlund about his purpose, and the Lustron promoter told them that "it was a 50-50 deal" involving purchase of material on housing and McCarthy's name as the author.

But Clyde M. Foraker, of Columbus, O., who later became receiver for the defunct Lustron firm, bluntly called the deal "unethical," and added:

"I'll bet he wouldn't have gotten the $10,000 if he hadn't been a Senator."

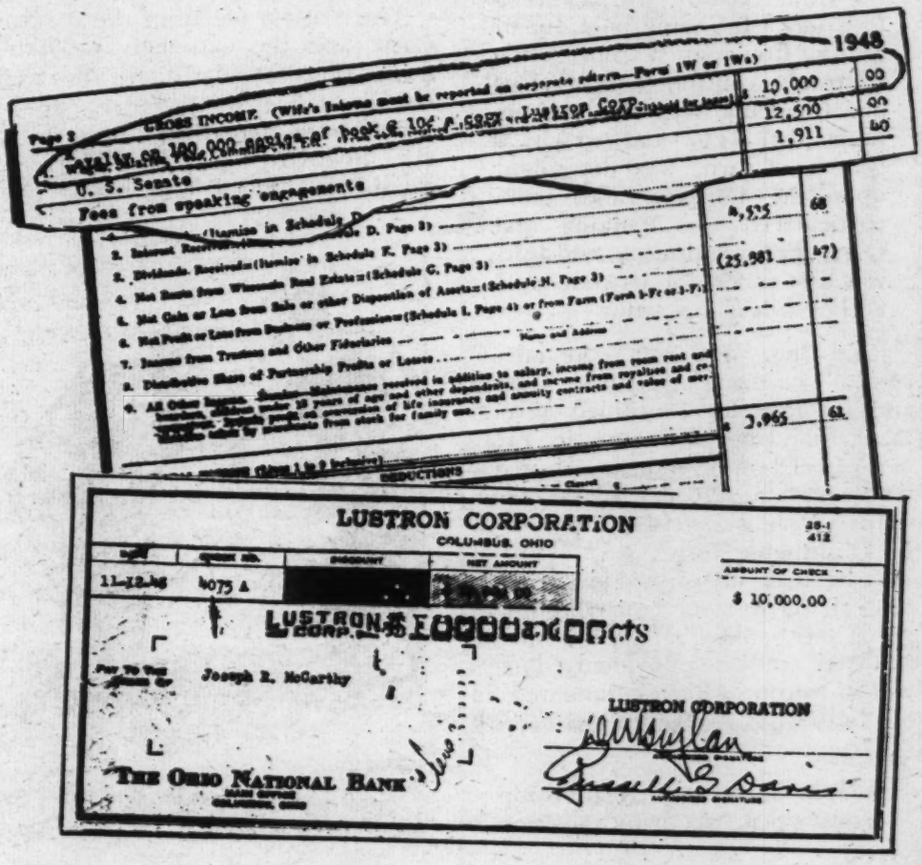
Baltimore Sun
June 16, 1950

Sworn testimony placed before the Senate investigators showed that McCarthy desperately needed Lustron's $10,000 because Matt Schuh, head of the Appleton (Wis.) State Bank, had written McCarthy that state bank examiners were demanding his loan account be cleared up. Said the Senate Committee:

"To appreciate the urgency of the hasty negotiations with Lustron to obtain a $10,000 fee on Nov. 12, 1948, it is essential that we consider Sen. McCarthy's over-extended debt position at the Appleton State Bank, which became quite desperate during September through November of 1948. Although the Bank had notified him that it was essential that his total bank debt of $72,943.96 be reduced, or his collateral liquidated, Sen. McCarthy did not use the Lustron fee for this purpose but bought stock with it which he pledged as additional collateral for the loan. The Lustron check for $10,000, dated Nov. 12, 1948, issued to 'Joseph R. McCarthy,' was endorsed in blank over to Wayne Hummer & Co., the Senator's broker, to purchase additional stock of the Seaboard Airlines Railroad.

"It may or may not be significant that the Seaboard Airlines Railroad was also financed by the RFC and at the time indebted to RFC in excess of $15,000,000. Our inquiry developed that during October of 1948, Sen. McCarthy purchased 1,500 shares of Seaboard common stock at an average price of $22 per share; that this railroad had been in receivership since 1930, came out of reorganization in 1946 to be operated under a voting trust arrangement through April 1, 1951, and that the Lustron fee was used to increase McCarthy's holdings to 1,950 shares . . . While it is not known whether Sen. McCarthy's information with respect to this stock had anything to do with his position as a United States Sen-

Here, below, is a photostat of the $10,000 check received by McCarthy from the Lustron Corp. for his pamphlet on housing. Above it is a photostat showing a portion of McCarthy's 1948 income tax return in which, contrary to a public statement he made, he acknowledges that he kept all the money for himself.



ator, it is interesting to note that Senator McCarthy suggested speculation in Seaboard stock to others."

Hennings Committee Report
Page 17

The reference was to a letter of Mar. 10, 1949, in which McCarthy wrote John Price, a California broker, telling of his own investments in Seaboard and stating "I am enclosing herewith letter which I today received from the president of the Seaboard Air Line *(sic)* Railroad," which appeared to indicate some special relationship with that official.

In 1951, McCarthy sold 1,000 shares of Seaboard for a net profit of $35,614.75. The Appleton Bank returned 700 shares which it no longer required as collateral when he paid up his loan.

In concluding its report on the Lustron deal, the Senate Committee asked these questions in its *Report:*

"Are there other instances where Sen. McCarthy received some consideration from persons or agencies that he was in a position to assist or hurt in his official position as a U. S. Senator?

"How can Sen. McCarthy justify acceptance of a $10,000 fee from Lustron which, in effect, was a fee being paid out of public funds at a time when Lustron's continued operations and financing depended entirely upon the RFC, and which agency, in turn, was dependent upon the Congress and, more particularly, the Banking and Currency Committee, of which he was a member, for its continued authority and operation?

"Did Sen. McCarthy take advanage of Lustron's sensitive position and its need for continued government financing to induce its president, Carl Strandlund, to pay a fee, set by him at $10,000, for a manuscript which was neither finished or in publishable form?

"Was there any connection between Sen. McCarthy's recommendations of government aid for pre-fab manufacturers and his subsequent contacts with Lustron, which culminated in his receiving $10,000 for the sale of his manuscript?

"Was there any relationship between Sen. McCarthy's position as a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and his receipt of confidential information relating to the stock of the Seaboard Airlines Railroad, which was indebted to the RFC for sums in excess of $15,000,000?

"Does Sen. McCarthy consider that his requests for the active assistance of Housing and Home Finance Administration in the preparation of a housing manuscript which he intended to sell, after he had recommended legislation to increase the salary of its administrator, to be ethical?"

Hennings Report
Pages 18-19

Sen. McCarthy declined to answer the Senate Committee's questions or to discuss these transactions in any way. He refused to testify before the Senate Committee investigating his fitness to serve in the Senate, although he has contended on scores of occasions that witnesses summoned before his own Committee must be presumed to be guilty if they refuse to testify on the ground that their evidence might incriminate them.

The 'Pepsi-Cola Line'

The $10,000 fee from the Lustron Corp. and the extremely profitable transaction in Seaboard Airlines were not the only help that McCarthy received from men whose business affairs involved his official duties. A Pepsi-Cola official also helped McCarthy financially at the time when the Appleton State Bank, prodded by Wisconsin examiners, was worrying him about his bank debts.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"I Have Here in My Hand—Oops"

McCarthy was a member of a sugar subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee early in 1947. He insisted that sugar rationing be ended. Washington newsmen took to calling the new Senator "the Pepsi-Cola kid." The Pepsi-Cola firm, seeking to expand against big competitors, wanted a lot more sugar than it was being allowed. McCarthy's claim that there was no shortage of sugar didn't square with official reports of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, which advocated retention of controls. But that didn't deter the Senator.

While McCarthy was taking that tack on sugar controls, he was also facing the problem that his Appleton bank was pressing him for money. On Nov. 28, 1947, the bank president wrote him. Instead of the usual "Dear Joe," this letter began "Dear Senator." It said:

"I am again compelled to write you with reference to your $53,000 loan which is held by the bank, secured by collateral. You no doubt are familiar with the quotations on this collateral and that the margin is under 20%, which you will recall was the margin agreed upon when we made the loan.

"The directors have suggested that I take steps to sell the collateral and pay the loan, but before taking such steps, I thought because of past relationships I would write you first and see if there were any suggestions you might have. If you could arrange to have this loan reduced by between $15,000 and $20,000, I am quite sure that I could convince the directors to continue to carry the loan. I thought possibly *with your contacts* it might be possible for you to make such arrangements. . ." *(Italics ours)*

Hennings Report,
Exhibit 94, p. 245

The Senator had "contacts," and it was "possible to make such arrangements." Within a week he had discussed the matter with Russell M. Arundel, Pepsi-Cola lobbyist, and Arundel had endorsed McCarthy's note for $20,000; that note was for-

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY
WISCONSIN

GEORGE CHRISTY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 29, 1950

Savings Department
National Savings and Trust Company
Washington, D. C.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to authorize Miss Jean F. Kerr of my staff to withdraw $10,000 from my savings account for me.

Following is Miss Kerr's signature:

Jean F. Kerr

Sincerely yours,

Joe McCarthy

JOE McCARTHY

MCC:K

Deposited With M. O.

The Kings National Bank
Washington, D. C.
MAIN OFFICE

endorse all checks as directed

		DOLLARS	CENTS
		16	00
Washington, D. C.	1		
Chicago, Ill.		10	00
Los Angeles, Calif.	2	10	00
Greenwich, Conn.	3	1	00
Buffalo, N. Y.		25	00
Chatham, N. J.	4	20	00
Blackwell, Okla.	5	5	00
Riverside, Calif.		2	00
Bridgeport, Conn.	6	25	00
New York City		5	00
New York City	7	10	00
Cambridge, Mass.	8	5	00
Boston, Mass.		1	00
North Tarrytown, N.Y.	9	25	00
Cody, Wyoming	10	5	00
San Diego, Calif.	11	5	00
Houston, Texas		10	00
Brooklyn, N. Y.	12	3	00
Phoenix, Ariz.	13	15	00
U. S. Postal Order		2	00
Lewiston, Maine	14	5	00
	15	5	00
TOTAL		207	00

FOR THE CREDIT OF:
Name SENATOR JOE McCARTHY, SPECIAL ACCOUNT
Address 251 Senate Office Bldg.
Date Sept. 10, 1952

SAVINGS DEPARTMENT

Book No. 62950

To be placed to the credit of

SEN. JOE MC CARTHY

IN

NATIONAL SAVINGS & TRUST COMPANY

19

	Dollars	Cents
Currency,	500.00	
Coin,		
Checks, AS FOLLOWS:		
D.C.	7000.00	
Mich.	3000.00	
	10500.00	
Total		

N.S.&T.CO. SEP 7. 1950 76

The exhibits on this page indicate the range of McCarthy's financial operations. The letter above authorizes Jean F. Kerr, then his secretary and now his wife, to withdraw $10,000 from his savings account at her pleasure. The two exhibits on the right show the wide-ranging character of McCarthy's bank deposits, the one at upper right showing small deposits from a variety of individuals deposited to McCarthy's special account, while the item below shows the deposit of $10,500 to McCarthy's savings account. Both accounts were studied by the Hennings Committee. See Page 17.

warded to the Appleton bank. The transaction led the Senate Committee to ask:

"Was it proper for Sen. McCarthy, while serving on the Banking and Currency Committee and its Subcommittee on Sugar, to seek and accept the endorsement on his Bank Note for $20,000 by a person vitally interested in sugar legislation?

"Was there any relationship between Arundel's endorsement of Sen. McCarthy's $20,000 note on or about Dec. 8, 1947, and Sen. McCarthy's special appearance to interrogate the Army Secretary on Dec. 9, 1947, before the Committee on Appropriations regarding the Army's purchase of Cuban sugar, which purchase had been previously criticized by Pepsi-Cola?

"Did Sen. McCarthy's over-extended debt position with the Appleton State Bank and the Bank's constant

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

July 12, 1947

Mr. Matt Schuh,
President,
Appleton State Bank,
Appleton, Wisconsin

Dear Matt:

I have just received your notation to the effect that my two notes are due. I wonder if you would make out renewal notes for me to sign, as well as notes for the interest. I would very much prefer paying the interest by note if this isn't too objectionable to you. I have two reasons for wanting to pay by note instead of cash — one of which is that I don't want to use this interest as an income tax deduction this year, and if I pay by cash I can't hold it over until next year as a deduction.

I wonder if you might have any idea as to what the second and even more important reason is.

Sincerely yours,

JOE McCARTHY

McCmb

P. S. Today's tip on the market — buy.

J.Mc.

September 2, 1947

Senator Jos. R. McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Joe:

Up to this time we haven't received your check for $477.00 being interest due on your notes. If you haven't already sent this check, we would appreciate your doing so at once, as we would like to get your notes in order, as they are already over 60 days past due.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly

President

S:H

September 29, 1948

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy
c/o Hotel Appleton
Appleton, Wisconsin

Dear Joe:

Last week we were finished with an examination by the State Department and they placed your note endorsed by Russell Arundel on the objectionable list, meaning that we either must get the note paid within the next ten days or charge it off. Of course, when it comes to charging it off, it would mean immediately handing it out for collection.

They were very much insistent that we take the $10,000.00 savings account of May Kiermse on payment of the note. I am just giving you this so you can see that this needs your immediate attention.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly

President

NAS:K

These two pages provide a representative sample of the frenzied correspondence between McCarthy and Matt Schuh, president of the Appleton State Bank, who has since died of a heart attack.

demand for liquidation of the indebtedness or an increase in his collateral, influence Sen. McCarthy's position on the sugar decontrol issue to such an extent that he followed the 'Pepsi-Cola line'?"

In conclusion the Senate Committee said:

"Sen. McCarthy's acceptance of a $20,000 favor from the Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Co. at the very time he was attacking the government for its manner of handling sugar control makes it difficult to determine whether Sen. McCarthy was working for the best interests of the government, as he saw it, or for Pepsi-Cola."

Hennings Report
Page 39

McCarthy might have explained if he had appeared before the Senate Committee, but he refused to do so, either then or subsequently.

'On Advice of Counsel'

There seems to be no completely fool-proof way of determining whether McCarthy's ability to pay his personal debts increased as he stepped up his charges of Communism in government. The Senate Committee believed the question deserving of extended investigation, however. It wanted to know whether

United States Senate

January 25, 1949

Mr. Matt Schuh,
President,
Appleton State Bank,
Appleton, Wisconsin

Dear Matt:

Just received your letter in regard to my account.

I can fully appreciate your position that the margin must be kept up to 20%. I am, therefore, arranging to either get cash or additional collateral so as to bring it above that figure. However, I am leaving today to go to Kansas City to speak to the Lumber Dealers' Association, and on my way back have to speak at Toledo, Ohio. This means I will not get back to Washington until either sometime Saturday or Sunday.

I wonder, therefore, if it will be agreeable to you that I get this out to you not later than Monday. If this is agreeable, no answer will be necessary. However, if you must have the additional collateral before that time, Matt, then I wish you would call Mrs. Hampton in my office and she will get in touch with me.

Until I see you — good luck.

Sincerely yours,

JOE McCARTHY

P. S. My ulcers are getting worse.

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

June 4, 1949

Mr. Matt Schuh
President, Appleton State Bank
Appleton, Wisconsin

Dear Matt:

I have just received your letter of June 2.

I note that the notes held by the bank are for a total of $59,000 and the collateral $61,000. As you know, the $59,000 includes the note upon which I have been paying $200 per month. I shall be able to continue paying at least that much until this obligation is taken care of.

I wonder, Matt, if under the circumstances it would be possible to have this note, which I believe still totals around $6,000, transferred to one of the other banks without collateral in view of the payments being made thereon. This, of course, would still run us slightly short of 20% on the balance, but I can make that up somehow.

I know it is asking a hell of a lot of you to try to arrange this matter, but you as you know it is of unlimited importance to me, and if you can possibly work this so as to remove the $6,000 note from the obligation, it would ease the situation tremendously. I could, of course, give whatever bank is holding the $6,000 note an insurance policy assigned to it as collateral in case I should get killed. In view of the fact that I have at least 3½ more years in the Senate, this obligation at $200 per month should be taken care of before the end of this term.

Now, damn it, Matt, don't just decide it is a lot easier to call out my collateral and get rid of your ulcers, but extend yourself and see if you can't do something about this smaller note. I don't know how I shall be able to return the favor, except perhaps by waiting until you retire and then get a Republican President to appoint you a Special Advisor to the Senate - on financial matters.

I wonder if you would also have Larry send me a list of the collateral so I can see how he arrives at the figure of $61,000.

Sincerely, (and hopefully)

JOE McCARTHY

McCtd

40 B

The letters above and left show how McCarthy's wide-ranging financial operations, involving a number of stock market deals, kept him peppering the president of his home town bank for extension and transfer of his loans. The Hennings Committee, in its Report, raised the question, among others, "Whether loan or other transactions Sen. McCarthy had with the Appleton State Bank or others involved violations of the tax and banking laws?"

McCarthy had diverted to his personal use funds given to him for his public efforts.

The Senator solicited money from industrialists and others who told him they believed in what he was doing and would like to help. Some or all of such contributions, according to the Senate inquiry, appeared to have been deposited in a special account which McCarthy opened May 5, 1950, in the Riggs National Bank of Washington. *(See photostat, p. 15.)*

On Sept. 7, 1950, he opened another account in the National Savings and Trust Co. of Washington. His first deposit was $10,500. It included $500 in currency, a $7,000 check on another District of Columbia bank, and a $3,000 check on a Michigan bank. Senate investigators established that the two checks came from Mr. and Mrs. Alvin M. Bentley. Bentley was a former foreign service officer who is now a Michigan Congressman. He told Senate investigators that he lent the $3,000 to McCarthy on a five year note, expecting that the money would be used for McCarthy's efforts to show that there were Communists in the Truman Administration. The investigators did not learn whether Mrs. Bentley's check was a loan to McCarthy.

Three weeks after McCarthy open-

ed the account with the Bentley checks, he authorized withdrawal of $10,000 by Miss Jean Kerr, who used the money to buy a draft to Henry J. Van Straten. Van Straten was an old friend of McCarthy and former county superintendent of schools at Appleton, with an office in the courthouse where McCarthy had sat as a judge. Van Straten deposited the check at Wayne Hummer & Co., the Appleton broker that handled McCarthy's security dealings, and proceeded to use it to buy soy beans for future delivery.

Within several months, the transaction had produced a $17,500 profit. Wayne Hummer & Co. paid Van Straten $10,000 from the account. That check was endorsed to McCarthy, and in turn was deposited in his personal account at the Riggs bank in Washington.

Hennings Report
Page 21

The Senate Committee couldn't decide whether McCarthy had been a partner of Van Straten or whether the school administrator, in a burst of good fortune, had been a successful buyer of soy beans when his previous record in stock purchases had shown frequent losses. Nor was there any explanation of why McCarthy opened a special account, let Van Straten use $10,000 for a month, and then put the money in his personal checking account.

Van Straten repeatedly declined to give the Committee information needed to provide an accurate picture of the transactions, and McCarthy, of course, refused to discuss this or any of the other of his stock-market deals. The Committee could not refrain from pointing out that Van Straten, trading on his own, lost heavily in 1949 and 1950. "In contrast to these losses totaling $7,043.27, a profit of $17,354.50 was made between Oct. 3, 1950, and Jan. 2, 1951, on the transactions financed by Sen. McCarthy with money obtained from the Bentleys."

Hennings Report
Page 22

The Committee raised these basic questions:

"Why would Senator McCarthy borrow money for his fight against communism, as indicated by Mr. Alvin Bentley, the source of $3,000 of the $10,000 involved, for the purpose of depositing it in a savings account?

"Was the $7,000 obtained from Mrs. Bentley on the same date also to aid Sen. McCarthy in his alleged anti-communistic fight?

"Was the $3,657.00 obtained from Mrs. Bentley in March 1951, and deposited by Sen. McCarthy in his general account on Mar. 28, 1951, for the same purpose and, if so, why was it deposited in his general account?

"Did Sen. McCarthy give Mrs. Bentley notes for the monies obtained?

"Why did Sen. McCarthy give Mr. Alvin Bentley a five-year non-interest-bearing note for $3,000, when Mr. Bentley was willing to donate that amount and did it have any bearing with respect to the payment of future income taxes?

"If Sen. McCarthy obtained at least $3,000 of the $10,000 involved, as reported by Mr. Bentley, for his anti-communistic fight, was not this money, in a sense, a trust fund?

"Was the $10,000 Van Straten commodity speculation actually for the benefit of Sen. McCarthy, or a partnership account?

"Why would Sen. McCarthy speculate with funds advanced to him for his anti-communistic drive, or loan such funds to a friend for speculative purposes, particularly when the friend's only experience in the commodity market was limited and unsuccessful?

"Did Sen. McCarthy have confidential information with respect to the trend of the soybean future market? (Just prior to the transaction in question, the Commodity Exchange Authority of the Department of Agriculture conducted an investigation of alleged soybean market manipulation involving, among others, a number of Chinese traders.)

"Was the $10,000 Wayne Hummer & Co. check, dated Nov. 27, 1950, which Van Straten endorsed over to Sen. McCarthy a return of the original investment and, if so, why was it deposited in Sen. McCarthy's general account?"

McCarthy resolved none of these questions. There were unanswered questions about the special account at the Riggs bank, too. Deposits in it consisted largely of stacks of checks or money orders. There were 62 checks totalling $1,692.20 in a deposit of May 11, 1950, for example, and 63 more checks totalling $1,312 five days later.

Hennings Report
Page 23

A Threat to Sue—And Then Silence

Investigators learned that there were also major increases in the bank deposits of Ray Kiermas, McCarthy's administrative assistant, that appear to coincide with contributions to the McCarthy effort. The Senate Committee *Report* said:

"Even though Sen. McCarthy has refused to cooperate with the Subcommittee, the list of the payees of these checks is not being included in this report—lest it be said that an attempt was being made to expose Sen. McCarthy's method of operations and his informants. However, at least without explanation, no connection could be established between many of the disbursements from this account and any possible anti-communist campaign, including, for example, a check to the Collector of Internal Revenue for $73.80 on Oct. 2, 1950, at a time when Sen. McCarthy's Riggs general account appears to have been overdrawn. . .

"It is of possible significance that the deposits to Sen. McCarthy's general account at the Riggs National Bank and the deposits to the account of his Administrative Assistant, Ray Kiermas, at the same Bank, increased contemporaneously with the advent of the 'public phase' of Sen. McCarthy's 'fight' to expose communists and communist treason in government."

	McCarthy		
	Regular	Special	Kiermas
1949	$31,260.06		$11,194.70
1950	34,171.32	$15,428.52	26,526.90
1951	34,897.10	2,591.75	27,587.63
1952	27,851.68	2,712.70	19,000.00

Hennings Report
Page 26

Kiermas has been with McCarthy ever since the Senator went to Washington, and until he was married the Senator lived in Kiermas' home.

Mrs. Kiermas was on McCarthy's payroll, too. The Senate investigators reported that they would have liked to ask whether Mr. and Mrs. Kiermas had independence of action when they provided security for some of McCarthy's loans, and whether their employment was in return for political and financial support.

For a time it appeared that Kiermas might act on the implications of the Senate Committee's comments. When the Committee Report was issued, there were not sufficient copies to meet the public demand. As Republican associates of McCarthy took over control of the Senate, there was no authorization of an additional printing. Americans for Democratic Action, an independent organization, reprinted the *Report*. Kiermas promptly indicated he might sue the organization.

With McCarthy at his side, he announced that he would hold ADA responsible for "false and libelous material." ADA officials announced that they would welcome a suit by McCarthy, and that they would waive the defense that the Senate Report was a privileged document. Kiermas had seemed so confident, and McCarthy so eager to support his aide, that a court action seemed probable. But Kiermas went back into McCarthy's inner office, and McCarthy went off in another direction, and they said no more about suing ADA.

On another occasion Kiermas flatly refused to answer questions regarding the special bank accounts. On Apr. 7, 1953, McCarthy's aide was summoned to give a deposition in Drew Pearson's $5,100,000 damage action against McCarthy and eight other persons. As the Baltimore *Sun* reported Apr. 8, 1953, Kiermas said "he had no knowledge of what was done with contributions McCarthy received from various sources after he had charged in 1950 that the government was heavily infested with Communists." Questioned "at length about his own purported financial transactions, Kiermas on advice of counsel refused to answer."

Once again McCarthy had avoided official examination just as completely as other men use the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution to avoid answering questions they prefer not to answer.

McCarthy's Brushes With The Tax Collector

Sen. McCarthy began his stock market adventures four years before he went to the Senate, while he was a young circuit judge in Appleton. He went into the market with $2,200 in 1942, using a 40% margin account with Wayne Hummer & Co. in his home town. The Senate investigation found that "supported by sensational advances in security prices, he was enabled to build up his initial investment to such substantial proportions that in 1943 he realized a net profit of $40,561.67."

Hennings Committee Report
Page 27

Almost no one knew of that profit at the time. When McCarthy filed his state income tax return for 1943, he didn't mention it. Instead, from the Marine Air Station at El Toro, Calif., where he was then on active duty, he submitted a statement stapled to a tax form. The statement read:

"During the entire year of 1943 I was serving in the armed forces of the United States, during which time I spent no time in Wisconsin. I had no property in the state and received no income from within the state (having waived collection of my salary as Circuit Judge). Therefore, I assume it is unnecessary under the present laws to file a return. If you do not so understand the law I shall be glad to file a return."

A local tax collector, knowing that the young judge had gone into the Marine Corps and that his service pay was tax exempt, could understandably believe that McCarthy had no other income. Most men in service had none. But McCarthy knew that he had netted $40,561.67 on the sales of stocks, and had received dividends of $1,293 for a total taxable income of $41,854.67. Not only did he know about that money, but he used much of it for further stock deals after he returned to the West Coast from his Pacific service with the Marines.

McCarthy didn't mention the matter to tax authorities then, or after coming back to his seat as a judge and going on to win the 1946 Senate election in Wisconsin. It was not until Feb. 20, 1947, that the Wisconsin tax assessor began action to collect McCarthy's 1943 taxes.

On Oct. 3, 1944, McCarthy had written J. L. Tibbetts, Assessor of Incomes at Appleton, concluding: "Will you please send the necessary blanks so that I may file my state income tax return for 1943?" This seemed to indicate that he intended to report the 1943 income, but the record shows no further correspondence until 1947, after the federal government announced on Feb. 13 that it had assessed him an additional $3,500 on his income for 1943.

On Feb. 20, 1947, Tibbetts wrote McCarthy, who was now in the U.S. Senate, "The Department now has knowledge that you had income for the year 1943 other than pay for military service." The tax official instructed McCarthy to file a return for that year.

McCarthy replied Mar. 13, 1947, asserting that it was his understanding of the law that he need not file, but that he would do so if the Department did not agree. "I am forwarding you a brief on what I consider the law," he said.

On Apr. 8, Tibbetts replied, saying the brief had not been received. McCarthy's retort was that the brief must have been lost in the mails. In its place he sent a memorandum

Communist Plot in The Wisconsin Government

Herblock in The Washington Post

claiming that though he was a Wisconsin circuit judge on leave in 1943, he was not a resident of the state that year.

On Apr. 24, Tibbetts wrote McCarthy: "I am advised by the legal division that it is of the opinion that you were a resident of Wisconsin in the year 1943 and therefore required to file a return of your income for that year with the Wisconsin Department of Taxation."

McCarthy was given a 30-day deadline to file and pay. On May 5 he objected to the 30-day deadline, calling it "arbitrary in the extreme." Finally, however, he paid a tax of $2,459.54 and $218.32 interest.

It is a curious fact that although he was out of the state and the country a large part of 1942 and 1944, McCarthy did not claim nonresidence for those years, **but only for 1943—the year he made his $40,561 killing in the stock market.** In 1944, when he was a candidate for U.S. Senator while still in military service, McCarthy was most anxious to claim Wisconsin residence.

McCarthy was back in the states late in 1944, and soon was playing the market again. He deposited $11,250 with a California broker in October and his 1944 tax returns show that as a returned Marine, he was a busy investor. And when he left the Marine Corps in January, 1945—seven months before the war ended—he went back to Appleton for a new round of market deals.

On Feb. 13, 1945, the Appleton State Bank loaned McCarthy, again a judge, $1,800 with which he opened a checking account. On July 13, it loaned him $50,086 and five days later there was still another loan of $23,876. McCarthy also withdrew $15,960 from his account with his broker, Wayne Hummer & Co., and this went with the bank's $73,962 into big security purchases.

Hennings Committee Report
Page 33

By December, McCarthy had cut his bank loan down to $20,364, but on December 21, 1945, the Appleton State Bank loaned him $149,176.06 to buy 5,000 shares of Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad common stock that were pledged as security. On that day, McCarthy's debt to the bank became $169,540.70.

The bank, under Wisconsin law, could legally lend no more than $100,000 to any one individual. On Dec. 26, the Appleton bank transferred $69,540.70 to a loan ledger sheet in the name of H. F. McCarthy, a brother.

Hennings Committee Report
Page 33

Wisconsin income tax returns, open to public inspection until last year, showed that McCarthy paid $620.22 interest to the Appleton State Bank in 1945. His salary as a judge was $7,397 and his income from interest and dividends was $1,834. But his net taxable income, according to his return, was $6,951. He paid state taxes of $151.44.

That sum was not large, but it was $151.44 greater than his total state taxes for the next four years. His income for those years was $66,938.59, but he wrote this all off in losses and interest payments. He reported no taxable income at all in 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949. Yet at the same time—his last year as a judge and his first three years as a Senator—the Appleton State Bank carried him on its loan accounts for sums ranging from $50,000 to $70,000.

When interest was due, McCarthy's payments were often credited against principal and new notes were issued in the amount of the interest. Funds in the names of his brothers or Ray Kiermas, a Washington assistant, were often used for security.

"The overall picture," according to the Senate Committee Report, "shows that he was loaned a total of approximately $248,000 during the period Feb. 13, 1945, to Sept. 14, 1951." Some of his transactions were termed "flagrant disregard for the state banking laws and the Federal Reserve Board regulation."

McCarthy 'Deliberately' Tried To 'Thwart' the Inquiry

Although the Hennings Report, unanimously approved by its three members, raised serious questions about McCarthy's fitness to serve in the U.S. Senate, no action of any kind has been taken on the report. The parent Senate Committee, the Committee on Rules and Administration, came under the chairmanship of Sen. William Jenner, Indiana, when the Republicans assumed control of Congress in January of 1953. Jenner, a close friend of McCarthy's, saw to it that, despite considerable demand, no additional copies were ordered. He also fired virtually the entire staff of the Hennings Subcommittee.

McCarthy himself made no effort to have his name cleared. One of his Senate colleagues, the late Sen. Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire Republican, after referring in an NBC radio talk March 23, 1953, to McCarthy's methods as "wrong, and un-American," declared that the Report, which attacked *"McCarthy's integrity and honor, lies in a Senate pigeonhole and you can't get a copy to save your soul."* Tobey challenged McCarthy to speak up on the serious questions raised by the Hennings Committee.

"If McCarthy were a man," Sen. Tobey said, *"he would have demanded an open investigation. We in the Senate ought to be above reproach."*

But McCarthy had refused on six separate occasions to appear before the Hennings Committee to discuss the charges made against him.

"For reasons known only to Sen. McCarthy," the Hennings Committee said, "he chose not to accept this course, but to charge that the allegations were a smear and that the Committee was doing the work of Communists."

"Such action on the part of Sen. McCarthy might appear to reflect a disdain and contempt for the rules and wishes of the entire Senate body, as well as the membership of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections."

"The record . . . leaves the inescapable conclusion that Sen. McCarthy deliberately set out to thwart any investigation of him by obscuring the real issue and the responsibility of the Subcommittee by charges of lack of jurisdiction, smear, and Communist-inspired persecution."

At one point during the Committee's investigation, McCarthy had attacked the Committee's work with such violence that the group asked the entire Senate to decide whether the investigation should continue. The Senate voted 60-0 in favor of a resolution which, in effect, ex-

pressed confidence in the investigating committee and gave it the green light to continue in its inquiry.

The Hennings Committee filed its findings with the Justice Department and the Treasury Department for possible legal action on McCarthy's financial operations and his tax troubles. On Oct. 16, 1953, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Jr., announced that the Criminal Division of the Justice Department could find no basis for legal action in the areas under its jurisdiction, but that the Treasury Department still had under investigation possible violations of the income tax law. Brownell said he did not know the status of the Treasury investigation.

In his statement announcing that no action would be taken against McCarthy, Brownell said:

"It is our conclusion that the evidence fails to establish the commission of any public offense defined by federal statute."

The Baltimore *Sun* reported on Oct. 17, 1953, that Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney told a press conference that "McCarthy himself had not been questioned by Justice Department investigators, including FBI agents who were assigned to the case." Thus, McCarthy, who refused six times to go before the investigating subcommittee to answer questions concerning these financial deals, was again spared the responsibility of explaining his activities. Actually, Justice Department investigators gave the object of their inquiries such a wide berth that he didn't, he said, know he was being investigated.

Commenting on Brownell's statement announcing dismissal of charges by the Criminal Division, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* said editorially:

"Mr. Brownell may have washed his hands of the detailed report of the factual statements, documents, and photostats submitted to him by [the Senators who investigated the charges]. He has not heard the last of it. One of the things he has not heard the last of is the fact that Sen. McCarthy, who was always questioning other people, would not appear before the subcommittee and answer questions about himself. No one, in effect, ever hid more slickly behind the Fifth Amendment."

Collier's magazine editorially urged that McCarthy take a lie-detector test on the unanswered questions raised by the Hennings Committee. "The volume of evidence presented certainly suggests that Sen. McCarthy is a person more earthy and devious than the Shining Knight who has appointed himself to be the St. George who will slay the dragon of unrighteousness single-handedly. We think the questions which this evidence presents urgently require answers. It seems only right that McCarthy, as an advocate of lie-detecting, should set an example by letting the man wrap the blood pressure recorder around his arm, and telling all." *(Collier's, May 9, 1953.)*

McCarthy refused to tell all, or any of the story, with or without a lie-detector. The man who has accused so many of guilt if they refuse, under the Fifth Amendment, to testify, remained silent on the charges.

THE SIX UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

These are the six questions raised by Sens. Hennings, Hendrickson, and Hayden during their investigation of McCarthy's financial affairs—questions which except for a blanket, unsupported "no" were left unresolved by McCarthy's refusal to accept the Committee's invitation to testify.

HENNINGS

- **Whether under the circumstances it was proper for Sen. McCarthy to receive $10,000 from the Lustron Corporation?**
- **Whether funds supplied to Sen. McCarthy to fight Communists or for other specific purposes were diverted to his own use?**
- **Whether Sen. McCarthy used close associates and members of his family to secrete receipts, income, commodity, and stock speculation and other financial transactions for ulterior motives?**
- **Whether Sen. McCarthy's activities on behalf of certain special interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China, were motivated by self-interest?**

HENDRICKSON

HAYDEN

- **Whether loan or other transactions Sen. McCarthy had with the Appleton State Bank or others involved violations of the tax and banking laws?**
- **Whether Sen. McCarthy violated federal and state corrupt practices acts in connection with his 1944-46 Senatorial campaigns or in connection with his dealings with Ray Kiermas?**

THE NUMBERS GAME

The Original Charges of Communism and How The Facts Exploded Them

FOR three years after taking his oath of office as U.S. Senator in January, 1947, McCarthy tried fitfully, and in a variety of fields, to become better known. But half way through his term of office he was still one of the least publicized members of the Senate. It was not until he decided to try out "Communism in the State Department" as an issue that McCarthy shot into national prominence. He launched this campaign for headlines in February, 1950.

As the *Saturday Evening Post (Aug. 19, 1950)* told the story:

"On last Feb. 9, Sen. McCarthy traveled to Wheeling, W. Va., to repeat a well-tested anti-Communist speech. But on this occasion the Senator inserted into his talk the following addition: 'I hold here in my hand a list of **205** persons who are known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party, and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department.' "

The very next day after making this sensational charge, McCarthy was in Salt Lake City, Utah, where he repeated the charge, but reduced the number from **205** to **57** Communists.

"Last night," he told a radio audience, "I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of **57** card-carrying members of the Communist Party."

Radio interview permanently recorded over Salt Lake City radio station

But still another figure was soon to emerge. The official *Congressional Record* of Feb. 20, 1950, shows that McCarthy, in a Senate speech, said there were **81** employees of the State Department who ranged from "persons whom I consider to be Communists" *(p. 2063)* down to individuals who were "bad risks" *(p. 2069)*.

But a month later, McCarthy had reduced the grand total even further. At a press conference in Washington, D.C., Sen. McCarthy announced that he would "stand or fall" on his ability to prove that there was just *one* Communist in the State Department —"the top espionage agent" in the United States.

"I am willing to stand or fall on this one," he said. "If I am wrong on this I think the Subcommittee would be justified in not taking any other cases too seriously."

New York Times
Mar. 24, 1950

Thus, his own words record the extent to which McCarthy changed his story in those days when his headline-creating charges vaulted him to a position of great prominence in the nation. Suppose we have a look at the various charges and then examine the official records to observe how they stood up.

205 Communists

Faced with a demand for evidence, Sen. McCarthy quickly backed away from his charge that there were 205 Communists in the State Department. Eleven days after he had given his Wheeling speech he read to the Senate what he now claimed was the speech he had given Feb. 9. Here is what he claimed in the Senate he had said at Wheeling:

"I have in my hand **57** cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

Congressional Record
Feb. 20, 1950, p. 2044

But James E. Whitaker, news editor of Radio Station WWVA of Wheeling, W. Va., and Paul A. My-

ers, program director of the same station, signed and swore to statements that McCarthy had actually said the following:

". . . I have here in my hand a list of 205—**a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party** and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Note the significant differences between the two versions. In McCarthy's Senate speech, he failed to include the material printed in boldface in the paragraph above. In the Senate speech the number is reduced to "57"; individuals "would appear to be" Communists, and there is no mention of the significant charge that the Secretary of State knew all about the presence of many Communists in influential positions in his department.

Now, what was the origin of the "205" figure? It goes back to July 26, 1946, when James F. Byrnes, now governor of South Carolina, was Secretary of State.

Byrnes wrote a letter to Congressman Sabath of Illinois, in which he pointed out that at the end of World War II, 12,797 government employees who had worked for emergency war agencies were temporarily transferred to the State Department. This group was reduced to about 4,000 individuals, and the Department started screening them to see who would be permitted to hold peacetime jobs in the Department.

Byrnes explained that "preliminary examination" had been made of 3,000 cases and "a recommendation against permanent employment had been made in 284 cases." Of these, 79 had been actually removed from the service.

Note that simple subtraction of 79 cases from 284 leaves exactly 205. Sen. McCarthy later admitted, in an interview in the *U.S. News and World Report* for Sept. 7, 1951, that the "205" came from the Byrnes letter. Note, too, that Byrnes' language—a "recommendation against permanent employment"—became "members of the Communist Party" in the McCarthy treatment. Equally interesting was McCarthy's failure to point out that of 205, only 64 were still on the payroll when he spoke, and that all of these had been subjected to a full

James F. Byrnes

loyalty investigation, including FBI field study where the FBI felt such a process necessary.

Since the figure "205" was quickly shown to have come from a letter written *four years before* by Secretary Byrnes, McCarthy subsequently preferred to use other figures. Suppose we look now at some of the other ingredients in what McCarthy himself was soon to call "the numbers racket."

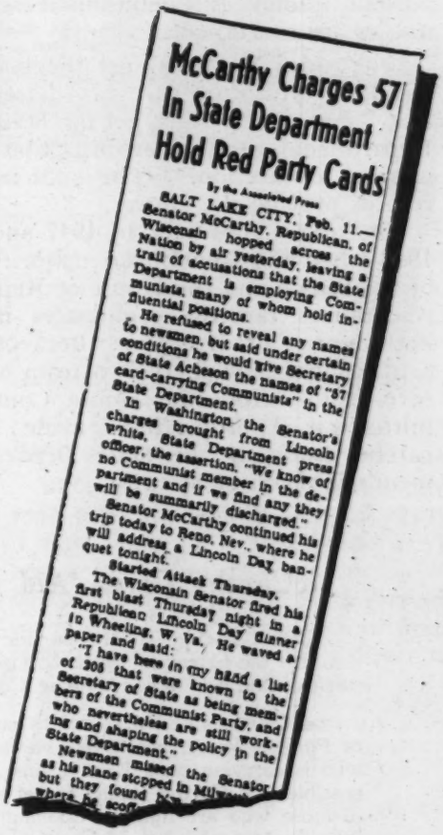
The "Numbers Racket"

If the "numbers racket" seems a tricky and confusing story, it is solely because McCarthy's repeated change of numbers made it hard to follow his charges from day to day, week to week, and month to month during the period when his sensational allegations were winning him headlines throughout the world. It is worth noting here how guesswork played a part in McCarthy's charges in so grave a field as treason and espionage. In his book McCarthy wrote: "I have been able to dig out the facts to show that 57 are either Communists or doing the work of the Communist Party. Therefore, *it is safe to assume that there are many more about whom I have no information.*" (Italics ours.)

McCarthyism: The Fight for America By Joseph R. McCarthy. The Devin-Adair Co. 1952. Page 10

Some indication of how the McCarthy story changed *even within the same speech* is available in the *Congressional Record* for Feb. 20, 1950.

In this speech he talked of "a very sizeable group of active Communists in the State Department," later referred to "vast numbers of other Communists" [in the State Department], recalled the origin of the figure 205, then went on to say "I do not believe I mentioned the figure 205 [at Wheeling]; I believe I said **over 200**," then hastened to claim that "I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present," then changed the story by saying "the cases number 81," and capped it all by saying: "I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the



McCarthy Charges 57 In State Department Hold Red Party Cards

By the Associated Press

SALT LAKE CITY, Feb. 11.—Senator McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin hopped across the Nation by air yesterday, leaving a trail of accusations that the State Department is employing Communists, many of whom hold influential positions.

He refused to reveal any names to newsmen, but said under certain conditions he would give Secretary of State Acheson the names of "57 card-carrying Communists" in the State Department.

In Washington the Senator's charges brought from Lincoln White, State Department press officer, the assertion, "We know of no Communist member in the department and if we find any they will be summarily discharged."

Senator McCarthy continued his trip today to Reno, Nev., where he will address a Lincoln Day banquet tonight.

Started Attack Thursday.

The Wisconsin Senator fired his first blast Thursday night in a Republican Lincoln Day dinner in Wheeling, W. Va. He waved a paper and said:

"I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party, and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy in the State Department."

Newsmen missed the Senator as his plane stopped in Milw[illegible] but they found him [illegible] where he scoff[illegible]

This Associated Press dispatch from Salt Lake City, Feb. 11, 1950, quotes McCarthy using the figure of "57 card-carrying Communists" in the second paragraph and refers in the fifth and sixth paragraphs to the charge of 205 Communists in the State Department he made the day before in Wheeling, W. Va.

Secretary [of State] were discharged because of Communism. He actually only discharged approximately 80" —thus apparently introducing a brand new figure of **220**.

The vital figures—by McCarthy's own presentation—are the 205 *(see preceding page)* and the figures 81 and 57.

McCarthy first used the figure "81" on the Senate floor Feb. 20, 1950. But in the same speech he soon claimed that **he was not accusing all 81** individuals of being Communists, although at one point he said:

". . . I am only giving the Senate cases in which it appears that there is a definite Communist connection."

But he himself qualified this serious charge several times. For example:

"Case No. 62: This file is not important insofar as **Communistic activities** are concerned . . ."

Where did McCarthy get the material on which to base his charge that "there are 81 cases [in the State Department] with a definite Communist connection?" The official records provide the answer.

The origin goes back to 1947 and 1948 when the Republican majority of the Senate and the House of Representatives ran the committees in both houses of Congress. Between Sept. 18 and Nov. 3, 1947, a team of investigators from the House Committee on Appropriations made a careful study of the State Department's Division of Security.

A list of 108 cases in the files was drawn up. The cases were identified only by number and a special key with the correct names was prepared. However, when the "108 cases" were discussed at the hearings, no names were used. This was also true when the "108 cases" were discussed on the floor of the House of Representatives Mar. 3, 4, 5, and 11, 1948.

The details of these "108 cases" were available to members of Congress two years before Sen. McCarthy made his speech on the "81 cases" on Feb. 20, 1950. That McCarthy's "81 cases" were lifted almost bodily from the two-year-old report of Congressional investigators is clear from the fact that McCarthy used *identical language* in describing many of the cases cited in his speech before the Senate.

The Tydings unit of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which was set up to investigate McCarthy's charges reached these conclusions after a careful analysis of the "81 cases":

"1. There is **not one** of the cases discussed [by Sen. McCarthy] on Feb. 20, 1950, on the Senate floor which is not to be found among the '108 list' *(compiled two years earlier)*.

"2. There is no factual information relative to any of the Feb. 20 [McCarthy] cases which does not have its identifiable counterpart among the '108 list.'

"3. Apart from characterizations and immaterial interpolations, the language employed by Sen. McCarthy **is case for case similar textually to the language in their counterparts among the '108 list'.** Where variations in the case descriptions employed by Sen. McCarthy occurred, the language had been changed to create a more sinister impression."

Official Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Report 2108

When McCarthy presented his "81 cases" Feb. 20, 1950, he promised one Senator that he could "come to my office as soon as I finish and receive the names."

Under oath, however, McCarthy admitted: "At this particular moment I could not give you the names of half these persons."

Tydings Subcommittee Hearings, p. 6

The evidence makes it clear that the impression that a fresh investigation had uncovered new material was false. McCarthy used information presented to the public two years before.

The reader may wonder just why this is important. If there were Communists in the government, what difference does it make if McCarthy used "old" material? The answer is this:

Leading Republican Congressmen had carefully investigated every one of the cases that McCarthy presented —**two years before.** These Republican-controlled committees considered the disposition of the "108" and other security cases: the House Committee on Appropriations, the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

These Republican Congressmen had no desire to "protect" the Truman Administration when they worked over the "108" cases. They analyzed the same material presented by McCarthy—two years before. **Not a single one of these 80th Congress committees, all having Republican majorities, reported that the State Department contained any Communists.**

The final word on the material McCarthy was to use two years later

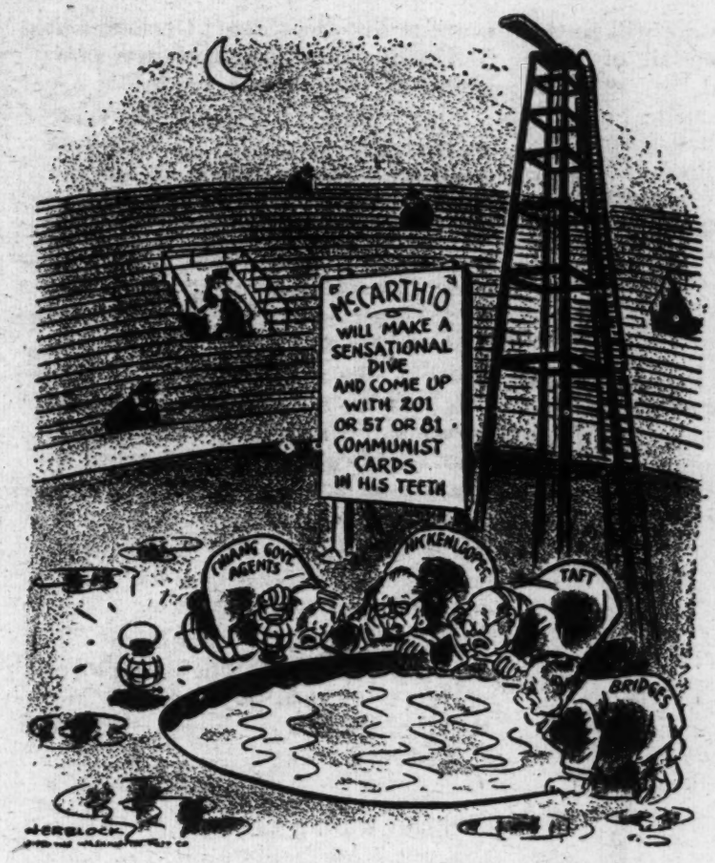
McCarthy Gives 'Aid to Enemies of Democracy'

Three leading spokesmen for American veterans' organizations have recorded the extent to which McCarthy has damaged the legitimate cause of safeguarding the nation against Communist subversion and espionage.

- CHARLES C. RALLS, while national commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, put it this way: "I am for any Congressman or Senator who is carrying on a fight against Communism, but I want that fight to be sensible. McCarthy should forget about the publicity. He has hurt the work of those who are fighting Communists by making unfounded charges . . . I love the idea of what McCarthy is trying to do, but his methods hurt those of us who are sincerely fighting the Communists."

- WILLIAM EXLINE, while senior vice commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart, wrote in the *Purple Heart* magazine that McCarthy "gave aid and comfort to the enemies of democracy by his unproved charges concerning U.S. governmental agencies . . . His complete disregard of [American] principle makes him potentially far more dangerous than those he accuses."

- WALTER E. ALESSANDRONI, while chairman of the American Legion's Committee on Un-American Activities, asserted in a letter to McCarthy that failure to make the meaning of our words and actions clear in a period like this "is in itself a contribution to undermining national unity, and could therefore be justifiably classed as an un-American act."



'Joe—Yoo Hoo—Joe'

'Stop Ganging Up on Me'

was given by a Republican member of the House of Representatives. He was Congressman Bartel Jonkman of Michigan, who had investigated Communism in the State Department as a one-man investigating subcommittee for the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He said on Aug. 2, 1948:

"But before the 80th Congress adjourns, I want the members to know that there is one department in which the known or reasonably suspected subversives, Communists, fellow-travelers, sympathizers, and persons whose services are not for the best interests of the United States, have been swept out. That is the Department of State."

Congressional Record Aug. 2, 1948, p. 9793

The 57 Cases

As McCarthy himself admitted, he occasionally used the figure "57" in referring to Communists in the State Department.

The first recorded use of "57" was at Salt Lake City the day after the Wheeling speech. McCarthy was interviewed in the Utah capital by a local radio personality, Dan Valentine. His words were recorded, and the record was subsequently sent to the Senate Committee which investigated his charges of Communism in the State Department. Part of the interview went as follows:

McCarthy: Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party. . . Now, I want to tell [Acheson] this: If he wants to call me tonight at the Utah Hotel, I will be glad to give him the names of those 57 card-carrying Communists. . .

Valentine: In other words, Senator, if Secretary of State Dean Acheson would call you at the Hotel Utah tonight in Salt Lake City you could give him 57 names of actual card-carrying Communists in the State Department of the United States—actual card-carrying Communists.

McCarthy: Not only can, Dan, but will. . . .

Valentine: Well, I am just a common man out here in Salt Lake City, a man who's got a family and a son and a job. You mean to say there's 57 Communists in our State Department that direct or control our State Department policy or help direct it?

McCarthy: Well, Dan, I don't want to indicate there are only 57, I say I have the names of 57.

Now what was the origin of the figure "57"?

The Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported that it came from the same two-year-old "108 cases" and in the same way.

In March, 1948, John E. Peurifoy, then Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Administration, testified before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department. He was asked about the "108 cases."

At that time only 57 of the 108 were still employed, and of these 22 were being investigated by the FBI as of March, 1948, according to Peurifoy's testimony.

Subsequently, official records in *Report No. 2108* of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations July 20, 1950, based on evidence taken by the Tydings Subcommittee, showed that 41 of the 108 had been cleared and **67 were not employed by the State Department** as a result of resignation, death, completion of assignment, or dismissal.

Thus, when McCarthy spoke, only one-third of those against whom he had brought charges were still in the State Department, **and all of these had been considered in 1948,** as Republican Congressman Jonkman pointed out, and all had been "fully processed under the President's Loyalty Program and the State Department's Security Program," according to the findings of the Senate investigators in the *Report* cited above.

The Big One

McCarthy admitted to his complete incapacity to document and prove his charges. Testifying Mar. 8, 1950, before the Senate Committee authorized to investigate his claims of Communists in the State Department, McCarthy said: "I am not in a position to file any formal charges."

This was still true more than three years later. In June, 1953, Rep. Brownson, Indiana Republican and a member of the House Government Operations Committee, wrote Scott McLeod, security administrator of the State Department, asking if any of the "57 persons referred to as Communists by Sen. McCarthy on the floor of the Senate Feb. 20, 1950 [are] still in the employ of the Department." McLeod replied that a search of Department files "failed to disclose such a list."

When it became clear that he could not make any of his numbers stick, McCarthy switched his attack again.

He dramatically announced he would prove that **a single employee** of the State Department was the "top Russian espionage agent" in the United States.

New York Times
Mar. 22, 1950

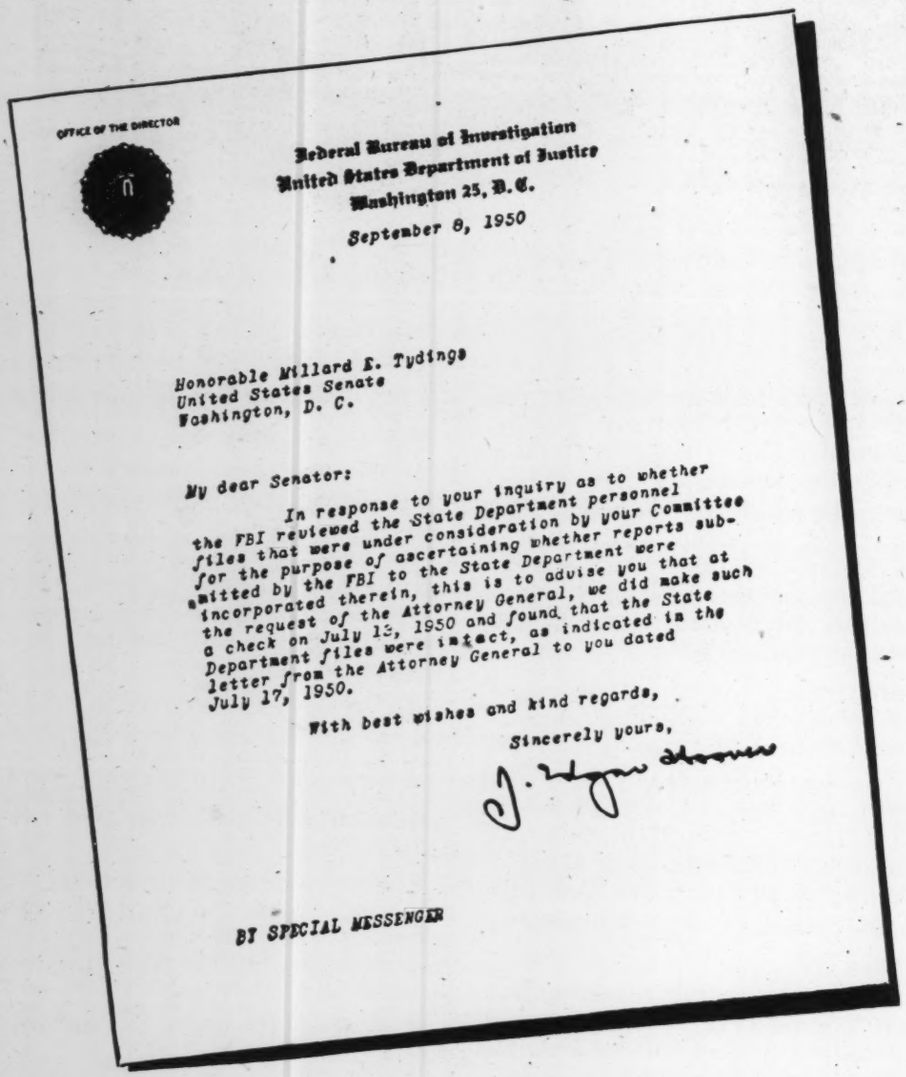
"I am willing to stand or fall on this one," McCarthy said. "If I am wrong on this, I think the Subcommittee would be justified in not taking my other cases too seriously."

New York Times
Mar. 24, 1950

Let the strongly anti-Communist *Time* magazine, a critic of the Truman Administration, tell the story as of Oct. 22, 1951 (20 months after McCarthy made his original charges):

"He [McCarthy] bored in, hitting low blow after low blow. He set up a barrage of new accusations which caught the headlines, drawing attention away from the fact that he had not made good on his original charge. He even began to produce some names. But his most sensational charge was that he knew the name of 'the top Soviet espionage agent' in the U.S. The man so accused turned out to be Owen Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins professor and writer on Far Eastern affairs. Lattimore in fact had great influence in U.S. academic and journalistic circles dealing with the Far East. He was an important factor in leading U.S. toward policies which many Americans regard as tragically wrong.

"But that was not what McCarthy said about Lattimore. He said that Lattimore was 'the top Soviet espion-



OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

September 8, 1950

Honorable Millard E. Tydings
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

In response to your inquiry as to whether the FBI reviewed the State Department personnel files that were under consideration by your Committee for the purpose of ascertaining whether reports submitted by the FBI to the State Department were incorporated therein, this is to advise you that at the request of the Attorney General, we did make such a check on July 13, 1950 and found that the State Department files were intact, as indicated in the letter from the Attorney General to you dated July 17, 1950.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

Above is a photostatic copy of the letter written by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover making it clear that the files McCarthy claimed had been "raped" were in fact "intact." **(See Page 27.)**

age agent'—and to this day McCarthy has not produced a scrap of evidence indicating that Lattimore was a spy or in any way disloyal."

Lattimore was subsequently subjected to relentless examination by the McCarran Committee of the Senate. As a result of that inquiry, he was indicted on seven counts of perjury by a federal grand jury. However, Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, formerly Republican Governor of Minnesota, promptly dismissed four of the seven counts.

The counts dismissed were the most important of the seven, especially Count 1 of the indictment which charged that Lattimore swore falsely when he testified that "I am not and never have been a Communist, a Soviet agent, a sympathizer, or any other kind of a promoter of Communism or Communist interests." In dismissing this count, Judge Youngdahl called it "so nebulous and indefinite that a jury would have to indulge in speculation in order to arrive at a verdict." He said that it was "fundamental that a jury should not be asked to determine an issue which can be decided only on conjecture."

And yet as a self-appointed, one-man jury, McCarthy had not only conjectured but had flatly charged that Lattimore was not only a Communist but the "top Russian espionage agent" in the United States.

The Department of Justice has appealed Judge Youngdahl's dismissal of the four counts. That is where the Lattimore case stands now.

Files and the FBI

Repeatedly, as he bounced from one figure to another and one charge to another in the "numbers racket," McCarthy had not only claimed he was disclosing fresh, new information that he felt it his duty to present to the public, but insisted that his information came from the highly secret loyalty files of the State Department.

"All the information I have given the Senate is in the *State Department files.*" *(Congressional Record, 1950, p. 2063.)*

"Mr. President, I have before me information from the *State Department files,* information which the President says the Senate did not have. *(Congressional Record, 1950, p. 2048.)*

"You can be sure of this: if those files would prove that McCarthy was a liar, they would damn well be opened at sunrise tomorrow morning."

McCarthy Speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr. 20, 1950

Two weeks later, President Truman let the Senate Investigating Committee look at the files. McCarthy's reaction was reported by *Time* magazine Oct. 22, 1951:

"Before McCarthy even saw what the State Department turned over to the Committee, he pronounced it 'a phony offer of phony files.' The files have been 'raped,' he cried."

It was after Mr. Truman had made the files available, in response to McCarthy's repeated demand, that McCarthy broadened his demand for additional files. Although he had claimed repeatedly up to then that the *State Department files* would confirm his accusations, McCarthy now demanded that the following files would also have to be opened:

"The FBI files, the Civil Service Commission files, and where individuals have been investigated by the Army, Navy, or secret service, we should also obtain those files."

Congressional Record July 12, 1950, p. 10139

When President Truman did make the State Department files available to the Senate Investigating Committee, McCarthy shouted at once that the files did not contain all of the FBI reports.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover put the lie to this one in no uncertain terms. In a letter to the chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, Sen. Millard E. Tydings, Hoover wrote Sept. 8, 1950, that all the information sent over by the FBI was contained in the State Department loyalty files. *(See photostat, p. 26.)*

The legal protection of legislators for what they say during debate on the floor is supported by a long and honorable tradition.

This protection enables a member of Congress to make sweeping charges against individuals during debate and he can not be sued in a court for slander or libel. Newspapers also can print the accusations, even if they are false, because the speeches in the Congress are privileged and protected from libel charges.

When Sen. McCarthy began his attacks, he promised Congress and the country he would not hide behind his Congressional immunity:

"On the day when I take advantage of the security we have on the Senate floor, on that day I will resign from the Senate. Anything I say on the floor of the Senate at any time will be repeated off the floor."

Congressional Record Feb. 20, 1950, p. 2043

But McCarthy did not step out from behind his legal shield and repeat the same charges off the floor. He also did not resign.

The *Christian Science Monitor,* one of the most distinguished and universally respected of American newspapers, commented editorially on April 11, 1950:

"Never were pretzel-shaped thought processes more ingeniously bent than in the address delivered to the Marine Corps League at Passaic, N. J., at the weekend. Pronouncing his own speech 'libelous if untrue' he proceeded to hurl at Owen Lattimore charges which can neither be proved true or untrue.

"This was Sen. McCarthy's way of pretending to come out from behind the Congressional immunity under which he previously charged Mr. Lat-

'Step Outside and Say That'

Herblock in The Washington Post

timore with being Russia's 'top espionage agent' in the United States. Sen. McCarthy, however, refrained from repeating this specific charge, perhaps because to do so would permit other opinions than his own to determine whether the charge is libelous."

Later, McCarthy shifted his position.

"When they make those files available so they can be used, those statements will be made in public," he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr. 20, 1950.

Official Transcript of Speech and Questions, Master Reporting Co., Washington, D. C.

As we have seen above, the files were opened for the Senate investigators two weeks later (May 4, 1950), but Sen. McCarthy refused to deliver on his promise to the newspaper editors. Finally, on Aug. 9, 1951, Sen. McCarthy admitted openly in a speech that he was not going to shed his Senatorial immunity.

Congressional Record Aug. 9, 1951, p. 9915-26

In the years that have followed, years of countless charges against countless individuals, McCarthy has carefully avoided saying off the floor of the Senate many of the statements he has made on the floor or in the equally privileged sessions of his investigating committee.

McCarthy's original charges of Communists in the State Department, made first at Wheeling, W. Va., and repeated in various forms in the months that followed, resulted in a Senate investigation which produced 3,000,000 words of testimony. The inquiry was conducted by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations headed by then Sen. Millard Tydings. The majority of the subcommittee (all Democrats) reached these conclusions July 17, 1950:

"Sen. McCarthy and McCarthyism have been exposed for what they are and the sight is not a pretty one." McCarthy's "charges and methods are a fraud and a hoax," and constituted "perhaps the most nefarious campaign of untruth in the history of our republic."

"We have seen the technique of the 'Big Lie' elsewhere employed by the totalitarian dictator with devastating success, utilized here for the first time on a sustained basis in our history. We have seen how, through repetition and shifting untruths it is possible to delude great numbers of people."

"We sincerely believe that charges of the character which have been made in this case seriously impair the efforts of our agencies of government to combat the problem of subversion. Furthermore, extravagant allegations, which cannot be proved and are not subject to proof, have the inevitable effect of dulling the awareness of all Americans to the true menace of Communism."

Official Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Report 2108

Although Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican of Massachusetts, one of the two Republican members of the committee, declined to sign the majority report, he did agree that the investigation had failed to produce a single Communist in the State Department.

On the floor of the Senate, Sen. Warren Magnuson of Washington asked Sen. Lodge this question:

"Did the Senator from Massachusetts in his investigation find any Communists in the State Department?"

"No; I did not," replied Sen. Lodge.

Congressional Record July 21, 1950, p. 10933

This single-sentence conclusion by a member of McCarthy's own party summarizes the outcome of an investigation which took four months and assembled 3,000,000 words.

Four years to the month after McCarthy's original charges of rampant Communism in the State Department under Dean Acheson, the *Christian Science Monitor (Feb. 16, 1954)* reported that two top Republican spokesmen for the State Department, Undersecretary Walter Bedell Smith and Security Chief Scott McLeod, testified before a House Appropriations subcommittee that **"no active Communist has been uncovered in the State Department in the year or more of Republican control."**

Balance Sheet

Although Sen. McCarthy's reckless charges were disproved by Republican and Democratic investigators alike, the Wisconsin Senator soon began to make claims of specific gains from his "crusade against Communism in government." Suppose we have a look at the "achievements" as he himself spelled them out for the period between February, 1950, when he made his original charges, and January, 1953, when he became chairman of the Permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. *(This latter phase of his career is covered on Pages 33 to 50.)*

Precisely what did McCarthy claim for this first phase of headline-hunting?

"We got Alger Hiss out, we got Marzani out, Wadleigh, George Shaw Wheeler, and a few others."

McCarthy Interview, U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 7, 1951

The official records show how totally false these claims were, and they show too why *Time* magazine, a strong critic of the Democratic Administration, concluded that McCarthy had made a "miserable showing as an exposer of Reds."

McCarthy did not get Alger Hiss. Hiss resigned from the State Department in February, 1947. This was *three years before McCarthy made his charges.*

J. Edgar Hoover Makes a Comparison

"This approach to the internal security problem—an objective search for the truth; slowly, carefully, patiently developing all the evidence; and handling each subject on an individual basis—safeguards civil rights. The blunderbuss method, shooting wildly, hoping that in the broadside the guilty will be hit, unmindful of the number of innocent injured—that method is wrong, the very antithesis of democratic law enforcement. Security investigations can be conducted fairly, accurately and without hysteria. That is the aim of the FBI."

J. Edgar Hoover
Director, FBI
Iowa *Law Review*, Winter, 1952

Hiss was first named by Whittaker Chambers in 1948 and was forced into the open by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This was *two years before McCarthy made his charges.*

It was the FBI and the Department of Justice, not McCarthy, that "got" Hiss.

Hiss was convicted Jan. 2, 1950, when a jury decided he had lied in denying that he had passed secret State Department documents to Chambers. The FBI prepared the evidence and the Justice Department prosecuted. The case was over and Hiss was convicted *before* McCarthy made his first charges in Wheeling, Feb. 9, 1950.

McCarthy did not get Carl Aldo Marzani.

Marzani, a former employee of the Office of Strategic Services, was exposed by State Department investigators as a Communist and was fired in December, 1946, *before McCarthy was sworn in as a Senator.* The FBI and the State Department's investigators dug up the information and the Justice Department successfully prosecuted the case.

McCarthy did not get Henry Julian Wadleigh.

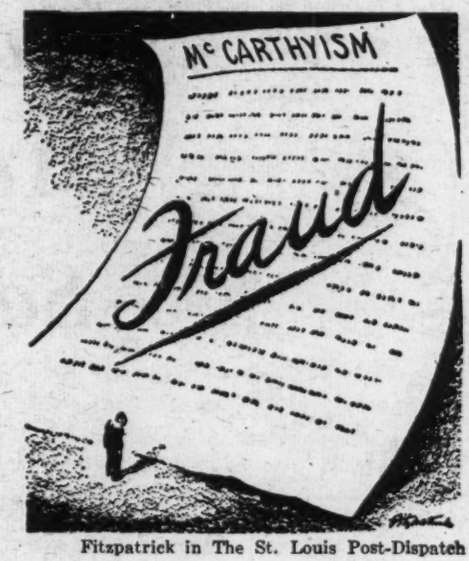
Chambers named Wadleigh as another State Department employee who had passed out documents. Then Wadleigh testified for the federal government against Hiss. McCarthy again had absolutely nothing to do with it. In fact, Wadleigh left the State Department in 1946—*before McCarthy came to the Senate*—and was exposed by Chambers before McCarthy made his first speech on the subject.

McCarthy did not get George Shaw Wheeler.

Wheeler worked for the Foreign Economic Administration and the War Department until 1947 when he was eased out while facing a loyalty probe. He had been working in the U.S. military government in Germany at the time and he fled to Czechoslovakia where the Soviets took him in and put him to work as an economics instructor. *(Chicago Tribune, Apr. 13, 1950.)*

These, then, are the four officials McCarthy claimed to have "got." Actually, as the official records show,

Report Card



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

all four were dismissed from government service before McCarthy began his sensational hunt for headlines.

It was this record which led *Time* magazine to observe on Oct. 22, 1951:

"After nearly two years of tramping the nation, shouting that he was 'rooting out the skunks,' just how many Communists had Joe rooted out? *The answer: none.*"

But just as he used a variety of numbers in charging there were Communists in the State Department, McCarthy has also used different sets of names on different occasions.

When the evidence showed that the four he had named in the *U.S. News and World Report* were dismissed before he raised the question of Communism in government, McCarthy switched to a new group of names. For instance, in the condensation of his book, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America,* which appeared in the May 1952 issue of *Cosmopolitan,* McCarthy asked himself a number of questions and proceeded to answer them.

One of the questions is: "Will you give the names of some of those who have been removed from government service as a result of your proof?"

It is significant to know here that McCarthy does not now refer to the State Department but to "government service," despite the fact that all his original charges were leveled against the State Department.

It is equally striking that while McCarthy listed the names of eight individuals in this *Cosmopolitan* condensation, *not one of them was on the list he compiled in the* U.S. News and World Report *interview.* The new batch of cases covered eight individuals in a variety of government departments, but here again the official records show that *McCarthy played no part in any of these cases.*

A typical example, and we select this one because it represents the only case among the eight which resulted in conviction and imprisonment, involved William Remington. Remington was first investigated long before McCarthy began his attacks. Actually, it was in July, 1948, a year and a half before McCarthy first brought his charges, that a Senate Investigating Committee, headed by Sen. Homer Ferguson, Michigan Republican, first looked into the Remington case.

Sen. Ferguson, a strong McCarthy supporter, said on Apr. 4, 1951, that he did not want to discount the work McCarthy had done, but he made it clear that "outside of Sen. McCarthy's general statements of Communism in government, which of course embraced Remington, I personally do not know of any particular work he did in the Remington case." *(Letter to Robert H. Fleming, Apr. 4, 1951.)*

McCarthy has been equally careless, on occasion, in claiming credit for the conviction of top Communist leaders in the United States. What are the official facts?

After a prolonged trial in New York City in 1949 (one full year *before* McCarthy first raised his voice on the subject of Communism at Wheeling, W. Va.), the government obtained the conviction of eleven top Communist leaders.

In addition, through the work of the FBI and the Department of Justice, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass, Harry Gold, Morton Sobell, and others were convicted on charges of espionage.

In none of these cases did McCarthy play any part whatever.

The story of "the Numbers Game" provides the background against which the reader can follow what McCarthy did—and failed to do—about the "205," or "81," or "57" when he took over as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations with full power to prove his case *(See Page 33).*

Guarding America's Security

An Elaborate System Protects the Government From Spies and Subversives

THERE was a time when many Americans—both Republicans and Democrats—hoped that the United States and the Soviet Union could exist in peace, at least on a live-and-let-live basis, however divergent were their respective philosophies. This belief came out of our wartime alliance with Russia against Hitler's Nazis.

Typical of the former attitude of the American people toward Russia was this comment by Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1942:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army."

Quoted in Roosevelt and Hopkins, *by Robert Sherwood, p. 497*

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, now on the Attorney General's roster of subversive organizations, numbered during World War II such eminent Americans as Thomas W. Lamont, a partner of J. P. Morgan; Owen D. Young, of General Electric; Mrs. Ogden Reid, owner of the New York *Herald-Tribune;* Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones, and Lieut. Gen. Leslie C. McNair. In 1944, Gen. Eisenhower hailed the Council with this greeting: "I wish your Council the utmost success in the worthy work it is undertaking." And as late as the fall of 1946, Joseph R. McCarthy made a statement whose accuracy he left unchallenged for seven years, in which he was quoted as saying: "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere." *(Milwaukee* Journal, *Nov. 10, 1946.)*

Looking back on that period immediately following World War II, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles recently said that "those in charge of our foreign policy at that time seemed to have assumed, as was quite natural perhaps to assume—many of us did—that we were entering into an era of lasting peace, and that the Soviet Union would not be a threat."

Dulles Press Conference, Nov. 25, 1953, New York Times

Mr. Dulles' comment came in response to a statement made in Tokyo by Vice President Richard Nixon. Nixon told the Japanese-American Society in Tokyo that "we misjudged the intentions of the Soviet leaders."

In the months that followed in late 1945 and early 1946 it became increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was less interested in friendly relations with the free world, and especially with the United States, than many Americans had thought would be the case in the period when the Soviets were our wartime allies in destroying Hitlerism.

When it became apparent that the Soviet Union posed a menace to world peace and that her agents and dupes in the United States were bent on furthering the imperial designs of the Soviet Union by weakening the United States, our government launched an elaborate program to guard our security against those who would commit espionage, sabotage, and subversion.

Actually, as far back as the Hatch Act of Aug. 21, 1939, it had been unlawful for any employee of the government to have membership in a party which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of government of the United States.

Gravely concerned over mounting evidence of Soviet intransigence in 1946, Congress went further and gave the Secretary of State the right to fire employees "whenever he shall deem it necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States." *This action was taken before McCarthy was elected to the United States Senate.*

On June 9, 1947, the then Secre-

tary of State, George C. Marshall, appointed a special Personnel Security Board to get rid of "security risks." The Board did just this: it quickly recommended the dismissal of ten employees. This was two years *before* McCarthy made his first charge of Communism in the State Department.

The Truman Administration launched a comprehensive system of investigation throughout the federal service. Skilled investigators, many of them former FBI agents, were employed to make the initial inquiries. Their data was submitted to a group of appraisers whose job it was to sift the evidence and to report to the boards created to take testimony and make decisions.

J. Edgar Hoover Explains

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, played a decisive part then, as it does now, in the operations of the federal government's loyalty and security program. A glimpse of the character and scope of this operation can be gleaned from the testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations Jan. 24, 1953, by J. Edgar Hoover. He reported then that the FBI had processed **over 4,000,000 government employee and job applicant forms** since the loyalty program was launched in 1947. Of that number the FBI **"opened 20,051 active investigations."**

"That is," Hoover explained to the Congressional Committee, "we have opened those investigations predicated upon information received or in our files that the individual may be disloyal. Our purpose then is to get the facts, to see whether the allegations can be proved or disproved.

"It has been necessary in only one-half of one per cent of all the loyalty forms checked to conduct full field investigations; 287 employees have either been removed from office or denied appointment in government service as a result of these investigations; 9,837 have been retained or accepted for employment; 2,824 resigned during the course of the investigation. This action raises a question as to why they resigned, whether from guilty consciences or for other reasons."

Gen. Conrad E. Snow, New Hampshire Republican, who then headed the State Department's Loyalty Security Board, summarized the character of the program in a speech given Oct. 25, 1951, when he said:

> **"Every person who was in the employ of the State Department on Oct. 1, 1947, and every person since employed, in addition to being investigated by the Security Division of the State Department, has been submitted to the FBI for a 'record check.'**

"If the FBI on this record check turns up a single item of derogatory information, in the loyalty field, the employee is given a full field investigation, and the confidential reports of the investigation are submitted to the Department Loyalty Security Board for determination of the employee's loyalty and security risk. These investigative reports constitute the prosecution—the 'state's case' which is before the Board for judicial determination."

The Loyalty and Security Program which operated before the Eisenhower Administration revised it was established Mar. 21, 1947, in Executive Order 9835. *This program was inaugurated nearly three years before McCarthy launched his charges of Communism in government.*

At the top of the President's program was placed a special Loyalty Review Board in the Civil Service Commission. First Chairman of this important agency was Seth Richardson, described by *Time* magazine June 18, 1951, as "a wealthy Washington corporation lawyer, a Republican, and an avowed isolationist. His Republicanism went way back—to the Hoover Administration, when he was Assistant Attorney General, and beyond that, back to his days in North Dakota." Richardson was succeeded in 1951 by Hiram Bingham, who was formerly a conservative Republican Senator from Connecticut.

Each department was ordered to set up an investigating program and to name loyalty boards to hear loyalty cases, all of which were subject to final review by the Loyalty Review Board. Since it was the State Department that McCarthy concentrated on exclusively during this period, it is pertinent to recall here the summing up made by Gen. Snow, the New Hampshire Republican who headed

'As A Catholic . . .'

GRAHAM GREENE, ENGLISH NOVELIST AND DISTINGUISHED CATHOLIC LAYMAN, MADE THIS COMMENT ON MCCARTHY IN A LETTER TO THE PROGRESSIVE:

"As a Catholic I am completely opposed to everything that McCarthyism stands for—the smear tactics which he uses would be described in theological terms as a lack of charity which to a Catholic (and he pretends to be one) amounts to a mortal sin.

"We Catholics of Europe believe that the aspects of Communism which we, as Catholics, are required to fight, can only be fought with honesty and we feel that a far worse enemy than Communism is the kind of treacherous Catholicism which is represented by McCarthy."

the State Department's Loyalty Security Board during this period. Said Gen. Snow in a public address:

> **"I do not know of a single item of new evidence contributed by Sen. McCarthy that helped the State Department's Loyalty and Security Panel to pass on disloyalty charges.**

"The Board thought the other day that it might have some help from the Senator. He had alleged on the floor of the Senate that a State Department employee was associating with the Communists. On inquiry made of the Senator of the name of the Communist, his office replied that the Senator had had the name in his hand when he made the statement, had had it on a slip of paper, *but he had lost the paper!*"

"Sen. McCarthy has raised a lot of dust, mistaken for smoke, by tramping around the nation and making over and over again the same baseless and disproved accusations.

> **"This one man is able to raise so much dust only because (1) he is a Senator of the United States, and (2) he speaks in a loud and determined voice and waves in his hand a bunch of photostats that nobody takes the trouble to examine."**

"This is McCarthyism," the General said at another point, "the making of baseless accusations regarding the loyalty and integrity of public officers and employees by a person who is himself in high public office and who uses his office at one and the same time as a platform from which to shout his accusations and as a screen to protect himself from action for defamation. The purpose of it all is, of course, not the public interest, but political advancement in a period of public tension and excitement."

Speech by Gen. Conrad E. Snow, Quoted in the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1951

This was the situation when the Republican Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower took office in January, 1953. In his State of the Union Address, President Eisenhower said that the responsibility for "keeping out the disloyal and the dangerous" rested primarily on the Executive branch of the government. The President went on to say that unless the Executive branch did so, it "invited disorder and confusion" by being policed by another branch of the government.

The Eisenhower Administration replaced the Truman Loyalty and Security Program with its own program. James C. Hagerty, press secretary to President Eisenhower, in explaining the Administration's Security Program, emphasized on Oct. 23, 1953, these five factors that were being applied by the new security system:

1. All new applicants for federal service must be investigated. Those who got non-sensitive jobs are investigated only by their own departments and get a "name check" in the FBI files.

2. All persons considered for positions in sensitive agencies are given a "full field investigation," meaning that FBI agents investigate their backgrounds exhaustively by checking associates, former employers, family, friends, and similar sources.

3. All past investigations that were not completed will be re-made.

4. All persons who received a full field investigation in the Truman Administration are now receiving another full field investigation under the Eisenhower regime. Hagerty stated that this rule applied to persons who were so investigated merely because they got sensitive jobs, as well as those who get the full field inquiry because adverse data had been filed against them.

5. All employees who have had adverse information filed against them will receive full field investigations.

Factors 1 and 2 are, of course, applied to all new applicants, while the last three figure in the re-examination of suspected hold-over employees.

Early in 1954, the Eisenhower Administration announced the release of 2,200 employees under this new security program. Despite a storm of criticism that the 2,200 figure was misleading because it included many who talked or drank too much or had other character defects, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell "refused to separate the 'drunks' from the 'spies.'" *(New York Times, Jan. 21, 1954.)*

The demand for a breakdown gained in volume as piecemeal reports on dismissals in individual departments made it clear that an almost negligible number involved any suspicion of "disloyalty."

FBI Advice

"My advice to the public is this: "Be alert to the dangers of Communism. Report your information immediately and fully to the FBI. Avoid reporting malicious gossip or idle rumor. The FBI is interested in receiving facts. Don't attempt to make private investigations. Leave that to trained investigators. Don't circulate rumors about subversive activities or draw conclusions from information you furnish to the FBI."

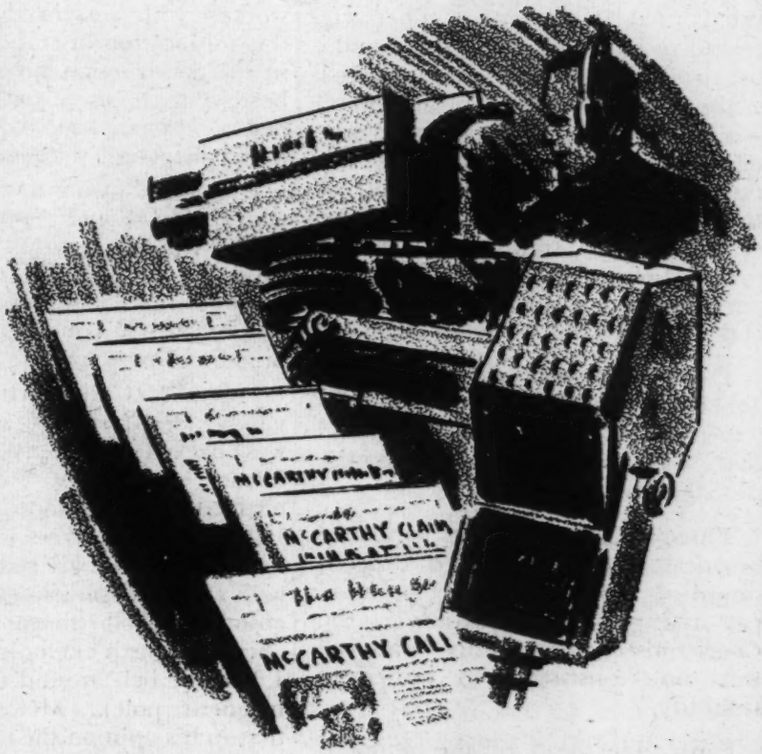
J. Edgar Hoover
Director of the FBI, in the
U. S. News & World Report
Aug. 11, 1950

Brownell Makes a Claim

It is not the function of this study of McCarthy's operations to evaluate the merit, or lack of merit, of the loyalty and security programs promulgated by President Truman and after him by President Eisenhower. We cite the record showing the vigilant policing of the Federal Service merely to underscore what has been emphasized by so many top federal officials, whether Republican or Democrat—namely, that the Executive branch of the government has, without waiting for McCarthy to move and, in fact, moving long before he made his first charges, established elaborate machinery to guard against disloyalty and subversion in the federal establishment.

As the Eisenhower Administration neared the end of its first year in power, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell proudly claimed for the GOP regime that it had licked the problem of Communists in government. In a speech at Fort Worth, Tex., he asserted he thinks "all suspected Reds have been cleaned out of the government." *(Associated Press dispatch, Dec. 14, 1953.)* But McCarthy clung tenaciously to his political meal ticket and sullenly rejected Brownell's conclusion—although in this case McCarthy did not smear his critic, as he had so many times in the past.

McCarthy Takes Over



As Chairman of the Investigating Committee McCarthy Produced Many A Headline That Did Not Stand Up as the Evidence Unfolded

FOR NEARLY three years, Sen. McCarthy had hurled his charges of Communism in government while he was a member of the Republican minority without power to conduct formal investigations. In January, 1953, when Republicans took control of the national government, McCarthy became chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and chairman of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. It is noteworthy that in the 15 months that have followed, a period in which he has had full investigative powers, a $200,000-a-year budget, and a tremendous staff of investigators, **McCarthy has made no effort to prove his original charges that there were 205 Communists in the State Department, or 81, or 57. He has, in fact, made no references whatever to the original accusations which first vaulted him into national prominence.**

New charges and new techniques were soon developed by the resourceful chairman. Witnesses were summoned in secret and McCarthy's version of what they said often leaked to the press before the witnesses were called to testify in public hearings.

One of the first inquiries conducted by McCarthy's Subcommittee involved the Voice of America, the radio broadcasting branch of the State Department's International Information Administration (IIA), which told the American story in some 40 languages to a potential audience of 300,000,000 in 87 countries and which put more program hours on the air than NBC and CBS combined.

Public hearings began Feb. 16, 1953, and continued on and off for 15 days until Mar. 19. For days before the first hearings, stories inspired by McCarthy and his aides built up a frightening picture of subversion, espionage, and waste. Thus, on Feb. 13, the Washington, D.C., *Times-Herald* proclaimed:

PROBERS TOLD OF ANTI-U.S. PLOT IN VOICE
INFILTRATION CALLED APPALLING

"A Senate investigation of Communist influence in the Voice of America headquarters here has uncovered amazing evidence of a conspiracy to subvert American policy in this nation's radio propaganda broadcasts abroad.

"Scores of witnesses questioned by day and night in the past week have involved high officials in a detailed account supported by documentary proof which indicates deliberate sabotage of American objectives in foreign propaganda."

On Feb. 14, the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* announced:

McCARTHY HITS SABOTAGE BY SOME ON VOICE CASTS

". . . McCarthy said most of today's evidence dealt with 'a vast amount of waste running into tens of millions' but he declined to elaborate. The rest of the evidence dealt with subversion."

On Feb. 13, the New York *Times* broke it this way:

McCARTHY SIFTING VOICE OF AMERICA
HEARINGS ON MISMANAGEMENT AND SUBVERSION CHARGES TO BE HELD NEXT WEEK

The sensational charges of an espionage conspiracy operating within the Voice of America boiled down to these major accusations:

One—Two giant 1000-kilowatt radio transmitters named Baker East and Baker West because of their lo-

cation on the two major coasts of the United States, were deliberately placed in locations where they would be ineffective, with an estimated waste of $18,000,000. This, in effect, was a charge of sabotage against Voice officials in charge of locating the transmitters. Actually, the result of the McCarthy investigation, as the evidence below emphasizes, was the cancellation of the world's two most powerful transmitters—precisely the end sought by the Soviets.

Two—In broadcasts to Latin America "very sinister influences" were working in a "pattern" that was "stifling anti-Communist propaganda."

Three—The Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel were ordered cancelled as part of a "pattern" performing a great service to the Communist cause. This "pattern" was too "consistent" to be "mere stupidity."

Four—The head of the religious desk of the Voice of America was accused of being an atheist.

An examination of the official testimony—plus documented evidence the Subcommittee curiously failed to examine—shows how far removed were the facts from the original charges given great prominence in the nation's press.

Baker East and West

In 1951 the Voice of America decided to build the world's two most powerful broadcasting stations, Baker West to be at Seattle, Washington, and Baker East to be in the Cape Hatteras area of North Carolina. On the first day of his public hearings, McCarthy sought to plant the impression that the areas selected for Baker East and West were not the best sites and were chosen by disloyal officials to weaken the Voice and thus aid the Communist cause.

Said McCarthy Feb. 16, 1953 *(Hearings, pp. 8-9)*: "As well as the question of waste, what other significance do you find in this location of Baker East and West? . . . . Assume I do not want that [voice] to reach Communist territory. Would not the best way to sabotage that voice be to place your transmitters within that magnetic storm area? . . . . Now has it ever been suggested by those who have worked with you in the Voice that this mislocation of stations, the waste in the construction program, has not been entirely as a result of incompetence, but that some of it may have been purposely planned that way?"

On the following day, Feb. 17, the Chicago *Tribune* front-paged the story with the assertion that "Senate investigators disclosed that the sites of the stations were apparently selected to facilitate jamming of American broadcasts by Russia."

Part of McCarthy's charge, that the wrong locations had been selected, was backed by Lewis McKesson, a former engineer of the Voice, who testified that the locations for both Baker East and West were improper because of the alleged interference with radio transmission by the auroral absorption belt (magnetic storms far above the earth extending for about a 1,000-mile belt around the north geomagnetic pole). McKesson testified that in his opinion the more southerly locations of Los Angeles for Baker West, and southern Florida for Baker East would be the proper locations. *(Summary of Committee Hearings, Feb. 16, pp. 2-3.)*

An additional charge was made and repeatedly emphasized before the Subcommittee that the National Bureau of Standards was never consulted:

"McCarthy: Is it a fact that the Voice never contacted the Bureau of Standards when they were considering the location of Baker East and West?

"Dr. Newbern Smith (chief, Central Radio Propagation Laboratory, Bureau of Standards): That is correct. We were never formally contacted." *(Committee Hearings, Feb. 16, p. 11)*

This picture of a group of Voice officials furtively deciding on locations for the two giant transmitters without consulting Bureau of Standards experts is demolished by the facts. Official records which were not submitted to the McCarthy investigators, show that the Voice of America not only consulted the Central Radio Propagation Laboratories of the Bureau of Standards, but sought and received the expert counsel of the research laboratories of the Radio Corporation of America, the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army, and the Research Laboratory of Electronics of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The RCA report, conducted under Contract SCC-1A-1351, was completed and delivered in March 1951. This report concluded: "For Trans-Pacific transmissions, Seattle is somewhat better than Los Angeles."

On Mar. 2, 1951, the Signal Corps presented its propagation study, a technical analysis without conclusion, to the Voice of America as requested on Feb. 23, 1951.

On Apr. 17, 1951, the CRPL of the Bureau of Standards (Newbern Smith's division) submitted a 39-page report covering data to determine locations for Baker East and West as requested by the Voice at a meeting held in the National Bureau of Standards Feb. 23, 1951.

This fact, if not a contradiction of Dr. Smith's sworn testimony, quoted above, which McCarthy repeated many times with vitally damaging effect, is at least direct evidence that Dr. Smith's statement was extremely misleading. Technically, the Bureau was not consulted on *location,* but it was asked and gave a 39-page report of data to be used in *determining* location. McCarthy asked the one question on *location* only. He made no effort to find out whether *any* consultation had taken place, nor did Dr. Smith volunteer information on the fact that the Bureau of Standards had prepared a 39-page report which he must or should have known about.

Proof of the fact that the Bureau of Standards did indeed conduct a propagation study at the request of

'The Big Lie'

"Demagogues who shout the loudest about Communism and who smear anyone who disagrees with them by calling them Communists are the foremost disciples of the top technique of Communism—the Big Lie. They can be just as great a danger to your country and mine—to your freedom and mine—as the Communist disciples. They can be even more dangerous in that they are not as easily detected and exposed as the Communists are."

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith
Maine Republican

Voice officials is found in the complete transcript of letters on file in the State Department. One of these letters, from the Voice to the Bureau of Standards, dated Apr. 25, 1951, thanks the Bureau for "the propagation study submitted to us under your letter of Apr. 17, 1951." Another, from the Bureau of Standards, dated Apr. 27, 1951, discusses the studies made for the Voice.

Meanwhile, on Mar. 8, 1951, far from acting hastily or furtively, Voice officials had requested the Research Laboratory of Electronics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to set up a special project (which included a representative of the Bureau of Standards) to evaluate all three of the studies previously made and present a recommendation for locations of Baker East and West.

In May, 1951, the MIT study group, using all the data available from the previous inquiries, including the study made by the Bureau of Standards, *endorsed two sites, both of which were accepted by the Voice of America.*

Later in 1951, Lewis McKesson, who had been a principal witness supporting McCarthy's view, pressed his "auroral absorption belt" objections to the two locations. The Voice asked the Research Laboratory of Electronics at MIT to re-evaluate its findings in the light of these objections.

On Dec. 26, 1951, Dr. J. B. Wiesner, director of MIT Research Laboratory of Electronics, by letter to the State Department, emphatically reconfirmed the two original sites in Washington and North Carolina as the best locations and stated that McKesson's "method of analysis is so oversimplified as to lead to erroneous conclusions. . . We believe that the original recommendation that the Baker station should be placed in Seattle is still sound."

On the strength of this report, the Voice of America went ahead on its sites in Seattle and North Carolina. In February, 1952, further MIT studies on auroral absorption raised some new concern on the whole problem. Subsequently, at a meeting of experts which included McKesson as well as representatives of all the scientific study groups concerned, it was decided to get the Federal Communications Commission to obtain actual data from a monitoring service on the West Coast. The results were not conclusive, but southern California sites were explored in July of that year. On July 14, a Voice of America staff report, which carefully weighed all the factors, recommended "that there be no change in the present site [Seattle] of the Baker West transmitter."

Will It Come to This?

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

On Feb. 21, 1953, Dr. Wiesner of MIT, head of the study project, reported that "though there would be times when the Seattle transmissions would be poorer than the southern sites . . . under favorable conditions transmissions from Seattle would provide stronger signals than more southerly points. We attempted to determine the relative duration of these various conditions and then formed the judgment that for this particular application the Seattle site would provide a more suitable service. . . . McKesson believes that the location [Baker East] should be further south, possibly in Florida. I do not believe that anything will be gained by such a move during normal conditions. The RCA data, which we still believe to be reasonable, indicated that any location on the southeast coast of the United States would be equally good. Cape Hatteras was suggested because it appeared to be slightly better than most other locations."

None of the above data, showing at worst a conflict of expert opinion, was ever presented at the McCarthy hearings. None of the engineering experts who would have testified in favor of the sites selected by the Voice were ever subpoenaed to appear. In fact one of them, Andrew Ring, a private radio engineering consultant, was at the hearing Feb. 16; when Dr. Wilson Compton, administrator of the Voice, wanting him to testify, stated, "He is right here," McCarthy simply repeated, "He is right here" *(page 30, Feb. 15, Committee Hearings)* and then went right on asking other questions.

Later, when Ring was away, Roy M. Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel, stated he could not get hold of Ring. McCarthy berated the State Department for mentioning witnesses who were "out in the Pacific and not available," although Ben Crosby, Department spokesman, made it clear that Ring was in the country and available when the list of witnesses was submitted to the McCarthy Subcommittee. *(Hearings, Mar. 3, p. 362)*

Tests Confirm Choice

Even more remarkable is the fact that on Mar. 3, only ten days after the Feb. 21, 1953, letter from Dr. Wiesner of MIT to the State Department *(quoted above)*, Cohn, in response to a request to get Dr. Wiesner's testimony, stated:

"The staff contacted Dr. Wiesner of MIT. We talked to him, three of us on the line for over one hour. Dr. Wiesner stated that it was his conclusion that Baker West, from a standpoint of efficiency and reliability, should be moved south and away from Seattle and that he would just as soon not come down and testify as that would be his opinion." *(p. 361, Mar. 3 Hearings)*

Cohn's claim is astonishing because five months later, on July 31, 1953, in a letter transmitting the report prepared by MIT in conjunction with the Radio Corporation of America and the Federal Communications Commission, Dr. Wiesner wrote:

"After further consultation with representatives of the International Information Administration, and also with Dr. H. H. Beverage of Radio Corporation of America, it was concluded that if large differences in

signal level of the sort predicted by Mr. McKesson actually existed they would most certainly be disclosed by a brief series of measurements. Accordingly, plans were made to conduct tests during the period from May 28 to July 7, 1952, with assistance from the FCC under arrangements established by the Department of State.

"The results of these tests failed to substantiate Mr. McKesson's predictions."

In a statement Jan. 18, 1954, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, a member of the McCarthy Subcommittee, emphasized that both Dr. Wiesner and the Radio Corporation of America had endorsed the original location of the projects at Seattle and Cape Hatteras. Said Sen. Jackson: "Their approval had been based upon their own studies and studies of the National Bureau of Standards and the U.S. Signal Corps."

In the same statement, the Senator pointed out that Dr. H. H. Beverage, director of the Radio Research Laboratory of RCA, wrote the State Department May 19, 1952: "Seattle should be slightly better than Los Angeles because the distance to Central China is about 800 miles shorter from Seattle than it is from Los Angeles. It is for this reason that Seattle was recommended as a preferred site."

It is significant, too, that Col. F. P. Andrews, for 14 years the chief of the Alaska Communications System, Army Signal Corps, was never called to appear. Yet in a hearing before the Hickenlooper Committee *(Hearings, Mar. 12, 1954)*, Dr. Compton testified about his views: "Col. Andrews' overseas radio had principal points in the Seattle area where this Baker West plant was to be located. He stated and I understand has since then stated in writing that with the exception of about five per cent of the hours of transmission during the year, he had no trouble in getting radio signals out of that area, and that the Seattle area had proven to be over the 14-year period one of the most advantageous areas. . ."

On Feb. 17, 1953, work on the Baker East and Baker West transmitters was suspended by a badly frightened State Department and canceled a month later, Mar. 20, in the face of wide public impression of "sabotage" and "waste" created by the McCarthy Subcommittee's public hearings. The cancellation came at a cost to the taxpayers of more than $8,000,000 already expended for the projected two most powerful transmitters in the world.

Any fair evaluation of the whole story of the Baker East and Baker West case which captured so many headlines for the McCarthy Subcommittee must certainly result in these conclusions:

1. The location of Baker West in Seattle, despite the fact that only unfavorable engineering testimony was produced in the Hearings, was, as the full evidence reveals, at most a controversy among expert scientists. The fact that the Voice of America made numerous efforts to obtain the best scientific advice from both public and private agencies refutes McCarthy's implied accusation that subversive forces had "purposely planned" to "mislocate" the sites. None of the evidence showing the extent to which expert opinion supported the Voice of America in its selections was introduced before the McCarthy Subcommittee.

2. The Baker East location in North Carolina was never called an unsatisfactory location, even by the Bureau of Standards. The sole exception was McKesson, who favored a more southerly location in Florida.

3. Even if there had been, as charged, some waste in the construction contracts, waste which could not possibly have exceeded a few thousand dollars, this fact could hardly have been the cause for canceling two 15 million dollar projects after more than 8 million dollars had already been expended.

The most extraordinary aftermath of the inquiry was the fact that an investigation which was begun in order to determine whether the transmitters were "purposely" located in the magnetic storm area, ended with the cancellation of the whole plan—certainly the end most urgently desired by the Kremlin—and with a loss of more than $8 million to the taxpayers of the United States.

It is equally noteworthy that, despite all the charges and implications of sabotage and subversion, McCarthy made no effort whatever to place his case before the Attorney General for prosecution. The case ended with the cancellation of the program for Baker East and West.

'Going to the Waldorf'

The investigation of Baker East and West marked only the beginning of prolonged inquiry into the Voice of America, but the techniques developed in the Baker case of having witnesses attribute (under the Subcommittee's leading questions) alleged mistakes in policy to "sabotage," "Communist conspiracy," and deliberate "pattern too consistent to be merely stupidity," were now to run wild in the general Voice of America investigation.

Ambitious and disgruntled employees in the VOA were not slow to size up the situation. The process, whereby some 75 of them formed a so-called "American Underground" which operated as a relay belt of gos-

McCarthyism—Communism's Most Potent Weapon

"I oppose what has come to be known as McCarthyism not, of course, because it is hunting Communists, dead or alive, but because it is *not* fighting Communism. When it distorts the evidence, when it smears the reputations of innocent people, when it convicts by accusation, when it tortures our judicial processes, and when it creates a climate of fear which shuts our mouths and closes our minds to such an extent that we might easily fall prey to a loud-mouthed, totalitarian suppression, I say that McCarthyism, in its anti-Communism, has become so much like Communism that it is difficult to tell them apart.

"McCarthyism is Communism's most potent weapon in this country; it is democracy's greatest peril. And it is making ominous headway."

MURRAY D. LINCOLN
President, Farm Bureau Insurance Companies
In the *Ohio Farm Bureau News*
February, 1954

sip, recriminations, and suspicions to the McCarthy Subcommittee, is described in Philip Horton's article, "Voices Within the Voice" *(July 21, 1953, issue of* The Reporter*)*:

"From the moment that the Messrs. Cohn and Schine (McCarthy's staffmen) moved into the Schine suite at the Waldorf Towers a week or so before the committee hearings opened, the 'American Underground' became in effect a secret tribunal.

"At the Voice offices, meanwhile, the expression 'going to the Waldorf' took on a very special meaning. On Feb. 13, the Washington *Times-Herald* described conditions thus: 'Consternation prevailed in the VOA headquarters at 57th Street and Broadway. . . Committee subpoenas were fluttering on desks like pigeons in Union Square, and more than one hundred witnesses had been lined up. . .'"

Out of this enormous welter of charges, rumors, and gossip, McCarthy and the Subcommittee staff screened out in executive secret sessions what they regarded as their best cases for public hearings. Some of the major cases are analyzed below.

Latin American Broadcasts

Stuart Ayers, assistant chief of the Latin American Division of the Voice of America, complained that a radio series beamed to our southern neighbors, "The Eye of the Eagle," a sort of superman vs. bad men serial story, was using up most of their budget for recordings. The basic charge was that the series was "juvenile," made America look ridiculous, and contained no anti-Communist material. *(Hearings, p. 87, Feb. 18)* But an analysis of the evidence shows how wide of the mark the charge was.

"MR. COHN: Did you make corrections in this script?

"MR. AYERS: Yes, I inserted seven mentions of the name 'Communist' in the script. . . .

"The Chairman (MCCARTHY): This witness [Ayers] has submitted names of individuals whom he does not consider good loyal Americans, at least not the type of loyal Americans that should be running the information program. . ."

Robert Bauer, the Voice division

'HE Been Cleared?'

Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

chief responsible for the "Eye of the Eagle" and presumably listed as not a "loyal American," testified that the serial was definitely anti-Communist, and he cited many lines to prove his statement. A few examples:

"On page 8, Script 1, the real name of the man who calls himself Gomez but is a Communist agent, is Saroff, a Russian name. [Saroff] is suspected by the local chief of police of being a top-level foreign agent.

"In Script 3, the opening paragraph is: 'Our story begins in a small country of Central Europe that lost its independence and lives today under a brutal tyranny of an aggressor nation that tries to dominate the world with its absurd political doctrine.'

"There is also the language 'totalitarian aggressor. . .'

"On page 16 the word Communist is mentioned twice.

"The kidnaper in Script 5 is Bukoff, a Russian name; his goons are Ivan and Sergei; the saboteur is Voronov. . . The plot is about sabotage of an oil refinery. The engineer of the refinery has joined the Communist Party, but when he saw what their rotten aims were he quit the party, calling them extortionists. Although 10 years have elapsed, the Communist Party is trying to force him to be its tool.

"In Script 7 the Eagle says: 'The steamer *Red Star* is registered under the flag of a Communist country.' The spies are on the *Red Star. . ." (Hearings, Mar. 6, pp. 536-37)*

It is clear from the above that even children would get the point of the Eagle vs. innumerable Russian names as villains. It seems clear that we have here an office squabble about whether the propaganda should be laid on with a shovel or merely a trowel. Yet this for McCarthy was sufficient to raise the question of loyalty of a devoted public servant.

In answer to the charges that using up most of the budget for platters was "waste," Bauer testified "that after we sent six sample programs [Eye of the Eagle] to the field, not less than 23 American missions in Latin America have requested 123 complete sets of the program." He cited a series of rave notices and eager requests for this series from American missions and embassies in the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Cuba, and Venezuela.

So convincing was Bauer's testimony that Sen. Karl Mundt, second-ranking Republican member of the McCarthy Committee, felt obliged to say: "I am inclined to believe that Mr. Bauer is making a very effective presentation, and that there is some question in my mind but what we are wasting a lot of our Committee time trying to arbitrate an argument between dramatic critics, which happens all over the country." *(Hearings, Mar. 5, 1953, p. 538)*

Sen. Mundt's comment dismissing the hearings as "wasting a lot of time" did not, of course, receive anything like the attention given the original charges.

Uproar Over the Hebrew Broadcasts

The McCarthy investigation harvested another crop of headlines involving the Voice of America when it turned microphones and news cameras on the proposed discontinuance of the Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel. Serious charges purporting to present "a deliberate pattern to destroy and nullify" the VOA program were placed before the McCarthy inquiry and duly received their share of newspaper and radio attention.

Two of the charges were made by Dr. Sidney Glazer, chief of the Hebrew Service of the Voice of Amer-

ica, whose desk would have been eliminated by discontinuance of the broadcasts. Dr. Glazer's two complaints were: 1) that close to 85 per cent of the people of Israel could understand Hebrew; hence the need for continuing the program, and 2) the discontinuance of the Hebrew language broadcasts would have come at a time when the VOA might have exploited in Israel the sensational Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia which produced widespread charges of Communist anti-Semitism. *(Hearings, Mar. 4, pp. 397-398 and Feb. 28, pp. 190-211.)* Actually the proposal to drop the Hebrew broadcasts was not carried out at the time, as a result of a decision by higher VOA officials to continue the programs for a while. *(Hearings, Feb. 28, p. 198)*

The third and most significant charge was made by Gerald F. P. Dooher, acting chief of the Near East desk of VOA, who charged there was a "pattern" favorable to the Communist cause in the action of the VOA:

"DOOHER: Well, in my opinion the cessation of the Hebrew broadcasts would have been a well-struck blow in the Communist cause." *(Feb. 28, p. 190)*

"COHN (counsel): Have you detected a pattern along these lines?

"DOOHER: I have. . . .

"SEN. POTTER: Mr. Dooher, do you consider that the policies were the result of design, or just plain stupidity?

"DOOHER: Well, sir, I hate to go into the reasoning which may have been behind this pattern. However, I must say that it is exactly what the Soviet Union wanted to happen.

"SEN. POTTER: You think it was too consistent to be just plain stupidity.

"DOOHER: It was certainly consistent, sir, and it certainly was stupid, but I believe that there was a pattern, and stupidity, I believe, does not fall into patterns.

"The Chairman (MCCARTHY): . . . If a man is merely stupid, he does the right thing once in a while." *(Feb. 28, p. 199)*

(Note: No other charges were made that could establish a "pattern" by either Glazer or Dooher. The cancellation of the Hebrew broadcasts was the only explicit charge.)

Reed Harris, deputy administrator of field programs for International Information Administration, testified in direct refutation of these three charges that:

One—The decision to cancel the Hebrew language broadcasts was made as a result of budget cuts ordered by Congress. It was reached at a full meeting of the Program Allocations Board in July 1952, well *before* the Slansky trial's spectacular revelations of anti-Semitism in Communist Czechoslovakia. The decision to drop the broadcasts, moreover, was made with the full knowledge and agreement of Dr. Compton, head of the Voice program. *(Mar. 4, p. 400)*

Two—The number of letters received in December, 1952, from the Hebrew broadcasts at a time when Dr. Glazer testified "we had a terrific increase of listeners" right after the Slansky trials was 16, as compared, for the same month, with 1,557 from Turkey, 1,301 from Greece, 712 from Iran. *(Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 448.)* Facts of this kind confirmed the belief of Voice officials that Israel was a more educated and literate country than many of her neighbors in the Middle East, with first-rate news services of its own, and that this was why the Voice was not much listened to—not nearly so much as in nearby countries like Turkey and Iran, which have fewer sources of news.

Three—Glazer's insistence that the Hebrew language programs were most effective for Israel was disproved by a letter from the American Embassy in Israel, dated Jan. 9, 1953, which said: "The VOA Hebrew broadcasts to Israel still fail to evoke any great listener interest. As the Embassy sees the situation, a regular continuing press campaign is the only remaining hope to create a *raison d'etre* for the VOA Hebrew broadcasts." *(Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 448)*

Four—A scientific panel convened by VOA and asked how the Voice of America could best program in Hebrew or any other languages in Israel, concluded: "Language choice—English preferred; Hebrew second." *(Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 449)*

Five—VOA broadcasts that go into the Near East and cover Israel include English among many other modern languages familiar to the multi-lingual population of Israel. (Moreover, daily wire and news services to Israel were not cut at all, but continued to carry a heavy volume of anti-Communist propaganda every day.) *(Mar. 4, p. 452)*

It is worth noting here that again the factual refutation received nowhere near the attention given the original charges. Even more significant in this case, however, is the remarkable fact that two months *after* the public hearings had been concluded, Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University, who had been appointed head of the International Information Administration (IIA) by the Eisenhower regime, did precisely what those pilloried by McCarthy proposed to do: **he canceled the Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel. But this time there was no mention at all of a "pattern" of Communist-inspired sabotage.**

The Charge of Atheism

On Mar. 2, 1953, Dr. John Cocutz, acting chief of Voice's Rumanian service, was testifying critically of Voice operations. In the midst of a discussion of the use of religion to fight Communism in VOA broadcasts, he said he had heard that Roger Lyons, director of religious programming for the Voice of America, was an atheist.

"I talked with [Edwin M. J.] Kretzman (chief policy advisor of VOA) about it and he informed me there is a religious desk in the VOA, which is supposed to help the different language services with religious materials and scripts. 'But,' he said to me, 'I already told some other religious leaders around here that the chief of that desk does not believe in God.' *(Hearings, Mar. 2, p. 234)*

"The Chairman (MCCARTHY): You mean the Policy Director put an atheist or agnostic in charge? . . .

"DR. COCUTZ: I am just quoting what Mr. Kretzman told me.

"SEN. JACKSON: Mr. Kretzman told you he was an atheist?

"DR. COCUTZ: No; Mr. Kretzman told me that he told somebody else also that Mr. Lyons is an atheist." *(Mar. 2, pp. 234-235)*

Lyons demanded an opportunity to reply. Under oath he testified: "I am not an atheist, or an agnostic. I do believe in God and I would not have accepted the position of Director of Religious Programs if I had not believed in God, and I realize the importance of emphasizing religious and moral factors in the Voice of America broadcasts. . . . I have been in the present position for 18 months, and I have statements from the religious advisory panel of the information program consisting of distinguished religious leaders stating that since I have been in this position there has been a marked improvement in both the quality and quantity of religious programming on the Voice of America.

"I also have letters from clergymen of all faiths testifying that I have done a good job under my responsibility." *(Mar. 2, p. 299)*

Kretzman, called in to testify on Cocutz's statement, said:

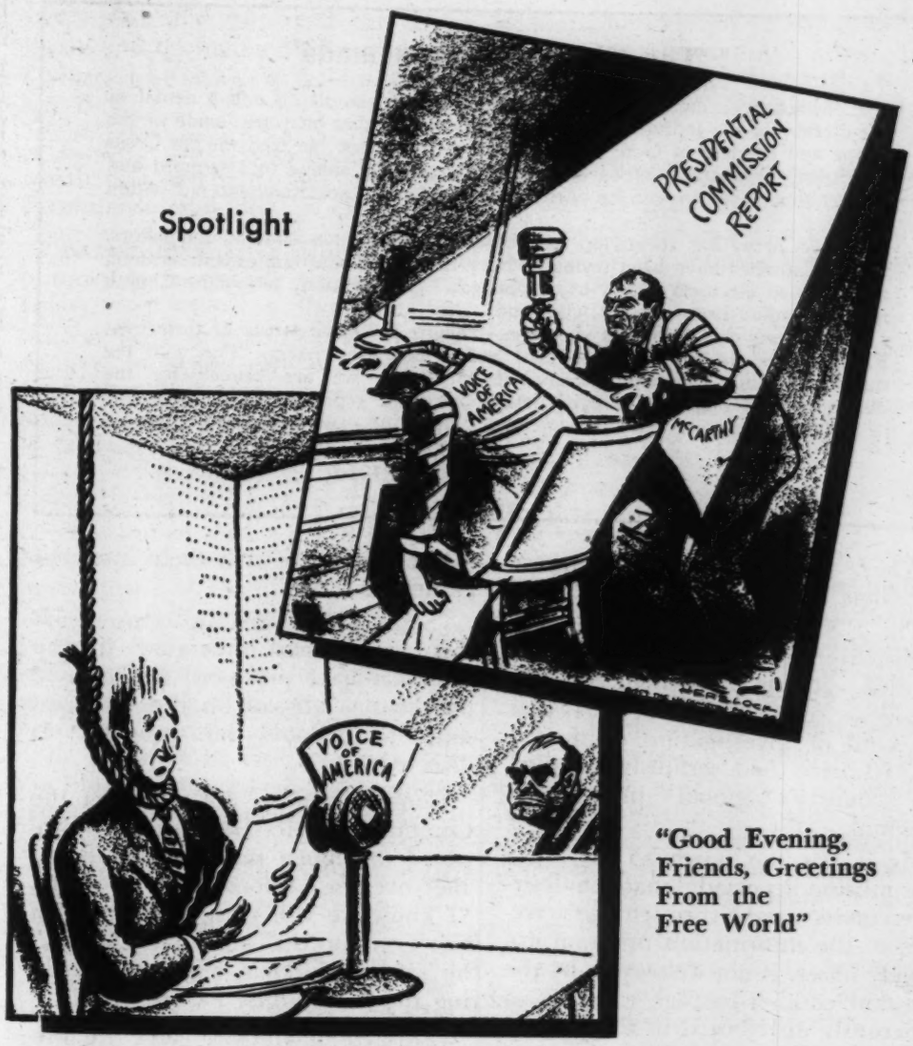
"I was asked at one time by a superior in the Department of State what was Roger Lyons' specific religious sectarian adherence. My answer was that that was not a pertinent question for him to ask; and laughingly I added, 'For all I know, he may be an atheist.'

"This I knew not to be a fact because I had talked to Mr. Lyons previously. . .

"I would like to hasten to add that I do not think an atheist could do Mr. Lyons' job and I knew that he was not. . . He is a man of profound religious beliefs [and] a deep belief in God, and he has done a magnificent job in stepping up the religious output of the Voice." *(Mar. 3, pp. 307-308)*

No supporting evidence was produced for Dr. Cocutz' hearsay charge by any clergyman despite the fact that for 18 months on his job Lyons was daily in touch with leaders of all faiths and worked directly with an advisory panel of religious leaders. The headlines reporting refutation of the charge that the head of the VOA's religious desk was an atheist were, inevitably, far smaller and far less conspicuously displayed than the original front-page stories screaming the cry of atheism.

Spotlight



"Good Evening, Friends, Greetings From the Free World"

Destroying the Voice

The McCarthy attack on the Voice of America continued in subsequent hearings. On Mar. 3, Reed Harris, the deputy administrator, was called, ostensibly to answer the charges made against the VOA at a public hearing of the Subcommittee which was nationally televised. In actual fact, of the two-hour session covering 40 pages of testimony *(pp. 331-370)*, only nine pages dealt with the charges against VOA. The other 31 pages constituted a gruelling cross-examination on a book, *King Football*, written by Harris 21 years before, in 1932, just after he left college. The book—which Harris testified, "I wrote in three weeks and have regretted ever since"—dealt largely with the dangers of the overemphasis of intercollegiate football, but included other reflections on higher education.

On the basis of a few paragraphs of sophomoric conclusions arising from an excess of youthful idealistic enthusiasm for academic freedom in a book which had almost no sales and was long since repudiated and forgotten by its author, McCarthy embarked on a relentless vilification that far outdid anything previously heard in these hearings.

No possibility of guilt by innuendo, nor by the most tenuous or fleeting association, was overlooked in digging into events that occurred in a totally different atmosphere 21 years ago. Nineteen years of a distinguished career in public service with full FBI clearance—in fact, the man's entire mature life—was ignored while a U.S. Senator explored the "sinister" significance of a few paragraphs in *King Football.*

'The Ghost of Torquemada'

"McCarthy's methods of investigation are an assault on and a denial of the dignity of the individual. Christianity teaches that men are 'made in the image and likeness of God' and so loved by Him that He died on the Cross for them. Democracy is one attempt in the political sphere to safeguard and protect that basic respect for each individual having something sacred within him.

"McCarthy has stirred up the ghost of Torquemada and the Inquisitors, which Catholics have been trying to bury as a small and unpleasant incident, as it was, in the total history of the Church. But for many today the Church has once again been covered with mud . . .

"It seems that Catholics should re-examine the basic tenets of their own Faith and of the American political and democratic system. For with the distortions and oversimplifications of McCarthy we are headed for the disruption and negation of everything both these represent at their finest."

GEORGE PATRICK MICHAEL CARLIN
The Catholic Worker
January, 1954

What was the result of these "hearings"?

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, a group of distinguished citizens appointed by the President, reported Feb. 3, 1954, that the kind of investigation conducted by McCarthy had seriously crippled the country's global propaganda program.

"It is not too much to say," the Commission reported, "that the desirable results sought through the activities of the information program are **largely offset, if not destroyed, by the constant counter-barrage which is so generously distributed to the peoples of the world."**

Noting that the information program had been investigated in 1953 by two groups, the McCarthy Subcommittee and a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee headed by Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, the Commission found that the Hickenlooper group "rendered thoroughly and extremely constructive" service in revealing both "the strengths" and "weaknesses" of the information program.

But, turning its attention to the McCarthy inquiry, the Commission said: "The wide and unfavorable publicity that resulted from one of the Congressional investigations gave the agency such a bad name that professionally competent persons were reluctant to accept employment in it." Moreover, said the Commission, such investigations make information workers concentrate on "how the messages will sound or appear to investigators and completely lose sight of whether they will be effective with their intended audience.

"Some of the investigations which this agency has undergone in the past year have produced unfavorable impressions abroad on the very persons to whom the program is directed."

Commenting on the report of the Commission, McCarthy said he proposed to reopen the investigation of the overseas information program. "I know we will scare hell out of a few Communists—demoralize them," he said. "I don't mind demoralizing the Communist Party."

This comment was made by McCarthy despite the fact that the Commission is composed of Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor;* Philip D. Reed, chairman of the Board of the General Electric Co.; Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post,* and Justin Miller, chairman of the board of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

The "Book-burnings"

The McCarthy investigation which chilled thoughtful Americans most and shook the prestige of our country as the leader of the free world was the inquiry into the presence of books by Communist authors in U.S. libraries in foreign countries. The striking fact about these explosive hearings was that they were completely unnecessary, for the Republican-controlled State Department, under which these libraries functioned, had seven weeks earlier ordered the removal from the library shelves of all books by Communist authors and sympathizers which did not "affirmatively serve the ends of democracy." The basic principle in the State Department directive, issued Feb. 3, was that the content of the book, rather than the identity of the author, should determine its utility. In other words, it would be permissible to carry on the shelves of overseas libraries a book written by a Communist if the contents were such that the book could be used for an anti-Communist purpose.

In establishing its policy for the 189 libraries, with 2,000,000 books in 63 countries, the State Department was guided by the recommendations of its Advisory Commission of eminent authorities: Dr. J. L. Morrill, president of the University of Minnesota, chairman; Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University; Dr. Edwin B. Fred, president of the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, of Catholic University; and Mark Starr, educational director of the militantly anti-Communist International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

This Commission unanimously endorsed the recommendation of its Committee on Books Abroad (composed of top-flight book publishers, librarians, and scholars) which made this recommendation: ". . . the Committee is positive and unanimous in its decision to recommend to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange that authorship should not be a criterion for determining whether or not a book is available for U.S. libraries abroad. In this connection the Committee is unanimous in its recommendation that the *content* of the book regardless of *authorship,* be the criterion which determines its availability for inclusion in the U.S. libraries." *(Italics ours)*

Evidence produced by the State Department showed that almost all the books by Communist authors and sympathizers on the shelves of overseas libraries were of pre-1947 vintage. Other books were, in addition, purchased after 1948, and on these Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency and presently Undersecretary of State in the Eisenhower Ad-

ministration, testified emphatically before the Senate Appropriations Committee July 20, 1953:

". . . the Library Service had spent no money since 1947 for books by Communists. . . I can say categorically that the Secretary of State is and has been opposed to the works of Communist authors *per se*. . . But the overseas libraries must be free to put Communist works on their shelves if they can be used to counter Soviet propaganda."

This common-sense approach to the problem, which represented the heart of the State Department's Feb. 3 directive, which in turn was based on the unanimous judgment of two groups of distinguished authorities, was not allowed to function for long, however. On Mar. 24, 1953, McCarthy launched his much-publicized hearings on the charge that American libraries abroad were permeated with Communist books. Instead of the quiet corrective adopted by the State Department, the nation and the world were to be exposed to days of noisy headlines shouting a Communist plot to subvert the overseas libraries for Soviet purposes.

McCarthy's tactics in conducting the inquiry were clearly designed to magnify the scope of the problem and create an impression of widespread disloyalty among government employees. Thus, he subpoenaed before his Committee a number of witnesses whose political views were already well-known, in some cases to the public, and in all cases to the FBI. These witnesses, who were not government employees, had written books which appeared on the shelves of the overseas libraries. When questioned under oath regarding Communist connections, they refused for a variety of reasons to testify, claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

McCarthy succeeded in so confusing the authors with government employees that the public gained the totally false impression that a number of public officials were claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

This impression was heightened by the testimony of witnesses friendly to McCarthy like Karl Baarslag, formerly associated with the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, who subsequently joined McCarthy's staff as a paid employee. Baarslag's testimony in response to Counselor Cohn's questioning ran like this:

"COHN: Did you look to see whether you could find any anti-Communist material [in Germany]?

"BAARSLAG: . . . My estimate of the proportion would be that the pro-Soviet, anti-American literature ran roughly eight or nine to possibly four or five books on our side." *(Hearings, Apr. 2, p. 160)* "I was rather shocked nevertheless to find that they had never heard of it [*American Legion Magazine*]. So I hopefully asked for *The Freeman*. They had never heard of that. I asked for *The National Republic* and they had never heard of that. There were no anti-Communist magazines." *(Apr. 2, p. 161)*

(Note: These three magazines seemed to have exhausted his list of American anti-Communist publications, although he later testified that the libraries subscribed to 520 publications, including most magazines—nearly all of which are conservative and strongly anti-Communist—available at newstands.)

Baarslag continued:

". . . the pattern is one of a vast, as we feel, planned conspiracy that has been going on in this country for many years not only to push pro-Soviet and pro-Communist books, but, to me what is far more sinister and dangerous, the blacklisting, suppression, and knifing of books on our side, the anti-Communist books, and the books telling the truth about Soviet Russia." *(Hearings, Apr. 2, p. 163)*

It is a measure of the demoralization in the State Department created by McCarthy's operations that Dr. Robert L. Johnson, former president of Temple University and the responsible head of the IIA under which the libraries operated, did not answer these shocking charges until more than two months later, on July 15, when for reasons of ill health he resigned his post.

Helping the Communists

On that date in a public statement and also in a letter to McCarthy, Johnson lashed out at Baarslag's statements as "flagrantly inaccurate" and "false." He said: "I cannot understand why anyone would deal in such patent falsehoods unless he were completely incompetent as an observer or downright malicious." Johnson pointed out that his department had distributed 6,000,000 anti-Communist books and that there were 16,729 anti-Communist works in the libraries.

"The reputation of the American people has suffered enough as a result of irresponsible charges and actions in connection with our program abroad. The only group that has gained through these wicked attacks has been the Communist international movement. It is one of the tragic ironies of our time that some of those 'who are in the forefront of the fight against Communism' are among those who are damaging the action programs that do battle against it."

Meanwhile, in the interim between Baarslag's April testimony and Johnson's July reply, a greatly harried State Department issued a series of directives which at first sought to clarify the Feb. 3 directive, but subsequently began to reverse the previous criterion of content rather than authorship. Directive after directive seems only to have heightened the confusion and fright of overseas library officials who could read the headlines in the current American newspapers and who knew what had already happened to the Voice of America.

Aping the Dictators

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

While our friends abroad looked on with mounting horror, frenzied American officials abroad sought to work their way through the layers of confusion. Then, on June 15, the world press reported that a jittery America, succumbing to the Hitler-like methods of McCarthy, was actually burning books. A front-page story in the New York *Times* June 16 follows:

SOME BOOKS LITERALLY BURNED AFTER INQUIRY, DULLES REPORTS

"John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, disclosed today that there had been a literal though small-scale burning of books after Congressional investigations as his department had moved to rid the shelves of its Information Service libraries abroad of works by Communist authors.

"Secretary Dulles set the number of books burned at 11."

Only the day before, President Eisenhower had felt obliged to denounce the book-burners and thought control. Speaking at the commencement service at Dartmouth College, the President said: "Don't join the book-burners. Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go in your library and read every book as long as any document does not offend our own ideas of decency. That should be the only censorship.

"How can we defeat Communism unless we know what it is? What it teaches—why does it have such an appeal for men? . . . . We have got to fight it with something better."

The tide now began to run against McCarthy on this issue. President Eisenhower returned to the attack June 26 when he wrote the American Library Association, assembled in convention at Los Angeles, criticizing as un-American "zealots" who with "more wrath than wisdom" sought to suppress information and ideas.

"Freedom cannot be censored into existence," he said. "A democracy smugly disdainful of new ideas would be a sick democracy. A democracy chronically fearful of new ideas would be a dying democracy."

At the conclusion of its convention, the American Library Association adopted a resolution threatening to withdraw its support of the government's overseas library program "unless the integrity and effectiveness of the program is reassured." The Association, consisting of 21,000 members, unanimously criticized the State Department for removing books from the libraries because loyalty of some authors and the material in some volumes were questioned.

Heartened by these developments and concerned about the frightful toll in world opinion, the State Department decided to defy McCarthy and send out, on July 8, its 11th directive to the overseas libraries, instructing them to revert to the original Feb. 3 directive to judge removal of books by content rather than by authorship.

The new directive termed book-burning a "wicked symbolic act" that was not to be condoned. The yardstick for selection of books for overseas libraries, it emphasized, was the usefulness of a particular book in meeting the particularized needs of a particular area. Said Dr. Johnson on that occasion: "We don't deal with ideas we dislike by imitating the totalitarian techniques we despise. The burning of a book is not an act against that book alone; it is an act against free institutions."

McCarthy's response to Johnson's statement avoided discussion of the issue on its merits, but threatened to cut the budget of the International Information Administration in reprisal.

Perhaps the most revealing reaction to Dr. Johnson's statement came from a Republican member of the McCarthy Subcommittee, Sen. Charles Potter of Michigan, who exclaimed: "I've never seen anything like this committee. It seems we can't go 15 minutes without running into some new problem." *(Quoted by United Press, July 17, 1953)*

The record would not be complete without noting that despite the July directive making content rather than authorship the yardstick of acceptability for books in overseas libraries, the foreign information program has since retreated in several major respects from that position—largely in response to hysteria generated by McCarthyism.

The Rothschild Case

McCarthy's handling of the case of Edward Rothschild, a bookbinder in the Government Printing Office (GPO), can be interpreted as a striking example of the Senator's inability to stand prosperity. For here was a case that seemed more solidly based than his others, and many of his critics were quick to concede that maybe he "had something here."

But McCarthy was unwilling to present the facts as they were; he insisted on indulging in reckless exaggeration and distortion. For example, on a dash out to San Diego, to "take care of a matter" concerning the GPO investigation, McCarthy, with a straight face, told newsmen that this case could be "worse than the Alger Hiss case." *(United Press dispatch, Aug. 24, 1953.)*

Not content with his case against Rothschild, which itself was magnified beyond the provable facts *(see below)*, McCarthy, in a series of press conferences, tossed out these accusations:

1. "Sen. McCarthy charged that the Printing Office harbored a 'gambling ring.' He said heavy los-

'Making It Easy for Communists'

"Despite the fact that McCarthy has not been responsible for the conviction of anybody whom he has accused under the cloak of Senatorial immunity, he has justified his irresponsible charges on the basis that he has alerted the general public to the dangers of Communism.

"What he has actually done is to incite a kind of hysteria which must please the Kremlin mightily. 'Divide and conquer' is an old technique. Make everybody suspicious of his neighbor, turn friend against friend, inject a religious angle into the controversy, and when the time is ripe and protagonists have knocked themselves out, step in and take over.

"Intentionally or not, McCarthy is making it easy for Communists to operate behind the smokescreen he throws up."

Sun Prairie (Wis.) Star-Countryman

ers among employees could be blackmailed by agents who sought classified information and might gladly square losses to get such data. This, he held, made gambling 'a grave security risk.'" *(New York* Times, *Aug. 29, 1953)*

Aside from the refusal under the Fifth Amendment of one witness to answer questions on this score, no evidence whatever was presented at the hearings to substantiate this sensational charge of a 'gambling ring' operating in the GPO, and none has turned up since.

2. "Chairman (McCarthy): . . . . Counsel has been instructed to contact Mr. Cole [GPO security officer] and tell him as soon as he is ready to attempt to explain why 35 cases—where they had a great mass of information from the FBI and other Federal agencies of Communist activities—all were cleared." *(Aug. 22 Hearings, p. 114)*

Cole, when he testified before the Subcommittee, was never asked the question raised above about the "35 cases" and was obliged to make his reply on this point at a press conference:

"Mr. Cole also disclosed that the FBI had been asked to make a full field investigation of 176 printing office employees who occupied 'sensitive' positions.

"Of the 35 employees who were principals in loyalty cases handled by the printing office security officials, he stated, 15 had been dismissed. One had retired, he added, and the cases of the other 19 were to receive full field investigation in accordance with the new security procedures established by President Eisenhower several weeks ago." *(New York* Times, *Aug. 21)*

3. Throughout the hearings and in his press conferences McCarthy gave out a vastly exaggerated version of the amount of classified material handled by the GPO. Typical comment:

"McCarthy also said he was 'trying to establish' whether Soviet agents purportedly working for the GPO stole secret hydrogen bomb information." *(United Press dispatch, Aug. 24)*

Cole again had to make use of his press conference to put the situation in its proper perspective:

This page illustrates one of the most striking facts to emerge from a study of McCarthy in action—that he has actually pleased the Communists and played into their hands. Herbert Philbrick (inset left), who risked his life as an FBI counterspy within the Communist Party for nine years, wrote the story of his experiences in the book shown above. At the time of the launching of the book, Philbrick was interviewed by newspapermen in New York. The New York Herald-Tribune, the paper for which Philbrick subsequently went to work, reported that he said that Communist Party members "just love" McCarthy's "name-calling" because "it creates confusion, it makes the party's strength appear greater than it really is, and harms men whom the 'comrades call those stupid liberals.'"

" 'Secrets of the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb,' Mr. Cole declared, 'were not available to employees of the printing office. Material marked restricted, confidential, secret, and top-secret came to the plant from other government agencies, but very little matter in the last two categories was processed.

" 'Secret material processed in the printing office constituted only an infinitesimal part of the $73 to $98 million worth of printing it did annually.'

"He criticized as 'completely misleading' some newspaper headlines that 'carloads of secrets' had been stolen from the office." *(New York* Times, *Aug. 21)*

Still, if we ignore McCarthy's sensational exaggerations and spectacular charges of "gambling rings" and "35 cases" that were intended for newspaper headlines, the evidence in the Rothschild case was of a relatively solid character as compared to his "evidence" in all previous cases.

The evidence ran as follows:

1. Mrs. Markward, an undercover FBI agent posing as a Communist from 1943 to 1951, definitely stated that *Mrs.* Rothschild was a member of the Communist Party with whom she had attended some 12 meetings and carried out a number of mass mailings in New York and Washington, D.C., in the period 1945-1947. Mr. Rothschild was in the Navy at the time, and Mrs. Markward therefore was not able to make any statement on whether he had had any Communist connections. *(Resume of hearings, pp. 1-28, Aug. 17)*

2. James Phillips, a fellow GPO employee of Mr. Rothschild, testified he had attended a meeting with Rothschild where he had been invited to help in forming a GPO Communist cell in 1939. In the same year Phillips alleged that a Fred Sillers and Rothschild again pressed him to join the Communist Party. *(Resume of hearings, pp. 28-30, Aug. 17)*

3. Miss Cleta Guess, former GPO worker as assistant to Rothschild, testified, in a sworn affidavit read at the hearings, that in the period 1941-43 when she had worked with him, Rothschild had put in his right pocket a secret code of the Merchant Marine and other pamphlets; had carried the *Daily Worker* in his left pocket; had shown an interest in airplane manuals; and had defended the Communists in an argument with her. *(Resume of affidavit, Hearings, Aug. 20, pp. 110-112)*

Both Mr. and Mrs. Rothschild refused, under the protection of the Fifth Amendment, to testify in answer to the charges when they appeared before the Subcommittee public hearing, although Mr. Rothschild had previously denied four times under oath at Loyalty Board hearings that he had any Communist connections. **It is noteworthy that Rothschild was the first among the scores of government employees summoned by McCarthy over a six-months period who refused to answer questions by claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.** All the other witnesses who had claimed the privilege up to then were not employed by the government.

As a result of the hearings Rothschild was suspended and later resigned. To date there is nothing to indicate that the Attorney-General has found sufficient evidence in the hearings to seek an indictment of Rothschild.

It is worth noting here that in what was his strongest case McCarthy's target was an agency of government "not under the executive authority of the White House. Responsibility for the Government Printing Office rests on the six-man Joint Congressional Committee on Printing, consisting of Sens. Jenner of Indiana, Carlson of Kansas, and Hayden of Arizona, and Reps. LeCompte of Iowa, Schenck of Ohio, and Trumble of Arkansas. The chairman is Sen. Jenner." *(St. Louis* Post-Dispatch, *Aug. 18, 1953)*

The Monmouth Caper

Of the many investigations conducted by McCarthy few have been more spectacularly launched than the investigation into "espionage" at Fort Monmouth, N. J., the Army's vast Signal Corps facility where some of the most vital research into radar is carried on.

Few flopped more spectacularly.

McCarthy was on his honeymoon in Spanish Cay, British West Indies, when, as the Associated Press reported Oct. 9, 1953, a staff member of the McCarthy committee announced that "alleged security leaks" were being investigated at Fort Monmouth.

Dramatically cutting off his honeymoon, McCarthy rushed back to the United States. Up until the time he arrived in New York to take over the investigation, there had been no claims of espionage involved in the probe. On Oct. 12, he formally launched the headline phase of the investigation with the statement, "It has all the earmarks of extremely dangerous espionage. If it develops it may envelop the entire Signal Corps." The next day McCarthy told the Washington *Star,* "I am of the opinion that it definitely involves espionage."

Hearings were held behind closed doors. Developments were fed to the press by McCarthy himself when he emerged periodically from the secret proceedings to tell the public what he was "uncovering." This strange manner of reporting a vital story on espionage did not prevent otherwise responsible papers from running headlines such as these:

"ARMY RADAR DATA REPORTED MISSING"; "ESPIONAGE IN SIGNAL CORPS FOR TEN YEARS IS CHARGED"; "MCCARTHY HINTS OF SPY PLOT HITTING WHOLE SIGNAL CORPS"; "WITNESS CRACKS, BARES SPY RING AT RADAR CENTER."

The New York *Post* established a pattern for responsible reporting, which few other papers followed, by running the following box with each story on new developments in the hearings: "Neither the *Post* nor any other newspaper or press service is being permitted to cover the current Senate hearings. What you read here is what Sen. McCarthy gives out to reporters when he emerges periodically from behind the closed doors."

Here are some of the most sensational charges that helped to make

'Jeopardize Foreign Policy'

"Reckless blasts hurled at the State Department by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, have reached a point where they jeopardize this nation's foreign policy and threaten collapse of the Republican Administration program at home."

Eau Claire (Wis.) *Leader*
April, 1953

those headlines and also the facts subsequently uncovered which reveal how frequently flimsy and sometimes non-existent was the evidence to support the reckless charges:

One—Twenty-six out of 57 secret documents missing from the Signal Corps laboratory showed up in the Russian Zone of Eastern Germany. This charge was made in Chicago by Sen. Everett Dirksen, Illinois Republican and member of the McCarthy Subcommittee.

In a series of documented articles on the Monmouth investigation in the Washington *Post*, Murrey Marder exposed the distortion involved in this as well as other charges made by McCarthy and his associates. Marder showed Nov. 8 that this was an old charge that had been investigated in 1952 by Army Intelligence and the FBI and found to be without basis in fact. The Associated Press reported Oct. 18, 1953, that the Army had determined "more than a year ago" that no documents had been stolen. The Army, said the AP, officially announced that "the documents alleged to have been missing at that time were accounted for."

Two—McCarthy charged that an East German scientist who had fled the Soviet Zone reported that he heard Communist scientists say that "the Russians could get anything they wanted out of Fort Monmouth." McCarthy, describing the man as an "eminent scientist," said that the "scientist" had seen "many microfilmed copies of documents."

The Washington *Post* reported on Nov. 8: "An investigation of that charge, in which the FBI participated, was ordered in December 1952 [nearly a year before McCarthy 'uncovered' him], and then was dropped about March, 1953. McCarthy acknowledged that some intelligence officers believed that the man was 'boasting.' In news accounts last month the man was first described as 'an eminent scientist' and then a 'technician' when it was found he was only 21 years old at the time of escape from the Soviet Zone."

Meanwhile, on Nov. 13, Secretary of the Army Stevens told a press conference that "we [the Army] have been unable to find anything relating to espionage." According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of Nov. 18, Stevens had said that among the 33 suspensions at Fort Monmouth (most of which occurred after McCarthy started his probe), none had turned out to be spies. On Nov. 24 the *Monitor* quoted Stevens as saying that no "current case" of subversion had been uncovered during an Army G-2 investigation paralleling McCarthy's.

McCarthy Shifts His Position

McCarthy, in the meantime, began to deny that he had ever charged "espionage" at Fort Monmouth (and at the same time launched a diversionary investigation of General Electric in Schenectady). But the Associated Press had quoted him in a dispatch which hit many front pages Oct. 12 as saying that testimony before his Subcommittee "has all the earmarks that extremely dangerous espionage had been committed" and "if it develops as it has been, it will envelop the whole Signal Corps." On Nov. 17, McCarthy was quoted in the New York *Times* in reply to Army Secretary Stevens: "The open hearings beginning next Tuesday will permit the public to see the extent of Communist infiltration and *espionage* in the Signal Corps. It is extremely important, in view of Mr. Stevens' statement, that the public watch the testimony closely. Regardless of what I say, or what Mr. Stevens said, the final word will come from the witnesses."

In a radio debate with Roy Cohn, counsel for the McCarthy Subcommittee, Joseph Rauh, vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, charged on Nov. 22 that McCarthy "would have nothing on [the following] Tuesday to support their hoax." Cohn replied that the public hearings "will bear out everything that Sen. McCarthy has said."

Late in November there were two days of open hearings. Three witnesses refused to testify about alleged Communist activities and two refused to say if they had engaged in espionage. **None of these were current or even recent Fort Monmouth employees.**

Later McCarthy shifted his position. Although he had several times insisted that "espionage" existed (as on Oct. 13 when he said, "I think there is no question but that espionage is involved"), he said Dec. 9, "We don't expect to come up with anything more than contempt or perjury. It is not our function to develop cases of espionage."

But McCarthy was again to change his story. In Senate debate Feb. 2, 1954, McCarthy insisted his one-man inquiry had turned up "very, very current espionage" at Fort Monmouth. He made this claim after Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana Democrat, read a letter from Army Secretary Stevens, dated Jan. 15, 1954, saying that "insofar as the Army has thus far been able to determine, there is no current espionage or other subversive activities at Fort Monmouth." *(Congressional Record, Feb. 2, p. 1053)*

After completing a comprehensive inquiry into McCarthy's investigation of Fort Monmouth, the New York *Times* reported Jan. 13, 1954, that 19 employees were suspended as security risks, one because, among other things, his mother had enrolled him in the left-wing Young Pioneers of America in 1933 and 1934, when he was 12 and 13 years old; another, an electronics engineer, because he "favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner," a militantly anti-

'McCarthyism Could Lick Us'

"I do not think Stalin could have licked us; I do not think that whoever now may be running Russia can lick us. But McCarthy and the spirit of McCarthyism could lick us—no doubt without intention, but they could—by getting us to fighting among ourselves like the Romans, by persuading every man that he must keep on looking over his shoulder, to make sure that the man beside him doesn't stab him in the back. There is still enough vitality in Western civilization to save us, unless we insist on disemboweling ourselves."

ELMER DAVIS
In *But We Were Born Free*
(Bobbs-Merrill, 1954, p. 228)

Communist writer; and a third, a physicist, because, among other things, he "attempted to transmit" a reprint of a publication to a Czechoslovak professor who requested it. Said the New York *Times:*

"These, a New York *Times* study shows, are among the 19 Monmouth employees now suspended without pay as security risks. . . .

"Such charges—*none involving espionage or disloyalty,* and all vigorously rebutted by the employees—are generally a far cry from the headlines of possible Monmouth spying raised by Sen. McCarthy. In fact, the Wisconsin Republican's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations **has thus far called only one present Monmouth employee in public hearings.**

"So far as can be determined, only two of the employees now suspended have been charged with even past membership in the Communist Party. They and all others deny any Communist sympathy."

Public Opinion Supports The Monmouth Workers

During the hearings Telford Taylor, prominent New York attorney and former Brigadier General who was chief counsel for the United States at the Nuremberg war crime trials, delivered an address at West Point on Nov. 27 in which he said that "most of the McCarthy accusations at Fort Monmouth are indefensible fabrications." Unless McCarthy proves his charges of espionage, Gen. Taylor said, he "will stand condemned as a dangerous adventurer who does not hesitate to gamble with the national security."

McCarthy replied that Taylor had left government service with an "unresolved question of loyalty" showing on his civil service record. He also demanded an explanation from West Point officials of why Taylor was allowed to speak to the cadets at the institution.

Taylor declared that McCarthy's charges were "unfounded and false." Philip Young, Eisenhower-appointed chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, said he knew of no questions about Taylor's loyalty being raised since he entered the Commission in April.

"I've noticed in the past that some of his [McCarthy's] references have not been too accurate," Young said.

A Torch Without Light

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

On Dec. 9 McCarthy said he was issuing a subpoena for Taylor to appear before the Committee. "He is retired," McCarthy said, "and we are going to see if he is getting a pension or in what way the government is supporting him." Shortly afterward Taylor, still awaiting service of a subpoena, predicted that a "thorough investigation" of McCarthy's Fort Monmouth charges would "destroy the Senator."

In the communities where the Monmouth employees live, public opinion has run strongly in their favor. Thus, the Asbury Park *Press,* in a Nov. 28 editorial, characterized most McCarthy charges then known to it as "ridiculously thin accusations," and said McCarthy's tactics "can easily become a threat to American principles of liberty and justice." The Long Branch *Daily Record,* in a Dec. 16 editorial, denounced "the spectre of McCarthy daily sitting in sole judgment of free American citizens, like a demigod." The *Daily Record* bitterly denounced what it called the Senator's "reckless charges; his masterful dissemination of half truths, insinuations, and innuendos; his assumption of the roles of prosecutor, judge, and jury, and now his threatened intimidation of the Army's loyalty review board; his callous disregard of the reputations of American citizens who have never been convicted of anything, much less accused; his snide 'ad lib' comments; his abrogation of time-honored civil liberties."

The Federation of American Scientists, after hearing a report from its own committee which looked into the Fort Monmouth case, adopted a statement saying that the McCarthy investigation was wrecking morale among the scientists at Fort Monmouth and could *"result in a net gain for those who work against the interests of the United States."* Scientists, it said, will seek work elsewhere rather than endure the kind of treatment suffered at McCarthy's hands at Fort Monmouth.

"Investigations which are characterized largely by sensational headlines and wholesale suspensions can, by crippling our defense research, actually result in a net gain for those who work against the interests of the United States," the statement said. "The effect on our national security would be extremely serious if such investigative methods are allowed to spread to other areas of this country's scientific effort."

At a conference of scientists at Columbia University, Prof. Ernest C. Pollard, Yale University physicist, who is chairman of the Scientists Committee on Loyalty and Security of the Federation, reported that "morale among the professional staff [at Fort Monmouth] is very poor" and that "a high percentage of the scientists not implicated in the present investigations are now planning to seek employment elsewhere."

Prof. Pollard emphasized that "no charges of actual espionage or real subversive activity have been made against any of the 19 scientists suspended or the ten scientists who have been transferred to unclassified work." He emphasized the fact that, contrary to general belief, "not a single scientist" at Fort Monmouth had pleaded the Fifth Amendment, and only one of those suspended had received a public hearing. Pollard's committee found that the "atmosphere of suspicion and distrust" created by the McCarthy charges had "seriously disrupted" the vital defense work of "developing the continental defense network" of the United States. *(Quoted in the New York* Times, *Jan. 30, 1954.)*

Writing in the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* on Dec. 8, Walter Millis, author and historian, said, "This really vital and sensitive military installation has been wrecked—more thoroughly than any Soviet saboteur could have dreamed of doing it—by the kind of anti-Communism of which Sen. McCarthy has made himself the leader.

> **"The Fort Monmouth situation is truly scandalous. It is so scandalous that some who have looked into it, thoroughly conservative in outlook and Republican in politics, are talking about demanding a Congressional investigation—not into the alleged espionage (of which on Secretary Stevens' word, no evidence of any kind has been discovered by the Army) but into the processes of witchhunting, bigotry, cowardice, race prejudice, and sheer incompetence which have turned one of our top-level military-scientific operations into a mare's nest of exasperation, fear, and futility. . .**

"The personal injustice involved is not here considered. The impairment of the national defense is something which no one whose life may one day hang upon the excellence of our radar screens can dare to disregard."

Editorially, the *Herald Tribune* said, "The picture of this place as a nest of spies can hardly have done less than weaken the incentives which spur such men to creative work—to say nothing of promoting doubts and confusion in the American public. The thought that such a picture was created by Sen. McCarthy to further his own ambition is bitter indeed."

The Washington *Post* said McCarthy's accusations "shattered morale at a post of vital significance to the national defense and badly disrupted activity in an area where work ought to be going forward with utmost energy."

Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the nation's foremost atomic scientists and Nobel Prize winner, denounced McCarthy's investigation as an "irresponsible type of activity" which had ruined morale "among scientific personnel at Fort Monmouth," according to an Associated Press dispatch. Said Dr. Urey: ***"I don't believe the U.S.S.R. has a better agent in the country than Sen. McCarthy."***

McCarthy had the last word. He said the investigation wasn't closed. He has never formally closed one.

A Major Setback

Before Sen. McCarthy had completed six months as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, he had been in a head-on clash with the press, some of the nation's educational institutions, the State Department, the Pentagon, the Foreign Economic Administration, and the White House. At the end of six months he found himself in a stormy controversy involving religion—a controversy in which he was to suffer a major defeat, the worst since he took over the Subcommittee in January of 1953.

The stage was set for the explosion when the six other members of the Subcommittee received a memorandum from McCarthy late in June informing them for the first time that

The Fort Monmouth Timetable

The changing character of McCarthy's claims in the Fort Monmouth case shows up graphically in this timetable:

Oct. 12, 1953

"It has all the earmarks of extremely dangerous espionage. If it develops, it may envelop the entire Signal Corps." (New York *Times*)

"It looks very much like a case of current espionage." *(Associated Press)*

Oct. 21, 1953

"I am not saying whether there is espionage or there is not. . . It would be improper for me to evaluate the testimony. . . I think it is easy for a reporter to make a mistake and refer to espionage. I have been giving reporters a daily resume of the testimony. I think with all of the evidence coming out—I think some of them may have used the word 'alleged espionage'. . . There is evidence of espionage. . . I refuse to say there is or is not [espionage] at this time. I intend to let the evidence speak for itself. . . . I won't evaluate, but there is evidence of espionage. . ." (Washington *Post*)

Nov. 5, 1953

"There is no question now, from the evidence, that there has been espionage in the Army Signal Corps." (Washington *Evening Star*)

Dec. 10, 1953

"[I have] no real hope [of proving espionage]. . . We don't expect to come up with anything more than contempt or perjury. It is not our function to develop cases of espionage." (New York *Times*)

Feb. 2, 1954

"We have uncovered espionage." *(Congressional Record,* Feb. 2, 1954, p. 1053)

NOTE: When this issue of *The Progressive* went to press, McCarthy had offered no evidence whatever to support his last claim.

he had hired Dr. J. B. Matthews, "whom I consider to be an outstanding man," as executive director.

Matthews is a former extreme left-wing Socialist who admits he was a fellow-traveler of the Communists, though he denies ever taking out a membership card. In 1938 he published a book called *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler*. During his fellow-traveling days he was fond of blasting away at the churches and clergy as the "tools of capitalism." His theme was that the basis of the clergy's opposition to Russian Communism was the opposition of the men of wealth who control the churches. This theme was set forth in his book *Partners in Plunder*. A survey by the Washington *Star* in July, 1953, produced the conclusion that "he was active with Communists, Socialists and others in 28 different front organizations, in 15 of which he held an official position."

Matthews had been active as chief investigator for the old Dies Committee, after his conversion from the left. He was briefly back in the headlines in late 1950 in the abortive attempt to smear Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg as a Communist—an attempt which backfired badly. Matthews proudly displays a desk set inscribed, "To J. B. Matthews, a star-spangled American, from one of his pupils and admirers." The set is a gift from Sen. McCarthy. *(Cited in the Washington* Star, *July 6, 1953.)*

A few days after McCarthy's colleagues on the Subcommittee had received notice of the hiring of Matthews, the July issue of the *American Mercury* appeared. The magazine is owned by Russell Maguire, whose name has been linked in the past to the old racist Christian Front. The lead article, by Matthews, was called, "Reds in Our Churches." Its opening paragraphs were:

"The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen.

"Since the beginning of the First Cold War in April 1948, the Communist Party of this country has placed more and more reliance upon the ranks of the Protestant clergy to provide the party's subversive apparatus with its agents, stooges, dupes, front men, and fellow-travelers.

"Clergymen outnumber professors two to one in supporting the Communist front apparatus of the Kremlin conspiracy. . . . The Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen in the same categories—party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents, and unwitting dupes."

McCarthy's Conflicting Stories About Matthews' Article

Developments broke swiftly and explosively.

On July 2, the three Democratic members of the Subcommittee, Sens. Jackson, Symington, and McClellan, issued a statement denouncing the article as a "shocking and unwarranted attack against the American clergy." They called on McCarthy to convene the Subcommittee as "early as possible" to "consider appropriate action."

McCarthy seemed stunned by the storm that broke. On July 2, C. P. Trussell reported in the New York *Times*, "Mr. McCarthy said he knew about both of the *American Mercury* articles by Mr. Matthews when he offered him the Subcommittee post." On July 8, Samuel Shelton, Jr., of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, quoted McCarthy as saying on the previous day, "I haven't read all of Matthews' material and I do not intend to. He undoubtedly has written many things with which I disagree. But I feel I have no right of censorship over anyone."

Later, on July 15, McCarthy declared in a letter to the three Democrats, "I was totally unaware of the controversial article written by Dr. Matthews. It first came to my attention the first week of this month."

Meanwhile, it became known that the article was familiar to Congressional circles. It had been introduced into the *Congressional Record* on June 27 by Rep. Kit Clardy, Michigan Republican and a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee *(pp. A4114-4117)*.

Whether he had read the article or not, McCarthy stood by Matthews. On July 2 he said, "Dr. Matthews has the reputation of being one of the most outstanding authorities, if not the outstanding authority, on subversion in the United States." *(New York* Times, *July 2)*.

On July 3, Sen. Potter, Michigan Republican, joined the three Democrats in the view that Matthews should not be retained on the Subcommittee. When McCarthy convened the group to consider the question on July 8 he faced this line-up: four members committed to firing Matthews; two—Sens. Dirksen and Mundt—absent and uncommitted; and McCarthy for retention.

Don Irwin reported to the New York *Herald Tribune* July 9, "Lines hardened in the fight joined yesterday when Sen. McCarthy refused to permit a Subcommittee vote on the question although four (three Democrats and Sen. Potter) of the group's seven members demanded Mr. Matthews' separation. . . Not a single Subcommittee member came to Sen. McCarthy's assistance yesterday—two Republicans (Mundt and Dirksen) were pointedly absent. . ."

McCarthy emerged from the meeting to tell newsmen, "I have not accepted his resignation. I do not intend to do so." He said that he had refused to put the question of resignation to a vote because Matthews was not a "professional staff member" as defined by law and therefore could not be fired by a majority of the Subcommittee—only by the chairman.

President Eisenhower Takes a Hand

Meanwhile, protests came from church leaders all over the country. On July 6, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Bishop William C. Martin, president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and Methodist Bishop of the Dallas area, made this statement: "There are only two bases upon which such a statement as the Matthews article can be accounted for: either it is deliberate Communist propaganda or it is a revelation of a degree of stupidity and misrepresentation which can be reached only in an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, and fear. A Communist agent could afford to subsidize the article liberally. He knows that any influence that tends to weaken the confidence of the Protestant layman

in his church and its leaders is helping to remove the most stubborn barrier in his path."

In New York, Dean James A. Pike of the New York Cathedral (St. John the Divine) spoke for thousands of the Protestant clergy when he attacked Matthews' article as "so absurd on the face of it as to reflect on Mr. Matthews' competence to hold any public office. . . It is alarming to find that procedures resulting from fear of Communism are causing us to lose those very things that most distinguish our way of life from theirs."

Even as the headlines were proclaiming across the country that McCarthy would stand by his "star-spangled" friend, the final blow that was to end Matthews' brief tenure as executive director was being prepared in the White House. President Eisenhower on July 9 had received from the three national co-chairmen of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (Msgr. John A. O'Brien of the University of Notre Dame; Maurice H. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York) the following telegram:

"The President
"The White House

"The sweeping attack on the loyalty of Protestant clergymen and the charge that they are the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus is unjustified and deplorable.

"This is a matter of vital concern to the nation. You are to be congratulated on your recent warning against casting doubt on the loyalty of the churches and synagogues.

"We fully recognize the right of Congress to investigate the loyalty of any citizen regardless of the office he may occupy, ecclesiastical or otherwise. But destroying trust in the leaders of Protestantism, Catholicism or Judaism by wholesale condemnation is to weaken the greatest American bulwark against atheistic materialism and communism."

Msgr. John A. O'Brien,
Rabbi Maurice H. Eisendrath,
Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell

The President replied immediately:

"I have received your telegram of today's date. I want you to know at once that I fully share the convictions you state. The issues here are clear. Generalized and irresponsible attacks that sweepingly condemn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America. Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency. And when these attacks—whatever their professed purpose be—condemn such a vast portion of the churches or clergy as to create doubt in the loyalty of all, the damage to our nation is multiplied.

"If there be found any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy.

"The churches of America are citadels of our faith in individual freedom and human dignity. This faith is the living source of all our spiritual strength. And this strength is our matchless armor in our world-wide struggle against the forces of godless tyranny and oppression."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

"Quick, Men—Get That Bible Off the Shelves"

"I Want You to Shake Hands With—Say, What's Wrong With You Guys?"

McCarthy rolled with the punch. On the same day, he announced that Matthews' resignation had been accepted but said that it had been accepted before the President had taken his action. *Newsweek* for July 20 reported that the Presidential announcement had come at 5:29 p.m. and the McCarthy announcement at 6:35.

But the question of whether McCarthy was to have sole power to hire and fire committee personnel was not yet settled. *Newsweek* reported that Vice-President Richard Nixon had worked out a compromise under which Matthews was to resign and McCarthy was to have sole hiring and firing power by agreement of the other members of the Subcommittee.

On July 10 the Subcommittee met and by a party line vote of 4-3 gave the chairman sole power to employ or discharge staff members. Announcing that they had been put in "the impossible position of having responsibility without any voice, right or authority," McClellan, Jackson, and Symington resigned.

"I will accept the resignations," McCarthy said. "If they don't want to take part in uncovering the graft and corruption of the old Truman-Acheson Administration, they are, of course, entitled to refuse." (McCarthy made no effort to detail "the graft and corruption," and a study of the official record shows he has done little if anything in this field.)

Realizing that he headed a solely Republican committee instead of a Senate committee, McCarthy changed his tune by July 15 and sent an invitation to the Democrats to come back. "I sincerely hope," he said,

"you will not permit such differences of opinion among us on details of our housekeeping to cause you not to continue the service which you have been rendering the country while fulfilling your responsibilities as members of the Subcommittee. . ."

The Democrats said that the letter had not influenced them to change their positions in the slightest degree.

McCarthy again went back to the brass knuckles. On the National Broadcasting Company's radio and TV show, "Meet the Press," on July 19, he said that the Democrats had quit because the Subcommittee was "exposing graft and corruption" in the Truman Administration. He said that he would make no move to force them to return if they felt that as Senators "they wanted to draw their pay and not do their work." He compared them to "small, irresponsible boys."

McCarthy continued to defend Matthews, telling the radio and TV audience that he had not "fired" Matthews and had not accepted his resignation. "He quit," McCarthy said, "when the opposition raised the phony religious issue where there was no religious issue."

The furor caused by the Matthews article brought Sen. Harry F. Byrd, conservative Virginia Democrat, into the controversy. "Mr. Matthews," he said, "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue, willing to blacken the character of his fellow-Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." *(New York* Times, *July 10, 1953.)*

The Matthews' Affair Ends In Retreat and Defeat

Noting that McCarthy had said that Matthews was "an outstanding authority on subversion in the United States," the *Christian Advocate,* official organ of the Methodist church, said, "In weakening confidence that Protestant laymen have in their church and its leaders, Mr. Matthews is doing precisely what atheistic Communism wants."

The Lutheran, news magazine of the United Lutheran Church in America, said, "To save his [McCarthy's] shriveling reputation he announced that he had accepted Matthews' 'resignation.' The rafters are ringing with the explosive replies made to Matthews' charge."

An appeal by Matthews to the Subcommittee to be allowed to testify and "document" his charges was turned down by Subcommittee members on the grounds that it would plunge the group into an investigation of the clergy, an area in which it had no jurisdiction. *(New York* Times, *July 10.)*

On a subsequent TV show, "The Big Issue," Matthews was asked, "If testifying under oath, could you tonight name a single Protestant minister as an espionage agent?" He replied, "I could not." He was asked, "If testifying under oath tonight, could you name 15 Protestant clergymen who are card-carrying members of the Communist Party?" He answered, "I could not." *("The Big Issue" television program on Sept. 14, 1953.)*

When Congress reconvened in January of this year, the question of what to do about the absent Democratic Subcommittee members was before the Republican leadership for solution. The Associated Press reported that on Jan. 8, 1954, McCarthy said he was willing to "lean over backward" to get the absent members back, but on the issue of hiring and firing the staff, "I will be completely adamant—I will not give an inch."

By Jan. 25 his retreat and defeat in the Matthews' affair were complete. It was announced that the Democrats had won certain concessions in exchange for returning to the Subcommittee. McCarthy not only surrendered his exclusive authority to hire and fire staff members, but agreed to the following concessions limiting his power:

When the Democratic minority unanimously opposes public hearings on any issue, the question must be taken to the parent Committee on Government Operations for decision by a majority vote.

The Democratic minority will be provided with its own counsel and a clerical employee to keep them advised.

On Feb. 2, 1954, the Senate voted, 85 to 1, with Sen. J. William Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat, the sole dissenter, to grant McCarthy's Subcommittee $214,000 for this year's investigations.

In the Matthews case McCarthy again showed himself to be a master of the diversionary tactic: when in trouble on one issue, break into the headlines on another. On July 10, 1953, one day after he was forced to accept Matthews' resignation, McCarthy launched an attack on the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which brought him a new harvest of headlines on a new issue. In the end McCarthy was obliged to retreat on this one, too, but not, as the Alsops noted in their column July 16, 1953, until "Administration strategists allowed him a little phony face-saving."

The Pattern in Summary

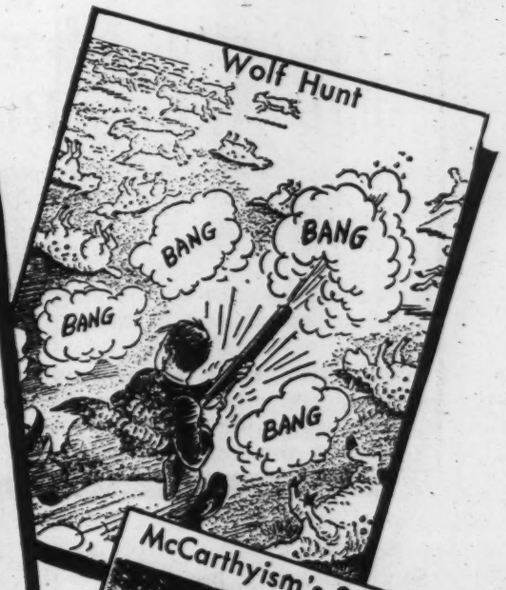
In case after case, as the foregoing makes clear, McCarthy the Chairman demoralized vital services of the national government, terrorized government personnel, and actually contributed to the weakening of our defenses, as the scientists emphasized in their report on the Fort Monmouth case.

Headlines and hysteria made up most of the crop harvested by the Subcommittee, which often functioned as a one-man show with no other Senator, Republican or Democrat, on hand. As Peter Edson, Washington correspondent for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, put it July 11, 1953:

> **"There has been a headline a day—sometimes two or three—as the chairman has leaped with agility from sensational crag to crag. When all the cases are boiled down, however, the substance of constructive contributions . . . is not too impressive. . . . Nearly all charges have been as vigorously denied as they have been made. Nothing has been proved."**

It is not difficult to understand why a year earlier *(See Page 43)* Herbert Philbrick, who risked his life as an FBI counterspy within the Communist Party, told reporters that the Communists "just love" McCarthy's name-calling, because it "creates confusion." Confusion and disunity in America are among the most cherished goals of the Kremlin.

McCarthyism in Action



Case Studies of the Major Ingredients of The 'Ism,' Including Smearing the Innocent, The Big Lie, and 'Shoot First, Ask Later'

McCARTHYISM has been defined in a variety of ways, none of them flattering to the man who gave his name to the ism. Perhaps the most effective method of evaluating McCarthy and McCarthyism is to observe them in action.

One of the most criticized ingredients in McCarthyism is the ruthless smearing of individuals who happen to hold views on foreign policy or other issues which McCarthy finds objectionable.

The *Michigan Catholic,* official publication of the archdiocese of Detroit, skillfully caught this characteristic of McCarthyism in an editorial *(Sept. 20, 1951)* which conceded McCarthy's right to fight his foes on foreign policies, and then went on:

"But that is quite a different matter from exposure of covert Communist influence. It is an issue that ought to be fought on its own merits, **and not as a smear campaign that seeks to discredit what are apparently honest motives."**

When charged with conducting a smear campaign, as he has been, not only by Catholic publications but by spokesmen of virtually every religious denomination, McCarthy habitually denies the charge with a statement like:

"All right, what innocent person have I injured? I've asked that question lots of times—on forums and in speeches—and nobody ever tells me. I've never yet had anyone give me the name of a single innocent person who has been hurt by my methods." *(New York* World Telegram and Sun, *June 13, 1953.)*

Americans who have the facts have no difficulty driving McCarthyites to cover when this question is asked. The official records and the reports of the country's most reliable newspapers show the extent to which McCarthy has smeared individuals. Suppose we look at a few of the better-known cases.

The Marshall Case

On June 14, 1951, speaking to an all but empty Senate chamber, McCarthy delivered a 60,000-word attack on one of the most distinguished of Americans, George C. Marshall, former Secretary of Defense, former Secretary of State, former Chief of Staff, a five-star general, and sub-

McCarthy Charges Marshall with Aiding Russian Cause

BY WILLARD EDWARDS
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 14—Sen. McCarthy [R., Wis.] told the senate today that Defense Secretary Marshall consistently has advanced the designs of soviet Russia since 1942.

McCarthy spoke before packed galleries, attracted by advance notice that he would outline "the blackest conspiracy in history."

ern plains of Europe ahead of the Russians.

"It was Marshall, who at Tehran, made common cause with Stalin on the strategy of the war in Europe and marched side by side with him thereafter.

Opened Secrets to Reds

"It was Marshall who enjoined his chief of military mission Moscow under no circumstances to 'irritate' the Russians by asking them questions about their forces, their weapons and their plans.

Some notion of how the pro-McCarthy press played McCarthy's bitter blast at Gen. George C. Marshall can be gained from the above headline in the Chicago Tribune.

sequently (1953) winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Although McCarthy has since offered a variety of interpretations of what he recalled saying on that occasion, the record is clear that he accused Gen. Marshall of treasonable conduct. One of the most pro-McCarthy of the nation's newspapers, the Chicago *Tribune*, reported McCarthy's speech this way:

"Sen. McCarthy told the Senate today that Defense Secretary Marshall consistently had advanced the designs of Soviet Russia since 1942 . . . From largely friendly sources, McCarthy compiled a review of Marshall's important acts which led him to the conclusion that Marshall had always supported Soviet interests and opposed anti-Communist proposals.

"'How can we account for our present situation unless we believe that men high in this government are concerting to deliver us to disaster?' McCarthy asked. 'This must be the product of a great conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man.'"

Chicago Tribune, June 15, 1951

In his bitter outcry against Marshall, McCarthy went on to say:

"Gen. Marshall is at the head of our Armed Services. Quite apart from the destructive nature of his public acts since the beginnings of World War II, I ask in all gravity whether a man so steeped in falsehood who has recourse to the lie whenever it suits his convenience is fit to hold so exalted a place where he must be a model to the officers and men of our Armed Services."

Congressional Record, June 14, 1951, p. 6752

In his book-length attack on Marshall, *America's Retreat From Victory*, McCarthy professes to see in Marshall's activities "a pattern which finds his decision maintained with great stubbornness and skill, always and invariably serving the world policy of the Kremlin." And McCarthy added:

Gen. George C. Marshall

"Even as we were spending vast amounts of flesh and blood and steel to win the war there was still being conducted what appeared to be a planned loss of peace. . ."

In his June 14 Senate speech McCarthy, after describing "a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man," went on to say that the object of this "conspiracy was to diminish the United States in world affairs, to weaken us militarily . . . to the end that we shall . . . finally fall victim to Soviet intrigue from within and Russian military might from without."

And yet McCarthy continues to insist that "no innocent person has been hurt by my methods." If Marshall has not been hurt by McCarthy's smear attack, the only reason can be that Marshall is too great a figure and too patriotic an American to be affected by McCarthy's calculated attempt at character assassination. On Aug. 22, 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower said:

"Gen Marshall is one of the patriots of this country. If he was not a perfect example of patriotism and a loyal servant of the United States, I never saw one. I have no patience with anyone who can find in his record of service for this country anything to criticize."

The conservative Washington *Star* characterized McCarthy's tirade against Marshall as "an adaptation of Hitler's big-lie technique."

In 1953 when Gen. Marshall was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace, McCarthy was asked if he had anything to say on the award in view of his bitter attack on Marshall's loyalty. "No comment," was all he would say.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

McCarthy broadened his 60,000-word smear attack on Marshall to include others whom he sought to associate in this "black" and "infamous" conspiracy. Among them was Dwight D. Eisenhower, then General of the Army and Command-

er-in-Chief of American forces in Europe, who was described by McCarthy as a partner in the Marshall "conspiracy" against America.

The incident was recalled recently by the Associated Press in a dispatch from Washington:

"In a blistering, two hour and 45 minute speech the Wisconsin Senator wove the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower into what he described as 'a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man.'

"McCarthy charged, among other things, that Gen. George C. Marshall, as World War II Chief of Staff, played Joseph Stalin's game—wage the campaign against Germany in a manner 'so bad for the free world and so good for international Communism.'

"And 'in all these attitudes,' declared McCarthy, Marshall's 'firm supporter' was his fast-rising protege 'Ike' Eisenhower."

Associated Press Report, Wisconsin State Journal, Nov. 29, 1953

McCarthy's exact words, as they appeared in his book, were these:

"In all these attitudes Eisenhower, who had been Commander-in-Chief in North Africa, was Marshall's firm supporter."

America's Retreat from Victory, by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, p. 28

Philip C. Jessup

Another prominent American smeared by McCarthy—and vindicated by the evidence—was Dr. Philip C. Jessup, professor of international law at Columbia University. Dr. Jessup has held a number of government posts during the past 25 years, starting in the Justice Department during the Coolidge Administration.

In 1950 McCarthy charged that Jessup "has an unusual affinity for Communist causes." *(Congressional Record, Mar. 30, 1950, p. 4464.)* On another occasion McCarthy said, "For some reason or other, you find Jessup always is following the Communist Party line."

McCarthy persisted in his smear of Jessup despite clear-cut evidence to refute his charges.

Hiram Bingham, former Republican Senator from Connecticut, then head of the Federal Government's Loyalty Review Board, wrote Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama in response to a query:

"My dear Senator: With further reference to your letter of Sept. 24 requesting information as to the status of Philip C. Jessup, a panel of the Loyalty Review Board has now put its seal of approval on the action of the Loyalty Board of the State Department in finding *there is no reasonable doubt of his loyalty.*" (Italics ours)

Hearings, Nomination of Philip C. Jessup, Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, p. 146

Dwight D. Eisenhower, then President of Columbia University, wrote an unsolicited letter to Jessup Mar. 18, 1950, in which he said:

"I am writing to tell you how much your university deplores the association of your name with the current loyalty investigation in the United States Senate.

"Your long and distinguished record as a scholar and a public servant has won for you the respect of your colleagues and of the American people as well. No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism. Your university associates and I are confident that any impression to the contrary will be quickly dispelled as the facts become known."

Said the New York *Times* editorially:

"In making a political career of mud-slinging and Red-baiting, Sen. McCarthy has launched irresponsible, unprovable, and ridiculous charges against so many respected citizens that his attacks have become almost an accolade.

"Sheer disgust and weariness of his demagogic tactics impel fair-minded men to rise to the defense of his victims . . .

"In the case of Dr. Philip C. Jessup, this newspaper has sharply disagreed on occasion with his views and his attitudes on matters of public policy. He is a liberal whose good impulses have sometimes confused and misled him. But we have never had the slightest doubt of his loyalty or his patriotism."

It is true that Dr. Jessup's views on foreign policy were bitterly denounced by critics other than McCarthy. For instance, *Soviet State and Law,* an official Moscow publication, said this about Jessup:

". . . for many years Jessup has been a faithful servant of American imperialism and is one of the most diligent apologists of its foreign policy."

Also, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, said this about Jessup on May 26, 1951:

"The representative of the United States, Dr. Philip Jessup, spoke on the same lines as Mr. Davies. By slander against the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union borrowed from the filthy sources of anti-Soviet

Arthur Eisenhower Compares McCarthy to Hitler

Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President and vice-president of the Commerce Trust Company, in Kansas City, was quoted by the Associated Press in a dispatch from Las Vegas, Nev., July 24, 1953, as saying: "It is a horrible shame that McCarthy is a Republican for he has done the party no credit. He is the most dangerous menace to America.

"When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler. I would believe anything about him."

Asked if he thought the Wisconsin Senator had an ultimate objective, Eisenhower was quoted as saying:

"Of course he has. He wants to keep his name in the papers at all costs. He follows the old political game which is 'whose name is mentioned the most in politics is often selected for the highest office.'

"McCarthy is a throwback to the Spanish inquisition. He calls in people and proceeds to make fools of them by twisting their answers. What chance do they have? They have no rebuttal because they have no recourse to the press, radio, and magazines. It is Nazi-like and what makes it all so much more of a fiasco is that he has never been responsible for the conviction of one—of one, mind you—Communist."

propaganda, he attempted to justify the aggressive policy of the Western Powers . . ."

Testimony at Hearings, Nomination of Philip C. Jessup, Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, p. 502

'Shoot First, Ask Later'

Another ingredient of McCarthyism is the practice of shooting first and asking questions later, of rushing into print with sensational charges and then, after a while, looking around for some evidence that might support those charges.

A notable case involved McCarthy's shameless attempt to imply that former President Harry Truman had deliberately concealed from the FBI a list of some 150 Soviet spy suspects received from Canadian authorities.

McCarthy's statement hit the front pages with big, black headlines, as he knew it would. Then, according to the Associated Press, "McCarthy fired off a letter to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell asking if the Justice Department ever got such a list from Truman. He called this a first step toward deciding whether to ask the investigation's subcommittee to call Truman as a witness."

Two weeks later, McCarthy reluctantly revealed that the FBI had assured him Mr. Truman had not withheld any information he had received from Canada—a fact which inevitably received far less prominence in the press. McCarthy, of course, could have acquired the necessary information by picking up a telephone or writing his letter to the Department of Justice before he rushed into print with his original statement.

McCarthy was asked why he did what he did the way he did it, in a "Meet the Press" program shortly afterward. William S. White, Washington correspondent for the New York *Times,* put the question to McCarthy this way:

"Would it perhaps have been better to check first with the FBI before suggesting that you could call the former President?"

"You might do it one way, Mr. White, I might do it the other."

Still another ingredient of McCarthyism is the sly use of innuendo to plant doubts about the integrity and loyalty of Americans of unassailable character and patriotism. One of the shabbiest examples of this McCarthy treatment involved Nathan Pusey, the new president of Harvard University.

In the summer of 1952, Dr. Pusey was president of Lawrence College, located in Appleton, Wis., McCarthy's home town. Dr. Pusey joined with a group of distinguished citizens, among them bankers, industrialists, clergymen, educators, doctors, and lawyers in sponsoring *The McCarthy Record.* Throughout the campaign of 1952, when he was seeking reelection to the Senate, McCarthy refrained from attacking *The McCarthy Record* or its sponsors, and refused to challenge in any way that documented analysis of his record.

In the summer of 1953, when Pusey was appointed to the presidency of Harvard, Neal O'Hara, columnist for the Boston *Traveler,* asked McCarthy for an estimate of his fellow-townsman. In his reply, McCarthy said:

"I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party." The use of this language to create a doubt where none was justified was bitterly denounced by the paper which is closest to and most enthusiastic about McCarthy's operations, his home town Appleton *Post-Crescent,* as a *"gutter-type approach."*

In his statement to the Boston *Traveler,* McCarthy went on to say of Dr. Pusey:

"His activities could well be compared to the undercover Communist who slaps at the Communist Party in general terms, cusses out the thoroughly well-known Communist, and then directs his energy toward attempting to destroy those who are really hurting the Communist Party by digging out the dangerous undercover members of the party, who parade as loyal to the country which their conspiracy is attempting to destroy.

Nathan Pusey

"What motivates Pusey, I have no way of knowing. He is what could best be described as a rabid anti, anti-Communist."

McCarthy's attempt to smear Dr. Pusey infuriated some of the Senator's best friends in his home town—people who knew Dr. Pusey well and who were thus exposed first-hand for the first time to McCarthyism in action.

The most outraged response came from the Appleton *Post-Crescent* quoted above, whose managing editor, John Reidl, was listed number one among "McCarthy's Wisconsin newspaper backers" by Richard Wilson, chief of the Cowles correspondents in Washington (Look, *Dec. 1, 1953*).

After noting that McCarthy had been fighting "a two-front battle against the machinations of the enemy, and against the doubts of his fellow Americans as to the fairness of his methods," the *Post-Crescent* went on to say:

"These doubts have not been confined to the political opposition. The Senator's supporters in Wisconsin have had to defend him again and again from the charge that he has besmirched reputations in order to advance his own career.

"The Senator has multiplied those doubts by his gratuitous and completely uncalled-for attack on Dr. Nathan Pusey. Dr. Pusey is known to us all here in Appleton for his integrity, his devotion to American ideals, his exemplary personal life, and his leadership in the liberal arts movement that is just as important in fighting Communism as McCarthy's exposures.

"The Senator's act has caused dismay among Dr. Pusey's friends and associates, many of whom have been strong supporters of McCarthy, and are known to have contributed to his campaign funds.

"In stating that 'I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party' McCarthy has used a gutter-type approach. He could have referred as correctly to Pope or President. It is an insult not only to Dr. Pusey, but to all who know him and are proud to call him friend.

"The only motive for the Senator's statement appears to be Dr. Pusey's opposition to him in last fall's election. If this is the case, McCarthy is running way out of bounds. Dr. Pusey, like any other loyal citizen, has a perfect right to take whatever stand he pleases in a political campaign, and should not be subjected to personal slaps for so doing."

McCarthy's hunger for revenge against Pusey went on a long time.

In a New York inquiry, which had nothing to do with Harvard, Pusey, or education, McCarthy repeatedly threw poisonous barbs at Harvard and Pusey and referred to Harvard as "a sanctuary for Communists." *(United Press report quoted in Wisconsin State Journal.)*

The Commonweal Case

McCarthy's use of innuendo in the case of Dr. Pusey is paralleled by a similar device he used in attempting to smear *The Commonweal,* the distinguished Catholic magazine which has been critical of many of McCarthy's methods. In the Pusey case he said, "I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party"; in the case of *The Commonweal* he sought to achieve the same result by inviting the public to "draw your own conclusions." Here is what happened:

In August 1953 the North American Newspaper Alliance, a national press syndicate, released to its member papers a four-part interview with McCarthy. In it the Senator was asked to comment on his habit of labelling critics as "Communists."

McCarthy replied, "I'd have to know what critics you have in mind."

When *The Commonweal* was mentioned, McCarthy said, "I never said *The Commonweal* was Communist. I just said that, in front of the Jenner Committee, one of its writers refused to say whether he is a Communist or not. From that you can draw your own conclusions."

'Help! I'm Being Followed'

Herblock in The Washington Post

The editors of *The Commonweal* asked McCarthy to identify the writer to whom he had referred. Five weeks later McCarthy "replied" by asking the editors "what connection Thomas Davin has with *The Commonweal*—whether he writes for it, whether he has any voice in determination of policy, etc."

The Commonweal reported in its issue of Nov. 27, 1953:

"We . . . assured Sen. McCarthy that Mr. Davin had never at any time written a single line for *The Commonweal,* that he has never had the slightest voice in determining the magazine's policy, and that, previous to the present incident, four of the present five editors had never heard of him. We therefore ask the Senator to make a public correction of his own statement (with its dark innuendo: 'from that you can draw your own conclusions') and to bring this correction to the attention of the North American Newspaper Alliance."

In a letter dated Nov. 12, 1953, McCarthy had failed completely to respond to the request of the editors of *The Commonweal* that he set the record straight. Instead he renewed his attack on *The Commonweal,* widely regarded as one of the most effective of anti-Communist publications in the United States. In his letter McCarthy said:

"I may also have pointed out that while you referred to your publication as a Catholic magazine, as far as I know, you have no right to use that title unless the fact that apparently your editors feel that because some of them attend the Catholic church they are entitled to call *The Commonweal* a Catholic magazine. So that there will be no doubt in your mind as to how I feel about your magazine, I feel that you have done and are doing a tremendous disservice to the Catholic church and a great service to the Communist Party . . ."

In the face of the big distortion heaped by McCarthy on his original innuendo, the editors of *The Commonweal* decided against engaging in a name-calling contest with McCarthy. Said the editors of *The Commonweal:*

"No extended comment on this letter seems necessary. It is sufficient to note that Sen. McCarthy ignores the point in question (the fact that no *Commonweal* writer has ever appeared before the Jenner Committee) and apparently refuses to correct the false implications of his widely publicized comments on *The Commonweal,* resorting instead to his familiar method of personal attack.

"Discussion on this level is, of course, impossible and *The Commonweal* will certainly not stoop to attempt it. But we are indebted to Sen. McCarthy for one thing: he has again demonstrated, more effectively than we could ever hope to do, the level of his 'crusade.' "

A final word on *The Commonweal's* controversy with McCarthy came from another Catholic publication, *The Wage Earner,* published in

Hitler Parallels

Returning from a trip to Europe, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist Church, told reporters that religious leaders in Europe are concerned about McCarthyism because "they see too many parallels to the pre-Hitler days." Said the Bishop:

"Sen. McCarthy has done more to discredit the nation abroad than any other single factor. Europeans overestimate the place and power of McCarthy in this country. They seem to think he is dictating the policy of this country."

The New York *Post*
Feb. 16, 1954

Detroit by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Writing in the January 1954 issue, Father Karl Hubble, chaplain of the Detroit chapter, after observing that "one cannot go on indefinitely being silent about Joe McCarthy," struck back at McCarthy's claim that *The Commonweal* was doing a "tremendous disservice to the Catholic church" and was "dishonestly masquerading" as "a mouthpiece for the Catholic Church." Said Father Hubble: "Having read *The Commonweal* for most of the 29 years of its existence, we need look no farther for a better example of the slanderous results of the terrifyingly simple McCarthy methods."

Distorting the Truth

A recurring McCarthy device is to play fast and loose with the record, even in cases where the record can be easily checked. An example of McCarthy's loose use of the truth could be found in McCarthy's November 1953 radio and television attack on former President Truman. In denouncing the former President, McCarthy said that Truman's definition of McCarthyism was exactly the same as that of the Communist *Daily Worker*. The definition, he said, was "identical, word for word, comma for comma."

After the broadcast, however, when asked what issue of the *Daily Worker* contained the Truman-employed definition, "an official source of the committee of Senator McCarthy," according to the United Press, qualified the McCarthy statement. It had not appeared in any single issue, this source said, but in selected phrases *put together* by McCarthy.

Thus, the quotation was not, as McCarthy had pretended, "word for word, comma for comma." Quite the contrary, it was a series of isolated phrases stretching over many issues which were assembled by McCarthy in order to present the wholly false impression that Truman had lifted the *Daily Worker's* precise language in describing McCarthyism.

Another significant example of this characteristic of McCarthyism—distortion by tampering with the truth—was on display in the fall of 1953 when McCarthy suddenly opened a new attack on the Pentagon, charging that it had sent out "clear-cut, Communist propaganda to 37 of its commands last year."

"If you read this and believed it, you would move to Russia," McCarthy told reporters, pointing to photostatic copies of 70 pages of a document he said was prepared for an indoctrination course for intelligence officers and others.

Reported by the Associated Press, Sept. 10, 1953

Army authorities were furious, not only because McCarthy had disclosed restricted security information in violation of the espionage laws, but because he had clearly distorted the real meaning of the Army's bulletin which was an intelligence study of the "psychological and cultural traits of Soviet Siberia," made in January, 1952, by the Far East Command.

By selecting certain passages from the report, McCarthy sought to back up his claim that the document was "95 per cent Communist propaganda." But in his release McCarthy significantly omitted precisely those portions of the report which clearly showed the intent to be the exposure of Communism as a way of life. For instance, McCarthy conveniently failed to make available to the press the conclusion of this Army survey which read as follows:

"The Soviet citizen enjoys neither the liberty nor the civil rights which we insist upon as a natural endowment of all men. The 'free worker' in the Soviet Union is as much chained to his job and local area as is the convict . . .

"He has no redress against a harsh authoritarian government . . . His voting rights are a travesty on the ideals and purposes of democracy . . . He is the helpless prisoner of a slave state . . . Such an existence would be intolerable to Americans. American traditions and beliefs militate against every facet of government activity in the U.S.S.R. British and American Communist sympathizers who visit the U.S.S.R. nearly always return in bitter disillusionment. There is no better antidote for radicalism."

McCarthy's failure to make this part of the report available to the press at the time he was denouncing the report as Communist propaganda shows again how lazy he believes others are. Perhaps he felt that Pentagon officials would not care to fight back, but it is difficult to understand why he would not know that newsmen would not be content to accept his handout, but rather would ask for permission to examine the entire report.

Another example and one which is a revealing study of McCarthyism in action came in a speech McCarthy gave in Milwaukee, Sept. 3, 1952, during his primary campaign for reelection. McCarthy said in the course of his address:

"There are those who say, 'But there are no longer Communists in government.' I am not going to ask you to take my word for that. I have in my hand the brief prepared by seven lawyers of the Justice Department dated July 28, 1952. Let me read to you from it:

" 'Illegal passports have been used to expedite travel in foreign countries by members of the Communist Party. Plans have been discussed by leading members of the party and agents of the Soviet secret police to obtain blank American passports from the [State] Department from Communists employed in the State Department.'

"For the benefit of the press, that's on page 91 of their very excellent and lengthy brief."

Two days later, on Sept. 5, the Associated Press reported from Washington that Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery had exposed the distortion McCarthy had made of the Department report. McGranery said that Paul Crouch, an acknowledged former Communist, had testified that in 1928 he had met a man identified as the head of the Russian secret police in the United States and learned from him that a plan was afoot to obtain

'Greatest Menace'

"The greatest menace to liberty we have had in a long time is McCarthyism . . . McCarthy will be blown sky high when people wake up to what he has done."

DR. JOHN LAPP
Former Director of the Social Science Department at Marquette University, The Jesuit College attended by McCarthy
March 2, 1951

blank passports from Communists employed in the State Department.

"His [McCarthy's] reference to 'plans' discussed to obtain blank American passports from Communists employed in the State Department does not mean that there were Communists employed in the State Department," McGranery said.

In other words McCarthy used a quotation from the Department's report which referred to a condition that was alleged to exist 24 years earlier under the Administration of Calvin Coolidge, to support his charge that there were Communists in government in 1952!

Another ingredient of McCarthyism is the reckless use of exaggeration to bolster a weak case or to create headlines for personal and political aggrandizement. An interesting example of this characteristic of McCarthyism was exhibited in the summer of 1953 when McCarthy returned to his home state to address the Republican Convention of Wisconsin in Madison, June 13, 1953.

In that speech McCarthy demanded that the Justice Department bring the "traitors" responsible for the ammunition shortage in Korea before a grand jury and make them answer for their crimes. McCarthy seemed to be basing his charge and demand on the investigation of the Senate Armed Services Committee. But Sen. Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts Republican and chairman of the committee, promptly asserted that there was nothing whatever in the disclosures before the Committee to indicate a "general picture of treason." The "only thing charged" by the investigators, Saltonstall told reporters, on June 15, 1953, was "inefficiency and bad manners"—certainly a far cry from treason.

McCarthy frequently attempts to prevent the publication of unfavorable material. A notable example occurred in late 1951 when Prof. Hornell Hart, professor of sociology and anthropology at Duke University, was preparing to publish his survey entitled, *McCarthy Versus the State Department*. Hart, more considerate than many authors, sent a preliminary draft of his study to McCarthy. He requested a factual criticism. Instead, he received from Jean Kerr, then McCarthy's secretary, a letter calling the survey "a

The Great Flop

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

typical Communist Party line smear upon Senator McCarthy." Convinced of the accuracy of his findings, Hart decided to go ahead with publication. McCarthy then wrote the president of Duke:

"The purpose of this letter is to call your attention to the fact that this preliminary draft of the Hart report contains a vast amount of the vicious, false, and libelous attacks which have been leveled at me by the *Daily Worker* and some of the Communist camp-following elements of the press and radio. This is to notify you personally of Mr. Hart's project, in case you are not aware of it at this time, and that I shall hold the University legally accountable for the publication of this document."

On Oct. 31, 1951, McCarthy wrote a second letter which contained the following:

"Unless I hear from you on or before Nov. 10 that you are taking steps to have retracted the false and defamatory statements made, I shall assume that the material in the publication meets with your aproval."

Despite these threats of libel action, Hart and Duke University went ahead with publication. When the Hart study appeared, McCarthy took refuge in silence.

Still another example involves the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, John F. Floberg. It was Floberg who had approved the award of medals to McCarthy *(See Pages 9-11)*, but apparently McCarthy was concerned that Floberg, in discussing his approval of medals for McCarthy, might delve into portions of McCarthy's service record which he preferred to leave undisturbed. As a result, on Jan. 2, 1953, McCarthy wrote Floberg saying that he had heard Floberg was "displaying classified material to unauthorized personnel." Further, said McCarthy, "this is to inform you that I am aware of this situation and you will be held fully accountable. Will you please prepare a report to me on such activities on your part, and have it available for presentation to me as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee?"

Note how McCarthy used the power of his position as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee to crack down on Floberg. Floberg wrote McCarthy Jan. 5, 1953, "you are hereby advised that I have not at any time disclosed any classified material to any unauthorized person or persons; any reports which you have received of any such conduct on my part are false."

'The Ruthless Effort to Make Himself Feared'

The recent uproar generated by McCarthy's violent clash with the U.S. Army—a case in which he accused high Army officials of "coddling Communists"—is perhaps the best recent example of McCarthyism in action. The background:

Dr. Irving Peress, a New York dentist, was called to duty as a captain Jan. 3, 1953. In the routine loyalty inquiry that followed, he invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions. In June, 1953, the commandant at Camp Kilmer, N. J., where Peress was stationed, recommended that the dentist be dismissed. **This was more than six months before McCarthy took a hand.**

But as a result of the Army's "hurry up and wait" delays known to every GI, Peress was not dismissed then. In a completely separate action Peress received an automatic promotion to major in October under the law requiring advancement of medical men according to age and

professional experience. On Feb. 2, 1954, he was given his honorable discharge.

Army officials, the New York *Times* reported Feb. 26, 1954, "admit certain aspects of the case have been poorly handled. . ." But, they were quick to point out, they "had no feasible legal alternative but to grant the dentist an honorable discharge under Defense Department directives. . ."

The case began to command front-page headlines when McCarthy summoned Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, new commandant at Kilmer, to a secret hearing. McCarthy's treatment of Zwicker angered Army officials. The official transcript shows that Zwicker, a combat veteran much decorated for heroism, had declined to answer some questions **because a Presidential order forbade Army officials from revealing details of loyalty investigations.** Zwicker's steadfast insistence on following Presidential orders enraged McCarthy into using language of this kind:

"General, let's try and be truthful." . . . "I cannot help but question either your honesty or your intelligence." . . . "Don't give me any of that double-talk." . . . "Anyone with the brains of a five-year-old child can understand that question." . . . "Any [General] who says, 'I will protect another General who protected Communists' is not fit to wear that uniform."

Afterward, McCarthy said, "I was too temperate."

Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, expressing resentment at the "unwarranted abuse of our loyal officers," ordered Zwicker and other Army officials not to appear before McCarthy and announced he would go himself.

But the showdown did not come off as scheduled. Stevens met, instead, with McCarthy and the other Committee Republicans. The outcome of the conference was universally interpreted as complete surrender by Stevens, for he agreed to give the McCarthy Committee the names of everyone involved in the Peress case, and consented to their appearance before the Committee.

Greatly troubled by the adverse public reaction to Stevens' capitulation to McCarthy, the Eisenhower Administration gave 100 per cent approval to a statement by Stevens which said: "I did not at that meeting [recede] . . . from any of the principles on which I stand. . . . I shall never accede to [Army personnel] . . . being browbeaten or humiliated. . . . From assurances . . . received from the Committee, I am confident they will not permit such conditions to develop in the future."

McCarthy struck back by accusing Stevens of having made "a completely false statement" about the assurances.

The violence of McCarthy's attack on Army officials created a front-page sensation throughout the world and measurably lowered American stature everywhere people could read. Even papers usually friendly to McCarthy were critical of his behavior. Thus, the Chicago *Tribune* commented: "McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel." H. V. Kaltenborn, veteran newscaster who said that up to then he had "enjoyed defending McCarthy," found it impossible to swallow McCarthy's conduct in this case. "McCarthy uses the same bludgeon to hit an honorable Army General that he swings at a treacherous Communist. He has become so vindictive . . . that he treats as an open enemy anyone who is not on his side. . . . He has become completely egotistical, arrogant, arbitrary, narrow-minded, reckless, and irresponsible. Power has corrupted him."

Frank Conniff, writing in the usually pro-McCarthy New York *Journal-American* (Hearst) said: "I think Joe owes the Army an apology but I doubt if our soldiers will get it; the Senator has sure lost his touch since he took up with those oil-rich, anti-Catholic Texas millionaires, the very same gang which threw the shiv at Al Smith back in 1928."

"O.K., Bud, When I Want You Again, I'll Send for You"

Summarizing the whole case for the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* Feb. 27, Walter Lippmann expressed the conclusion of countless middle-of-the-road newspapers and citizens when he said:

"Manifestly, McCarthy's purpose . . . was to demonstrate his power to intimidate the Army, to show that he was so powerful that he could reach over the head of the Commander-in-Chief and terrorize individual officers. . . .

"This is the totalitarianism of the man: his cold, calculated, sustained, and ruthless effort to make himself feared. That is why he has been staging . . . demonstrations, each designed to show that he respects nobody . . . and no institution in the land, and that everyone at whom he growls will run away."

The shocked outcry of press and public led Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who had previously called McCarthy an asset to the GOP, to say Mar. 2: "When he begins to attack persons who are fighting Communism just as conscientiously as he is, I can't go along with him."

On Mar. 3, the President denounced the "disregard of the standards of fair play" in Congressional investigations, and warned the nation that "in opposing Communism, we are defeating ourselves if either by design or carelessness we use methods that do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play."

McCarthy sought, as always, to reserve the last word for himself. He issued a statement sneering at the "silly tempest in a teapot" and characterized the criticism as "unprecedented mud-slinging . . . by the extreme left-wing elements of the press and radio. . ." McCarthy did not make it clear whether this designation was meant to include the Chicago *Tribune*, the Hearst press, and the scores of ultra-conservative dailies and radio commentators that had condemned his conduct.

'Striking at the Freedom of the Press'

"The Whole Thing Reeks With Totalitarianism," Said the Voice Of the U. S. Newspaper Profession

ONE OF the most frequently recurring characteristics of McCarthyism is his attempt to pin the Red label on those who criticize his methods and morals. This tendency has been especially marked in McCarthy's dealings with the nation's press.

At one time or another McCarthy has denounced as being practically indistinguishable from the Communist *Daily Worker* such leading American publications as the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the Washington *Post*, the Milwaukee *Journal*, the New York *Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, the Madison (Wis.) *Capital Times*, the Portland *Oregonian*, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and the Denver *Post*. In addition, McCarthy has accused the re-write desks of the three great news-gathering agencies, the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service, of doctoring and distorting stories dealing with his operations in Washington. *(McCarthyism: The Fight for America, by Joseph R. McCarthy, p. 3.)*

The principal characteristic of McCarthy's treatment of critical publications has been an attempt to intimidate them by smearing them as *"Daily Workers,"* threatening them with libel actions, and seeking to launch advertising boycotts against them.

Perhaps the best known case involves the Washington columnist, Drew Pearson. After Pearson had written several columns exposing some of McCarthy's operations in the Senate, McCarthy picked a fist fight with Pearson at a Washington club; on the wave of the publicity that followed, he made a two-hour Senate speech demanding that all his friends boycott Pearson's radio sponsor, the Adam Hat Company. Shortly afterward, the Adam Hat Company withdrew its sponsorship of Pearson's radio program, although officials of the company denied that they had acted in response to McCarthy's intimidation.

Late in 1951, McCarthy tangled with *Time* magazine. On Oct. 22, 1951, *Time* had carried a documented story showing that "after nearly two years of tramping the nation, shouting that he was rooting out the skunks" (Communists in government) McCarthy had failed to root out a single Communist. McCarthy struck back with an appeal to the magazine's advertisers to withdraw their patronage, with the familiar charge that the purpose of *Time's* story was to "obstruct the fight against Communists."

Time, however, refused to be intimidated. James A. Linen, publisher of the magazine, issued a statement on Nov. 9, 1951, saying, "We believe our interpretation and analysis of Sen. McCarthy's political activities is an honest and factual one drawn from months of interviews, research, checking, and cross-reference." Moreover, said Linen, *"Time's* record in the fight against Communism is long, clear, and consistent. It cannot be twisted around to make it appear that *Time* is obstructing that fight." Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*, in a letter to McCarthy Nov. 5, 1951, asserted that *"Time* feels you haven't lived up to those principles [of fairness] in your campaign against Communism."

'Betraying Principles of Decency'

Commenting on McCarthy's attempt to launch a boycott by *Time* advertisers—an effort which produced no noticeable results—the ultra-conservative Boston *Herald* said editorially Feb. 14, 1952:

"Sen. McCarthy is a good man with a smear, but he can't take it when he is on the receiving end of the tar brush. . . . This new technique of sandbagging newspaper and magazine critics through their advertisers is dangerous and should be stepped on promptly. It strikes at the very basis of an independent press and is as un-American in its essence as anything the Senator has criticized in others."

The Chattanooga *Times* observed Jan. 30, 1952, that McCarthy's boycott threat against *Time* involved "actions and attitudes that betray every principle of decency. . . . We have never witnessed a more disreputable act on the part of one who holds but does not honor, the position of United States Senator. . . . McCarthy does not deserve to sit in a body which represents the entire

nation and any investigation worthy of the name would confirm this fact."

One of McCarthy's more successful efforts at intimidation concerns the Syracuse (N. Y.) *Post-Standard,* which denounced the Senator in 1951 about the same time that *Time* did. McCarthy sued for $500,000. The *Post-Standard's* lawyers evidently decided that some of the paper's charges were not true, and that a settlement was in order. The settlement included some cash and a retraction that was unique. The retraction took back, not only the statements which the *Post-Standard* could not prove, but statements for which official support existed.

For example, the *Post-Standard* retracted its criticism of McCarthy's $10,000 Lustron housing pamphlet fee, by remarking that this deal was made "after the Republican Party had been defeated in the 1950 elections and had lost control of Congress and Sen. McCarthy was very unpopular with the Truman Administration. It is not possible, therefore, that Sen. McCarthy could have been useful to the Lustron Company with the Truman Administration."

The fact, as related officially in the Hennings Subcommittee Report on McCarthy in December 1952 *(See Pages 12-21),* was that McCarthy's Lustron deal was initiated not after the 1950 elections, **but before the 1948 elections**—in other words, while he was still vice chairman of a joint committee on housing which proved quite useful to Lustron by preparing legislation for RFC loans to prefabricated housing companies. McCarthy must be one of the few libel suit winners who has compelled the defendant not only to issue a retraction, but to rewrite history in his behalf.

Another revealing example of McCarthy's tactics was on display in his treatment of the Milwaukee *Journal,* largest daily in Wisconsin. After McCarthy's election to the Senate in 1946 the *Journal* hopefully editorialized: "We think that Joseph McCarthy has it in him to be a good Senator and a good representative of his state. . . . If Joe McCarthy will use his talents and his experience in behalf of the people of Wisconsin and the people of the United States, he can have a bright future in the U. S. Senate."

But the *Journal* soon found McCarthy's activities in Washington impossible to condone. It criticized him editorially. McCarthy struck back. Although the *Journal* is well-known in Wisconsin for the militancy of its anti-Communism, McCarthy promptly pinned the label of "the Milwaukee edition of the *Daily Worker*" on the *Journal.*

On Aug. 6, 1950, speaking at the convention of the Wisconsin Retail Grocers Association, McCarthy urged the retailers to withdraw their advertising. "Keep in mind when you send your checks over to the *Journal* or pay a nickel apiece, you are contributing to bringing the Communist Party line into the homes of Wisconsin."

Muddying the Waters

McCarthy taxed the credulity of even his warmest admirers when he suggested that the conservative *Saturday Evening Post* had fallen for the Communist line. In the July 9, 1950, issue of that magazine, Joseph and Stewart Alsop reported their critical impressions of McCarthy's activities in charging Communism in government. McCarthy angrily wrote Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post,* on Aug. 15, 1950: "It is disturbing to find that this article is almost 100 per cent in line with the official instructions issued Communists and fellow-traveling members of the press and radio by Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party."

Hibbs, who knew the Alsops' record of combating Communism, replied to McCarthy: "The Alsops and the *Saturday Evening Post* are against the employment of 'traitors and perverts' in government, just as you are. But we are also against wild, unsupported charges such as you have been making. We feel very strongly that the tactics you have employed succeed only in muddying the waters and playing into the hands of the enemy."

McCarthy's harassment of the press takes many forms. Thus, for instance, on Aug. 22, 1953, McCarthy, according to a United Press dispatch, announced that he had asked the Post Office Department to supply him with estimates on the cost of "subsidizing distribution" of the Washington *Post,* the *Wall Street Journal,* and the New York Communist *Daily Worker.*

In a letter to Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, McCarthy said that "they are typical examples of papers that overburdened taxpayers should not be called upon to subsidize."

On May 7, 1953, according to the Washington *Post* of that date, McCarthy directed Harvey Matusow, a one-time Communist, to supply the McCarthy Committee with a list of "all the names of Communists who have infiltrated the news media. . . . I realize that this will be a monumental task," McCarthy told Matusow, "so I will not set any date by which you are to complete it." Matusow is the man who told a Montana audience during the 1952 campaign that there were 126 "dues-paying Communists" on the staff of the Sunday New York *Times.* A check showed that the entire staff of the Sunday *Times* totaled only 93.

Wechsler Fights Back

Perhaps the most notorious case involving attempted intimidation of the press—a case in which McCarthy took on a considerable segment of the American press—was the dispute which arose from McCarthy's questioning of James A. Wechsler,

Planning Tomorrow's Menu

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

editor of the New York *Post*. Wechsler, who had been a young Communist in his teens, but had abandoned Communism more than 15 years ago to become one of the nation's most effective editorial foes of the Soviet line, had been high on McCarthy's list for a long time because Wechsler had been equally effective in exposing the machinations of the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

On Apr. 23, 1953, Wechsler was summoned (on 18 hours' notice) to testify before McCarthy's Investigating Subcommittee. The Subcommittee was ostensibly investigating the State Department's overseas libraries and Wechsler was called to testify on his views, his past, and his newspaper opinions and personnel.

The legal pretext was that Wechsler had written books which appeared on the shelves of U.S. overseas libraries. McCarthy, however, never was able to tell which of Wechsler's books had given offense. This, plus the equally obvious fact, clear in the official transcript of testimony, that McCarthy was much more interested in Wechsler's conduct of the *Post* than he was of the views expressed by Wechsler in his books, led to widespread denunciation of McCarthy's tampering with the free press. Of his experience as a witness before McCarthy, Wechsler has written:

"It is not quite possible to communicate the quiet horror of examination by McCarthy. I have no wounds to exhibit; I write what I please about McCarthy. I bear every external resemblance to the person I was a moment before the telephone call from Washington [summoning him to appear before the McCarthy Subcommittee]. But I do not commend the experience to anyone else. . . . No moment can be much more hideous than that in which your own estimate of yourself is alleged to be a case of mistaken identity; when you are charged with harboring the doctrine that you long ago renounced; and worst of all when you know that the men who are making the charge do not believe what they are saying. To be catapulted into the realm of madness without losing one's own reason is a rough journey." *(The Age of Suspicion, p. 323.)*

Wechsler recalled, in his book and in a series of articles he wrote for

James A. Wechsler

his paper, that in nailing down his anti-Communist credentials, he offered as an exhibit a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in December 1952 which said that the activities of Wechsler, along with a group of anti-Communist labor leaders, were largely responsible for wrecking the Communist attempt to roll up a big vote for the Progressive Party in the 1952 elections.

The Communist pronouncement had charged that "the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers, *et al*, paralyzed independent political action by protecting the myth that [Adlai] Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction."

The exhibit seemed to Wechsler "devastatingly conclusive. I thought it might even jar McCarthy. I underestimated the man. Suddenly the faint, familiar smile vanished from his face.

" 'Did you write that statement?' McCarthy asked sullenly.

"At first I wondered whether I had heard him correctly. When he made clear that I had, I asked whether the question was facetious. He repeated it, broadening it this time to ask whether I or one of my deputies had inspired the Communist attack on me.

"In what I will always recall as one of the most preposterous moments of my life, I thereupon solemnly denied under oath that I was the author of Communist statements denouncing myself!"

One of the most extraordinary statements from McCarthy came after Wechsler had seemed to meet every known test of anti-Communism. "I am convinced," said McCarthy, "**you have done exactly what you would do if you were a member of the Communist Party,** if you wanted to have a phony break to the advantage of the Communist Party." *(Hearings, Apr. 21, p. 276.)*

Some indication of what McCarthy was up to in his examination of Wechsler can be found in these quotes from the official transcript of the hearing:

"Do you have any other people who are or were members of the Young Communist League working for you on your newspaper? . . . Your record, as far as I can see it, has not been to fight Communism. You have fought every man who has ever tried to fight Communism. Your paper, in my opinion, is next to and almost paralleling the *Daily Worker*. . . Have you been making attacks on J. Edgar Hoover in the editorial columns of your paper? . . . Have you ever, in your editorial columns, over the last two years, praised the FBI? . . . Have you always been very critical of the heads of the Un-American Activities Committee? Do you think Jenner is doing a good job? . . . Do you know Bernard DeVoto? . . . No one who is an anti-Communist would put the New York *Post* on a shelf to fight Communism any more than they would use the *Daily Worker*. . . If you or I were a member of the Communist Party and we wanted to advance the Communist line, perhaps the most effective way of doing that would be to claim we deserted the party; and if we got in control of the paper, use that paper to attack and smear anybody who actually was fighting Communism. Now, without saying whether you have done it, you would agree that would be a good tactic, would you not? . . . I feel that you have not broken with Communist ideals. I feel that you are serving them very, very actively."

McCarthy's treatment of Wechsler brought a wave of angry editorials in many of the nation's leading newspapers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors appointed a committee to investigate. The committee divided, seven to four, on the

specific issue of whether McCarthy had violated the constitutional guarantee of a free press.

The majority of the committee confessed to some confusion. They could not make up their minds whether McCarthy had intended to punish or challenge Wechsler's opinions as an editor. They wondered if maybe McCarthy had only been interested in establishing the facts of what Wechsler's opinions were. Unable to agree that an offense to freedom of the press had been committed, the majority urged other editors to read the record and decide for themselves.

"A Dangerous Precedent"

Four members of the ASNE committee wrote a supplementary report in which they expressed their own strong conviction that McCarthy had been tampering with constitutional rights. "The people," said the report drafted by J. R. Wiggins, managing editor of the Washington *Post*, "suffer some diminution of their right to know fully and comment freely upon their government whenever a single newspaper, however worthy or unworthy, is subjected by one Senator, however worthy or unworthy, to inconvenience, expense, humiliation, ridicule, abuse, condemnation, and reproach, under the auspices of governmental power."

McCarthy sought to reserve the last word for himself. He issued a statement demanding that the ASNE Committee "investigate the extent to which the chairman of your Committee, Mr. Wiggins, through his paper, the Washington *Post*, has prostituted and endangered freedom of the press by constant false, vicious, intemperate attacks on anyone who dares expose any of the undercover Communists. . ."

But others sought and got the last word. William M. Tugman, editor of the Eugene, Ore., *Register-Guard*, who was a member of the special committee, characterized McCarthy's attack on the Washington *Post* as "another move to try to intimidate editors for their honest opinions. . . The Senator's attack on Mr. Wiggins verifies the conclusions we made in reviewing the Wechsler case."

As for the larger issue, whether McCarthy's grilling of Wechsler involved an attempt to investigate the *Post's* editorials, the most significant comment came from *Editor and Publisher*, the newspaper industry's leading trade publication, which concluded that McCarthy had indeed sought to probe into editorials criticizing McCarthy. Said Robert U. Brown, the publication's editor:

". . . Nevertheless, that is just what he did do." Continued Brown: "The Senator has every right to attack the *Post*, its editor, or any other newspaper or newspaper man. But we think it is an abuse of his position, and a dangerous precedent, for him to use the forum of his investigating Committee to accuse an editor of subservience to the Communist cause because that editor's writings are not to his liking. Particularly is this so when the chairman of the Committee approaches such a hearing with pre-conceived ideas and refuses to review every aspect of the record objectively."

The strongly pro-American London *Economist* found Wechsler's courageous response to McCarthy's attempts at intimidation the beginning of what it hoped would be a general movement in the American press to fight back. Said the *Economist;* "It has been particularly dismaying throughout this whole period of McCarthyism that the people who control the media of public communication, though they have a vested interest in freedom of thought and expression, have on the whole refused to fight back. It seems to have taken Mr. Wechsler to show that blood could be drawn even under klieg lights."

America, the national Catholic weekly review published by the Jesuits, concluded after examining the evidence that Wechsler was hauled before McCarthy "because he has dared to engage in a give-no-quarter fight against McCarthyism. Having had some experience of the way the Senator goes about 'replying' to his critics, we admire Wechsler's refusal to play dead."

Perhaps the most effective summary of McCarthy's relations with the press, as indeed in every other aspect of McCarthyism in action, appeared in the newspaper profession's eminently conservative organ, *Editor and Publisher*. Said that magazine at the time McCarthy was threatening *Time* magazine with an advertising boycott:

"When a United States Senator attempts to silence criticism in the press by high-pressuring advertisers into dropping their economic support of a publication, that is a new low in politics.

"This strikes at the very roots of press freedom—the economic power that makes a free press possible. It is one thing to answer or attack critics—it is another thing to attempt to intimidate and silence them. And in this case the dignity and influence of the U.S. Senate is being perverted to this sin.

"The whole thing reeks with totalitarianism."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"You Wouldn't Criticize Me, Would You, Pal?"

Off McCarthy's Wagon

"We have just completed our own personal survey on the subject of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

"At the recent Centennial Convention of the Wisconsin Press Association we talked with 16 publishers, all of whom have actively supported 'Jumbled Joe' during his recent campaign. Of the 16, no less than 11 have had enough. They're off Joe's wagon for keeps. Four more had lost so much of their enthusiasm for Joe that they no longer support him, although they aren't actively opposing him. One—just one of the 16—stilll regards Joe as the Moses to lead us out of the wilderness."

Sauk City *Star*
June 4, 1953

WIN at any cost

The Truth About the Man Who Ran With Communist Support and Then Reached Out for the Support of the Far Right

CRITICS of Sen. McCarthy frequently assert that his tactics are strikingly similar to those of the Communists, whose ideology he denounces so passionately. If his manner of operation, they say, were to be distilled into a written dogma, as the Communist creed has been, it would show no less devotion to the doctrine that the end justifies the means. As Arthur Eisenhower, the President's brother, put it July 24, 1953, McCarthy's purpose is power and his strategy to "keep his name in the papers at all costs."

Patient research into the techniques of McCarthy's political campaigns results in the conclusion that his one all-dominating consideration has been to win at any cost. To achieve his ends he has failed to repudiate support from the extreme left and extreme right, including Communists on the far left and some of the most disreputable, hate-mongering, fascist-minded groups in the nation on the far right.

McCarthy's first experiences in public life are discussed in an earlier chapter. This section is concerned with his political conduct in the years since he first became a candidate for U.S. Senator.

In 1944 McCarthy ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination against the incumbent, Sen. Alexander Wiley, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In preparation for that campaign, he faced two obstacles: 1) he was in military service in the Pacific, and 2) Wisconsin law made it a felony for a judge to run for a political office. His friends helped him overcome both by launching his campaign for him and by having the 1943 session of the Wisconsin legislature repeal the law. (There was also a constitutional provision against judges running for political office, but that was ignored. *See Page 7.)*

McCarthy's friends ran the 1944 campaign for him for a while. He was presented to the public by a former Hearst editor and Milwaukee public relations man, James Colby, as a "fighting Marine" who had waived his immunity to military service and "enlisted as a buck private in the Marine Corps," though he never served an hour as a private.

In July of 1944, with many dreary and dangerous weeks of fighting ahead for his Marine buddies, McCarthy wangled a leave and was back in Wisconsin where he managed to show himself at numerous political rallies in his Marine uniform.

The Communists Help to Elect McCarthy Senator

The 1944 campaign is remembered principally for the chapter it added to the story of McCarthy's curious financial affairs. The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, which later investigated his financial affairs *(See page 12)*, found that the Committee to Elect Joseph R. McCarthy to the U.S. Senate filed reports with the Wisconsin Secretary of State, showing the following contributions to the campaign:

HOWARD MCCARTHY (brother)	$10,600
TIM MCCARTHY (father)	4,000
ROMAN KORNELY (brother-in-law)	3,000

On page 27 of its report the Senate Subcommittee drew this conclusion about the financing of the 1944 campaign: "In that these relatives of Sen. McCarthy do not appear to be people of substantial means and for the further reason that Sen. McCarthy made a profit on securities transactions in excess of $40,000 in 1943 and withdrew most of these profits in 1944 prior to the Aug. 14 primary election, it might appear possible that the $17,600 allegedly contributed by Sen. McCarthy's relatives were, in fact, personal expenditures of Sen. McCarthy."

McCarthy was defeated in the primary by Sen. Wiley. After resigning from the Marines Dec. 11, 1944, he returned to begin the campaign that was to defeat Sen. Robert M. La-Follette, Jr., in 1946.

During the campaign of 1946 the mail boxes in the cities and rural routes were jammed with literature showing McCarthy in his dashing "tail-gunner's" outfit.

But perhaps the most important single factor in winning the nomination for McCarthy was the help given him by the Communists. It seems in-

Wisconsin Edition

The CIO NEWS

La Follette Shields Role Of Reactionaries, Says Seaman Body Union in Sharp Answer

Blast LaFollette Plea For Tolerance Toward Nazi Germany, Fascist Leaders

Out Of The White House . . .

As a Matter of Fact

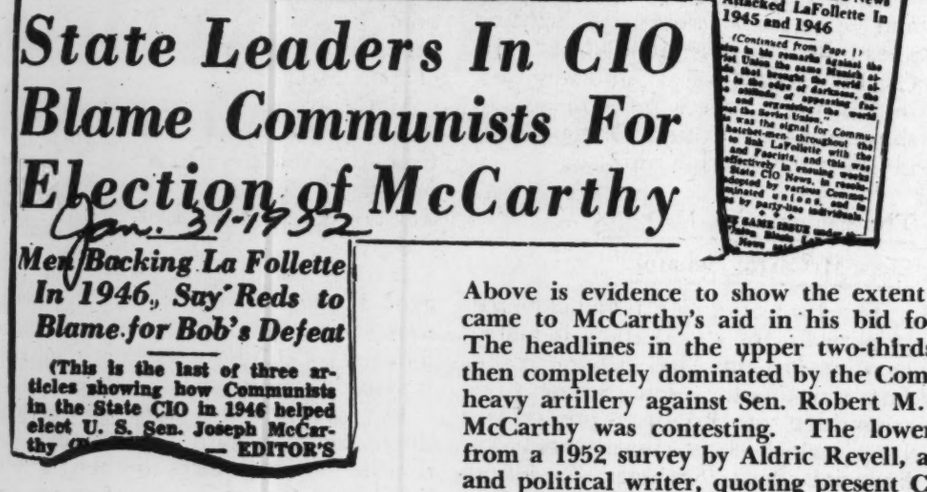
Ask LaFollette Deny Links With Pro-Fascist, Gerald Smith Groups

La Follette's 'Tolerance' and The Peoples' 'Vengeance' . . .

Oshkosh Auto Leader Flays LaFollette for Disunity Stand

Unions Call LaFollette Attack a Betrayal

Communists Helped to Elect McCarthy, Defeat Bob LaFollette In '46 Campaign



How Reds Aided Sen. McCarthy To Win Office

Red-Controlled CIO News Attacked LaFollette In 1945 and 1946

State Leaders In CIO Blame Communists For Election of McCarthy

Men Backing La Follette In 1946, Say Reds to Blame for Bob's Defeat

(This is the last of three articles showing how Communists in the State CIO in 1946 helped elect U. S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy — EDITOR'S

credible now that McCarthy should owe his membership in the U.S. Senate to the Communist Party, but any informed appraisal of the factors in the 1946 campaign can lead to no other conclusion.

The Communists were in control of the Wisconsin CIO during the 1946 campaign. The state secretary, the key man in the organizational apparatus, was Melvin Heinritz, a member of the Communist Party. The *Wisconsin CIO News* was diverted to the role of a propaganda sheet for the Communists. Its influence extended deep in the 75,000 rank-and-file members of the CIO unions.

In May of 1945 LaFollette had delivered a major address on the Senate floor warning the nation of the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union. That was enough for the Communists. Through the CIO in Wisconsin they opened up on LaFollette at just about the same time that Circuit Judge McCarthy was focussing his sights on the veteran Senator.

The line was laid down and sent out through the locals. *The CIO News* began a systematic smear attack which reached a crescendo of vilification in the closing weeks of the campaign. *(See cut.)*

The Communists falsified Bob LaFollette's voting record and refused to correct the lies when ordered to do so by officials of the national CIO. According to *McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, and the Ism,* by Anderson and May, reporters asked McCarthy about this Communist attack on his opponent. "Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else, don't they?" McCarthy is reported to have answered. *(Page 104.)*

LaFollette's strength had always been great in the labor areas of Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, but McCarthy captured all three and thereby won the election. LaFollette was defeated by a margin of 5,378 out of a total 410,474 votes cast. It was clear enough, and CIO officials have

Above is evidence to show the extent to which the Communists came to McCarthy's aid in his bid for the U.S. Senate in 1946. The headlines in the upper two-thirds are from the CIO News, then completely dominated by the Communists. They threw their heavy artillery against Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., whose seat McCarthy was contesting. The lower one-third shows excerpts from a 1952 survey by Aldric Revell, anti-Communist CIO leader and political writer, quoting present CIO leaders as exposing the extent to which the Communists helped McCarthy in 1946.

confirmed the fact, that without Communist support McCarthy would have been beaten.

Later in that year the anti-Communist forces in the Wisconsin CIO were successful in cleaning the Communists out. Herman Steffes, Milwaukee, was elected state president. In an interview in 1952 with the Madison *Capital Times* Steffes said, "The Communists were definitely responsible for the election of McCarthy."

Harvey Kitzman, Milwaukee, director of District 10, UAW-CIO, said, "The Communists certainly did defeat LaFollette and elect McCarthy. They are the people mainly responsible for McCarthy. They played a big role in his election." Walter Kappel, UAW-CIO representative, said, "There is no doubt in my mind that the Communists were mainly responsible for electing McCarthy. They were strongest in Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and that's where McCarthy ran ahead of LaFollette." Said John Giacomo, international representative of the CIO Steelworkers, "The Communists certainly were responsible for the defeat of LaFollette and the election of McCarthy. They didn't come out publicly and say to vote for McCarthy but they opposed LaFollette with everything they had and that was the same thing."

McCarthy won the general election against his Democratic opponent, Howard McMurray, by a vote of 620,430 to 378,772. After the election he was interviewed Nov. 10, 1946, by Lawrence C. Eklund of the Milwaukee *Journal,* who quoted the Senator-elect as saying:

"Stalin's proposal for world disarmament," he said, "is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere about it." (McCarthy waited eight years before repudiating the quotation, but the Milwaukee *Journal's* president and editor, J. D. Ferguson, publicly announced Dec. 6, 1953, that the quotation was accurate in every respect. "Sen. McCarthy," he said, "conveniently forgets or denies statements which might now embarrass him.")

It is nonsense, of course, to couple Red votes for McCarthy with his accolade for Stalin and conclude that McCarthy was or is pro-Communist. But many a McCarthy victim has been publicly pilloried with far less evidence.

McCarthy Goes After MacArthur in 1948

McCarthy's next excursion into a Wisconsin political campaign was in the Presidential preference primary in the spring of 1948. Thomas E. Coleman, boss of the state GOP, had put together a slate of delegates for Harold Stassen, on which McCarthy was a candidate for delegate-at-large. A slate was in the field for Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who had wired from Tokyo that he would consider himself "derelict" in his duties as a citizen if he were called and did not serve. Thomas E. Dewey also had a slate in the field.

It was clear that the Stassen slate, with the backing of the Coleman machine, was the most formidable in the field. But a strong appeal was being made on behalf of MacArthur, principally on the grounds that he was a "native son" who claimed residence in Milwaukee. Stassen supporters sought to explode the "native son" appeal and to plant the notion that the General was an old man and also a divorced man. It was McCarthy who did the hatchet job.

In a letter that went out all over the state, with particular attention paid to church groups that frown on divorce, McCarthy said, "Gen. MacArthur has been a great General. But he is now ready for retirement. He would be 72 years old before a term as President ended. Twice before we have had Presidents who became physically weakened during their term of office and both times it had very sad results for our country. . .

"On returning to Wisconsin," McCarthy continued, "I notice that hundreds of big campaign billboards tell the people to support the General because he is a native son of Wisconsin. The Hearst papers, which are booming the General's candidacy, refer to him as the 'Wisconsin-born General.' This is not true.

"The General was born in Little Rock, Ark., on Jan. 26, 1880, and not in Wisconsin. He is not listed on any poll list as a voter of Wisconsin. Neither his first nor his second marriage, nor his divorce, took place in Wisconsin. He was first married in Florida to Mrs. Walter Brooks of Baltimore, who now lives in Washington, D.C. After she divorced him in Reno, Nev., he was remarried in New York City. Neither wife ever resided or voted in Wisconsin. In a sworn marriage application for his second marriage he did not claim Wisconsin as his residence, but gave Manila as his residence and Baltimore, Md., as the domicile of his former marriage."

A majority of Stassen's delegates were elected, among them McCarthy.

In 1952, when Gen. MacArthur was four years older than when McCarthy urged his retirement from active public life, McCarthy suggested publicly that the hero of the Pacific would be a good candidate for President.

McCarthy's next major appearance in the limelight was to be his biggest. On Jan. 7, 1950, he was having dinner at the Colony Club in Washington with Father Edmund Walsh, dean of Georgetown University's foreign-

'Homespun Totalitarianism'

Dr. Chad Walsh, a director of Episcopal *Church News,* the national Episcopal magazine, said at Appleton, Wis., McCarthy's home town, Sept. 3, 1953, that "international Communism and domestic McCarthyism" are twin threats, and the Christian churches must lead America's fight against them.

"Our danger is that McCarthyism will gradually grow into a homespun variety of totalitarianism, and will destroy our liberties as surely as Communism would. The antics of the McCarthyites are made to order for the propaganda purposes of international Communism.

"I am sure that McCarthyites are not intentionally aiding the international conspiracy of Soviet Communism, but if they were Communist agents they could not be doing a more useful job, from Russia's viewpoint. The wilder the McCarthyites grow, the weaker they leave America, and the stronger the position of international Communism."

service school, Col. William A. Roberts, Washington attorney who represents Drew Pearson, and Prof. Charles Kraus, of Georgetown's political science department. (Notes on this conference appear in the diary of a close associate of one of the participants; the story is also published in Anderson and May's *McCarthy,* page 172, and has appeared frequently in the press without challenge from McCarthy.)

McCarthy was worried about his political future. His stock had been dropping back home. His income tax scandals had rocked the state; his "quickie" divorces and his troubles with the bar association and the state Supreme Court were not easy to explain.

McCarthy confided that he needed an issue for his 1952 bid for re-election. Several suggestions were made, but McCarthy was intrigued by the possibility that he try Communism in government as an issue. None of McCarthy's three dinner companions had any notion of the kind of show he would conduct.

The 'Despicable Back Street' Campaign in Maryland

McCarthy put the suggestion into effect a month later with the now well-known speech at Wheeling, W. Va. *(See Pages 22-29 for a full report of the Wheeling speech and McCarthy's subsequent leap into the limelight.)*

In the Maryland campaign of 1950 McCarthy had a chance to test the Communists-in-government issue as a political possibility for himself. Sen. Millard Tydings, conservative Maryland Democrat, was up for re-election.

Tydings had headed the special Senate investigating committee which found that McCarthy's charges of Communists in government were a "fraud and a hoax." McCarthy had determined to "get" Tydings, and he jumped into the Maryland campaign with his Communist issue. Tydings was defeated, though there is considerable disagreement about the effect of McCarthy's influence.

A Senate committee composed of two Republicans and three Democrats looked into the Maryland campaign. These Senators were Robert C. Hendrickson (Republican, N. J.); Margaret Chase Smith (Republican, Maine); A. S. Mike Monroney (Democrat, Okla.); Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Democrat, Mo.); and Guy M. Gillette (Democrat, Ia.).

The Senators unanimously concluded that the Maryland election "brought into sharp focus certain campaign tactics and practices that can best be characterized as . . . destructive of fundamental American principles." *(Senate Report No. 647, 82nd Congress, 1st session, p. 6.)*

It was, the report continued, a "despicable 'back street' type of campaign which usually, if exposed in time, backfires."

A four page tabloid, entitled *From the Record,* flooded Maryland. This tabloid featured what the Committee report called the "infamous composite picture" which through a process of photographic faking showed Tydings "in close physical proximity to Earl Browder, Communist leader."

"The tabloid," the Committee found, "contains misleading half truths, misrepresentations, and false innuendos that maliciously and without foundation attack the loyalty and patriotism not only of Sen. Millard Tydings, who won the Distinguished Service Cross for battlefield heroism in World War I, but also the entire membership of the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1950."

Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, then Mrs. Ruth McCormick Miller and publisher of Col. Robert R. McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald,* testified before the Committee that "the first time I heard of the contemplated production of the tabloid was when Sen. McCarthy called me that a group of persons interested in Sen. Butler's [Tydings' Republican opponent] campaign were considering producing a tabloid and Sen. McCarthy asked me if they reached a decision to produce such a thing could the *Times-Herald* do the job." *(Hearings, pp. 431-2.)*

"Stop That! McCarthy Will Demand Space for a Reply"

The Committee concluded from the evidence that "Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin was actively interested in the campaign to the extent of making his staff available for work on research, pictures, composition, printing of the tabloid *From the Record.*" *(Senate Report, p. 5.)*

Although the Committee did not charge McCarthy with personal responsibility for the composite picture of Browder and Tydings, it reported that members of "his [McCarthy's] staff, and particularly Miss Jean Kerr, his research assistant, vigorously supported the propriety of the tabloid and composite photograph in their testimony." *(Senate Report, p. 23.)*

On Page 9 of its report the Committee—Democrats and Republicans alike—offered this serious recommendation to the Senate: "The question of unseating a Senator for acts committed in a Senatorial election should not be limited to the candidates in such elections. Any sitting Senator, regardless of whether he is a candidate in the election himself, should be subject to expulsion by action of the Senate, if it finds such Senator engaged in practices and behavior that make him, in the opinion of the Senate, unfit to hold the position of U.S. Senator."

The Aug. 17, 1951, issue of *The Commonweal,* the Catholic weekly, said editorially, "Such campaign methods and tactics are destroying our system of free elections and undermining the very foundation of our government. . . If the West Point cadets are to be tried for cheating, why not McCarthy? . . . The issue here is not whether or not Communism must be fought at home; it must. The issue is whether or not we have the intelligence and the courage to do it in the American way, or whether we will leave the job—and our liberties—to a man who runs

along the back streets to do his cheating when he hasn't the stuff it takes to do things the straight and open way."

When McCarthy came up for reelection in 1952, more than two years had passed since he went to Wheeling, W. Va., on Feb. 9, 1950, to make Communism in government his issue. He had become a national figure and was attracting a fanatical following, many of them Americans who seemed genuinely convinced that McCarthy was the only person in government fighting Communism.

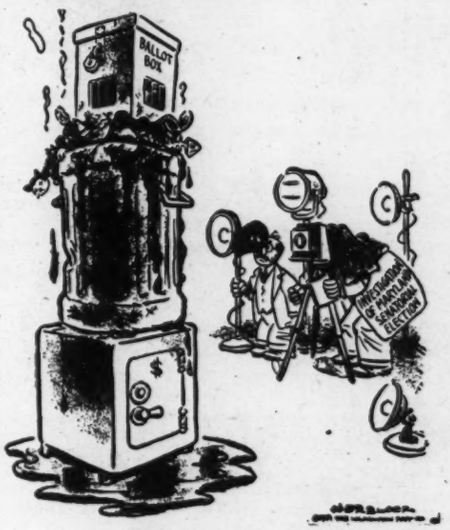
In the primary election he defeated an independent Republican, Leonard F. Schmidt, 515,481 to 213,701. McCarthy made but one major speech, at a Milwaukee Republican rally, broadcast over a network of 31 radio stations in Wisconsin, during the primary race.

In it McCarthy appealed for votes, saying that he needed them "badly." But most significant, in view of his subsequent attitude toward the Eisenhower Administration, was his failure to ask support for the GOP Presidential candidate. His only reference to Eisenhower was a critical one, made without mentioning his name.

His Democratic opponent in the general election was Thomas E. Fairchild, a brilliant young attorney who had served as Wisconsin's Attorney General and as the U.S. Attorney for the western district of Wisconsin.

McCarthy divided his time between campaigning in Wisconsin and barnstorming other states in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates. He likes to take credit for the defeat of Sen. William Benton of Connecticut and Sen. Blair Moody of Michigan, and other Democratic incumbents against whom he campaigned. But he carefully avoids mention of the fact that he also went into Washington, Missouri, and Montana, where despite a Republican trend in those states, he was unsuccessful in preventing the defeat of three of his closest Senatorial cronies: Cain of Washington, Kem of Missouri, and Ecton of Montana. Perhaps the most notable exhibition of McCarthy's lack of pulling power was displayed in the state of Washington. There McCarthy worked hard for his most effusive supporter in the Senate, Harry Cain. But while Dwight Eisenhower carried the state for the Republican Party

Non-Composite Campaign Picture



Herblock in The Washington Post

by a majority of 100,000, McCarthy's friend Cain was defeated by the Democrat, Henry Jackson, by 134,000 votes.

McCarthy's bid in Wisconsin was well-financed and was conducted through two principal organizations, the Republican Party and the McCarthy Club. The latter raised money across the nation for the campaign. Advertisements appeared in newspapers throughout the country soliciting contributions. Letters were sent to McCarthy's new-found friends among the oil millionaires of Texas. *(Milwaukee Journal, Dec. 20, 1953.)*

A flood of out-of-state money poured in. Among the contributors were such well-known men as H. R. Cullen, multi-millionaire Houston oil man, who came through with one of the largest single contributions, $5,000; Seymour Weiss, one of the top figures in the old Huey Long machine in Louisiana, who was sent to jail for tax and mail frauds; Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Craig R. Sheaffer of the Sheaffer Pen Co.; and Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, long identified as a major figure in the "China Lobby".

McCarthy roamed the state. The Associated Press reported that at Eau Claire he told an audience he would make a "good American" out of Adlai Stevenson if he were put aboard Stevenson's campaign train with "a slippery elm club."

McCarthy never permitted anything but the Communist issue to be raised in his campaign. He ignored repeated attempts of the Democrats to smoke him out on his voting record. Questions designed to get an explanation of his strange financial operations and tax difficulties brought the reply that the questions were "Communist inspired."

McCarthy continued to ignore his Wisconsin opponents until the last days of the campaign when he was forced to recognize the gravity of a charge brought against him by Edward P. Morgan, former administrative assistant to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and a specialist on Communist activities. Speaking over WTMJ-TV Nov. 2, 1952, Morgan charged that McCarthy, "in a mad effort to justify his charges of Communism in the State Department, produced a thick document on the Senate floor" which "two agents of the FBI told me was an out and out forgery." *(Quoted in the Milwaukee* Journal, *Nov. 3, 1952)*

McCarthy felt obliged to answer in his last campaign talk on the night of Nov. 3 at his home town of Appleton. McCarthy called the Morgan charge a "new low in campaign degeneracy," accused Morgan of "posing" as an FBI agent, and flourished a telegram from Hoover saying Morgan now had no official connection with the FBI. This was a typical McCarthy diversion, for Morgan had emphasized in his TV presentation that he was a *former* FBI agent and was now practising law in Washington. McCarthy made no effort whatever to answer the Morgan charge of forgery, nor has he instituted libel or slander action against the former FBI official.

McCarthy's Role as Hatchet Man in 1952

The most spectacular part he played in the 1952 campaign was in his old role of hatchetman. His talents were mobilized for the task of smearing Adlai Stevenson as disloyal.

On Sept. 4 he had announced in Milwaukee that he was checking the Stevenson record. He said, "We are finding proof not of guilt by association but of guilt by collaboration." Addressing himself directly to Stev-

enson, he declared, "After your entire record is given them, and I can assure you it will be given before Nov. 4, if the American people want you, they can have you. I don't think they will."

From then on there was a steady build-up for the day when McCarthy would "tell all" about Stevenson. A $78,000 radio and television network show was scheduled to be broadcast from Chicago on Oct. 27.

The money was raised by a group headed by Gen. Wood. Some of the most generous contributors were Texas oil millionaires whose support McCarthy had attracted. One of the contributors was C. W. Murchison, a Dallas oilman who has been host to McCarthy at his fabulous homes during the Senator's visits to Texas. Other Texans listed were W. L. Golstan, Houston, and E. B. Germany, Dallas.

The attack was delivered in the familiar McCarthy style. Prof. William H. Pedrick of Northwestern University Law School soberly analyzed the McCarthy charges in a scholarly article on the law of libel in the May-June, 1953, issue of *Northwestern University Law Review*. Prof. Pedrick cites several examples of the McCarthy technique, of which this one is typical:

McCarthy speaking: ". . . Stevenson says, 'I was the man who formulated [our post-war Italian] policy' . . . and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency [Gen. Walter Bedell Smith] says the policy then was to 'connive' to put Communists into the Italian government, 'connive' and to bring Togliatti, the Communist leader, back from Moscow, which they did. Now I wonder what their defense of Stevenson's plans for foisting the Communists upon the Italians will be."

Prof. Pedrick's investigation produced the following facts: Stevenson had headed a Foreign Economic Administration mission to survey and report on Italian economic problems in 1943. The report he submitted was classified secret, but that did not prevent McCarthy from speaking as though he were summarizing the document, although he made no claim that he had read it.

"To support his charge that Stevenson formulated a policy of 'conniving' to put Communists into the

Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

"You Sure Knocked Some Loyalty Into Them, Senator"

Italian government," Prof. Pedrick said, "Sen. McCarthy refers to Walter Bedell Smith's *My Three Years in Moscow*.

"Nowhere in Smith's book is Stevenson's name mentioned nor for that matter is any reference made to the Italian Foreign Economic Administration mission or its report. If Smith undertook to give any credit for our wartime political policy in Italy, it was to Gen. Eisenhower and Mr. Robert Murphy, his chief political adviser."

Two days after the McCarthy speech, the Stevenson report was declassified.

"What does the report show as regards the mission's recommendations concerning Communist participation in the Italian government?" Prof. Pedrick asks.

"The answer is—nothing, nothing at all. Nowhere in the report is the name of Togliatti nor the Communist Party mentioned. The mission simply did not address itself to the problem of the elements to be considered for participation in a government for a democratic Italy."

McCarthy also charged disloyalty against five of Stevenson's advisers and supporters. The charge against Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard historian, is typical.

McCarthy said: "Now in 1946, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., says the present system in the United States makes even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia. . ."

The quotation is taken from an article in *Life* magazine for July 29, 1946. It appeared under the title, "THE U. S. COMMUNIST PARTY—SMALL BUT TIGHTLY DISCIPLINED, IT STRIVES WITH FANATIC ZEAL TO PROMOTE THE AIMS OF RUSSIA." Written at a time when McCarthy was receiving Communist help to defeat Bob LaFollette in Wisconsin, the article was one of the most effective anti-Communist pieces of its day and was written after consultation with Whittaker Chambers, among others.

Schlesinger had written that the way to defeat Communism is to eliminate its breeding grounds—poverty and discrimination. "The Communists," he said, "are looking to a next depression as their happy hunting ground. The way to defeat them is not pass repressive legislation or return Martin Dies to public service, but to prevent that depression and to correct the faults and injustices in our present system, which make even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia."

America, the well-known Jesuit weekly, in the issue of Nov. 22, 1952, called the McCarthy attack on Stevenson a "cheap stunt" and in its issue of Dec. 13, 1952, said, "That Sen. McCarthy, without a shred of warrant, set out to smear the reputation of Gov. Stevenson by trying to wrap up his candidacy in *The Daily Worker* seems to this writer, in view of the evidence, simply incontrovertible."

McCarthy Runs Far Behind His Own Party

On the night before the 1952 election McCarthy went on a radio network and again repeated his charges against Stevenson and his advisers. To his supporters he had risen to a new and heroic stature. If Eisenhower and the other Republicans should carry Wisconsin the next day, they told each other and McCarthy, it would be because McCarthy turned the trick.

The people of Wisconsin made a somewhat more restrained assessment. When the votes were counted on the night of Nov. 4, it was found that McCarthy had trailed far behind the

rest of the Republican ticket and might have fallen if the Republican sweep had not been so strong as to carry him along.

Gov. Kohler, for example, ran 407,327 votes ahead of his Democratic opponent. Gen. Eisenhower ran 357,569 ahead of Stevenson. Republican Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman, an outspoken foe of McCarthy whom McCarthy had attempted to purge in the primary, ran 505,300 votes ahead of his Democratic opponent; he led the whole Republican ticket, and polled the highest vote ever given to any candidate in the history of Wisconsin. McCarthy beat Fairchild by 139,042 votes. His margin of victory was 102,616 less than it was in the general election of 1946 against his Democratic opponent, when he ran as a comparatively unknown circuit judge and ex-Marine, and considerably less than every other Republican on the state ticket.

McCarthy did not let his comparatively shabby showing in the Wisconsin election prevent him from darting back into the limelight and reaching out for a major role of leadership in the Republican Party. It is now fairly well settled that he will play a prominent part in the Republican campaign of 1954 to retain control of Congress, for McCarthy has repeatedly declared his determination to campaign this year for Congressional candidates who share his views.

But the big question concerns 1956. Will McCarthy make a bid for the Presidency?

In Wisconsin some of McCarthy's life-long friends know that such ambitions are not beyond his conceptions of the politically possible. Some claim to have heard his boasts that he would someday be the first Catholic President of the United States. His friends know him as a gambler who plays for high stakes.

McCarthy's White House ambitions have claimed much national attention in recent months, particularly since he challenged the leadership of the Eisenhower Administration on basic issues in the closing weeks of 1953. Those ambitions were known in Wisconsin long before.

John Wyngaard is an able Wisconsin newspaperman who covers the state capitol at Madison for a string of Republican papers in the state. He is a close political confidant of the Wisconsin Senator and a long-time personal friend. To Wyngaard's children, McCarthy is known as "Uncle Joe." Richard Wilson, chief Washington correspondent for the Cowles papers, named Wyngaard, in the Dec. 1, 1953, *Look* magazine article entitled "The Ring Around McCarthy," as one of the newspapermen close to McCarthy. Wyngaard's columns in Wisconsin papers are watched carefully for clues as to McCarthy's moves and moods. As long ago as Oct. 9, 1951, Wyngaard reported to his papers that McCarthy "has been importuned by some of his admirers around the country to enter his name in a few of the early state Presidential preference primaries" of 1952.

"McCarthy's career to date has not been distinguished by the caution of his approach," Wyngaard wrote. "While there is nothing to indicate that McCarthy intends to make the biggest jump of his spectacular political life, those who have followed him closely know also that they will not be surprised if such a decision comes."

McCarthy decided against showing his hand in 1952, possibly because, as Wyngaard pointed out, if the plan failed "it would probably have a disastrous effect upon his candidacy for Senator in his home state" and because the "barest announcement of such a plan would be detrimental—giving his critics an opportunity to say that his Communist-hunting exploits were calculated solely for his own political aggrandizement."

The Wisconsin Senator's recent repeated denials that he has Presidential aspirations are probably motivated in part by the realization that it is not good politics to let his ambitions show too obviously. On a radio program in Washington Dec. 6, 1953, he said he had "no desire" to be President and there was "no possibility" that he would run.

"You Mean I'm Supposed To Stand on That?"

This cartoon by Herblock, Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist for the Washington Post, is the first-known use of the word "McCarthyism." It appeared Mar. 29, 1950.

Opening Up on the Eisenhower Administration

Speculation about his ambitions broke into headlines all over the country after his nationwide radio and TV broadcast Nov. 24, 1953, when he charged the Eisenhower Administration with "batting zero" in the removal of some disloyal individuals from government and insisted that he, McCarthy, would be the issue in the 1954 campaign. It was given greater impetus when, a few days later, he made an appeal that people write and wire the President to change what Secretary of State Dulles called the "heart of our foreign policy."

Newsmen who study McCarthy at close range saw his ambitions long before this, however. On Oct. 27, 1952, the Alsop brothers, two of the most influential of Washington correspondents who write for the Republican New York *Herald Tribune*, reported that "the prize he is playing for is nothing less than the Republican Presidential nomination in 1956." A survey of opinion among Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington caused the Alsops to report Apr. 16, 1953, that "it is almost universally agreed that McCarthy's objective is the Presidency and nothing less."

The immediate reaction regarding the motivation of McCarthy's Nov. 24, 1953, speech blasting both former President Harry Truman and the Eisenhower Administration was the same in both the pro-McCarthy and anti-McCarthy press. One of his

staunchest supporters in Wisconsin, Editor John Chapple of the Ashland *Press,* immediately called for McCarthy's nomination in 1956. "Let Eisenhower be a one-term President," he said. "He deserves no more. Let him make way, however unwilling, for McCarthy."

The Chicago *Tribune,* a warm and unwavering friend, said McCarthy "will make the fight for the Republican Party even if a great many professed members of the party lack the stomach for any fight at all."

Commonweal, the Catholic weekly, said in its Dec. 11, 1953, issue that McCarthy's speech is "perhaps his first bid for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1956." The Chicago *Sun-Times* (anti-McCarthy) said, "It is clear that he proposes to take over the Republican Party, Ike included, and shape it in his own image." Joseph C. Harsch, Washington correspondent for the *Christion Science Monitor,* reported, "One White House spokesman characterized the McCarthy speech . . . as a 'hat-in-the-ring' speech." Lyle Wilson, chief of the Washington bureau of the United Press, wrote, "There is ample evidence here that some distinguished Administration insiders believe Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy is grabbing for the 1956 Republican Presidential nomination." Writing in *Magazine Digest* for August, 1953, Julian M. Snyder said that McCarthy is grooming himself to be "the man of the hour." Commenting on McCarthy's denial that he wants to be President, Snyder said: "But there is no other goal toward which his ambition can take him. As he told a friend not long ago, 'I'll either end up in jail—or in the White House.'"

McCarthy Labels Democrats 'The Party of Treason'

It is the theory of some Washington observers that McCarthy, failing to capture the Republican nomination, would head a third-party movement. "McCarthy," the Alsops reported in April of 1953, "would have no compunctions at all about wrecking the Republican Party, if this seems to serve his purposes." And William S. White, Washington correspondent for the New York *Times,* although unconvinced that McCarthy would run for President, wrote in the June 16, 1953, issue of *Look* magazine that "McCarthy is on no account a typical party man. . . When 'McCarthy,' as he sometimes calls himself in the third person, transfers his attack from 'Acheson' . . . to the present Republican State Department he is not much troubled by party considerations."

And yet, in recent months McCarthy has seemed to regard himself as a Republican spokesman. In a series of Lincoln Day addresses beginning at Charleston, W. Va., Feb. 4, 1954, McCarthy called on Democrats who are "loyal Americans" to join the Republican Party. In Canton, O., Feb. 5, according to the United Press, and in subsequent "Lincoln Day" speeches, McCarthy characterized the Democratic Party as "the Party of treason."

The speculation about McCarthy's ambitions has caused some observers to attempt an assessment of the kind of support he could expect if he makes his move in 1956. Newsmen noted that at about the time he was challenging the leadership of President Eisenhower, a group of nationalists and McCarthy backers met at the Harvard Club in New York City and announced plans for the formation of an American Action Committee.

Former Rep. Hamilton Fish, the New York super-nationalist, issued a statement saying, "It is obvious that if the Republican Party in 1956 again nominates an internationalist for President and adopts an internationalist platform, there automatically will be a third party with machinery set up in every state."

Others interested in the new organization are Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune;* former Sens. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey, and Frank Gannett, publisher of a chain of Eastern newspapers.

There seems little question that McCarthy could command considerable financial support from men of great wealth to advance his political ambitions. One of the first industrialists who offered to come to his financial aid was Walter Harnischfeger of Milwaukee, a backer of extreme right-wing causes with close ties to ultra-nationalist forces in Germany. In 1947, when McCarthy was in desperate financial straits and was being pressed by the Appleton State Bank on his overdue loans *(see pages 14 to 18),* he wrote his banker, Matt Schuh:

"I have made complete arrangements with Walter Harnischfeger to put up sufficient collateral to cure both our ulcers." Two years later, McCarthy played a pugnacious and uninvited role in a Senate committee's investigation of the Malmedy "massacres" during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II—a case in which Harnischfeger was greatly interested. *(Quoted in* Commentary, *March, 1953.)*

McCarthy's conduct during the inquiry brought charges that he had based his extremely pro-German position on materials provided by a German Communist spy and ultra-nationalist forces in Germany. The records show that McCarthy was assisted in his role in the Malmedy inquiry by Tom Korb, lawyer for Harnischfeger, who was carried on McCarthy's Senate staff payroll as "administrative assistant" during six weeks of the investigation.

But most of McCarthy's financial support has come not from Wisconsin but from wealthy Texans. They, like some other business forces in the country, were early impressed by McCarthy's attitude on labor. The New York *Times* of Dec. 6, 1946, quoted McCarthy as saying during a coal crisis: "I believe the President should use his powers to immediately draft John L. Lewis into the Armed Services. Lewis should be directed to order his miners to mine coal. If he does not do that, he should be court-martialed. We should go straight down the line. If subordinates of Lewis fail to order the miners back, they should be court-martialed."

McCarthy's Texas supporters, most of whom have made their millions in oil, are enthusiastic about McCarthy and what he is doing. They entertain him royally at their luxurious homes in Texas, provide him with private airplanes with which to travel about the country, and contribute generously to his political projects.

McCarthy's Texas benefactors stoutly insist their support of McCarthy has nothing to do with his voting record. This may well be true, but an analysis of the Senator's

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These illustrations present an interesting case study of one phase of McCarthy's support. The photograph on the lower right shows E. M. Biggers, Texas rancher and printer, presenting McCarthy with a $6,000 Cadillac in behalf of McCarthy's Texas supporters. (Details on Page 74.) The two illustrations above, "History of the United States," a crude bit of anti-Semitism featuring the caricature of a Jewish pawnbroker as the dominant symbol of America, and "Names of Jews Running the United Nations," were mailed out by Biggers on request to the address shown on the lower left. The UN pamphlet distributed by Biggers is sponsored by the Christian Nationalist Crusade. Among other things, it urges: "The reader of this tract should join the American Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations." To date McCarthy has not, publicly at least, repudiated Biggers' support.

official voting record shows that whether by conviction or other motivation, McCarthy almost always votes their way in the Senate. On Mar. 29, 1950, he voted for the passage of the so-called Kerr natural gas bill which gave natural gas interests an exemption from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. This bill was opposed by the Republican and Democratic Parties of Wisconsin. The state, through its governor, attorney general, and legislature—all Republicans—made known its opposition on the ground that it would mean an increase in natural gas rates for Wisconsin consumers. McCarthy and one other Republican Congressman cast the only votes the oil people got from the Wisconsin delegation for the bill which Congress passed but then-President Truman vetoed.

On Sept. 28, 1951, McCarthy was paired against an amendment to the tax bill that would have cut the 27½ per cent depletion allowance given to oil operators—an allowance which saves them millions of dollars in taxes each year.

On April 2, 1952, he voted for passage of the so-called tidelands oil bill under which the federal government turned over to Texas, California, Louisiana, and Florida the off-shore oil deposits worth billions.

Cast of Texas Supporters

An investigation of McCarthy's connections with these wealthy Texans was recently conducted by Edwin R. Bayley, a seasoned political analyst of the Milwaukee *Journal*. The results were published in the Dec. 20, 1953, issue of that paper. Here are the names of some of these millionaire supporters of McCarthy and pertinent data about them:

HUGH ROY CULLEN of Houston, who broke into headlines in 1947 when he set up an educational and charitable foundation with 169 million dollars worth of oil properties. He was in the news again when he gave $2,250,000 to the University of Houston reportedly (but subsequently denied) for winning a football game against Baylor University and a week later gave a million to Baylor. He contributed $5,000 to McCarthy's campaign in 1952, the legal limit for any one contributor and the largest single contribution reported by the McCarthy Club. In 1948 he wrote a letter to Houston papers attacking Jesse Jones, former Cabinet officer, for, among other things, trying to run Houston "with the assistance of a bunch of New York Jews." *(Quoted by the Associated Press, Jan. 17, 1954.)* Cullen subsequently said he "didn't mean anything by that remark. I was just mad."

DOUGLAS MARSHALL of Houston, who is Cullen's son-in-law. He entertained McCarthy at his home and gave $500 each to the campaigns of two Wisconsin Republican Congressmen, both of whom voted for the tidelands bill.

C. W. MURCHISON of Dallas, who has an estimated total worth of $218,000,000, owns 19 corporations, Mexican ranches, and several private airplanes which have been used to fly McCarthy around Texas. Murchison gave $10,000 to the 1950 Maryland campaign which McCarthy directed against Sen. Millard Tydings. This was part of the money which was not reported, as required by law, until a Senate committe began an investigation of the campaign. Murchison said in an interview that he had contributed a total of $25,000 to various candidates at McCarthy's request.

In late May and early June of 1953, McCarthy was Murchison's guest in Texas. Part of the vacation was spent on "an island owned by the Murchisons off the coast of Mexico near Tampico, where the Duke and Duchess of Windsor had been entertained two years before," the *Journal* said. "The party was said to include 14 oilmen and the purpose of the trip was the shooting of rare 'white winged doves.' " McCarthy had announced before leaving Washington that he was going out of the country for about 10 days on business involving his investigating committee.

CIPRIANO ANDRADE III of Dallas, another one of the oil millionaires who entertain McCarthy when he is in Dallas. He arranged speaking dates for McCarthy at American Legion meetings in Texas.

AUSTIN HANCOCK of San Antonio is a retired insurance executive and founder of the American Heritage Protective Association. Hancock, who was quoted in *Look*, Dec. 1, 1953, as saying that he hopes to get the 1956 Republican Presidential nomination for McCarthy, has distributed a considerable number of anti-Semitic tracts, some written by himself, others written by fellow racists.

W. L. GOLDSTAN of Houston, who contributed $500 to McCarthy's radio and TV attack on Adlai Stevenson during the 1952 campaign.

E. B. GERMANY of Dallas, another oilman and chairman of the board of a bank and president of the million dollar Lone Star Steel Co., who contributed $250 to McCarthy's attack on Stevenson.

H. B. KECK of Houston also is an oil tycoon. When McCarthy and his wife flew into Madison, Wis., Nov. 1, 1953, they had at their disposal a converted Douglas B-26, described by personnel at the Madison airport as "plush." The plane is owned by the Superior Oil Co. of Houston. The president of the Superior Oil Co. is H. B. Keck, who, according to the Milwaukee *Journal*, "is possibly the same person as the 'N. B. Keck' listed as a donor of $2,000 to McCarthy's campaign club in 1952." The *Journal* pointed out that *Moody's Industrials*, an investors' service manual, indicates that the Superior Oil Co. is interested in tidelands oil and that in 1947 it joined with another company in leasing from Texas about 66,000 acres of submerged land in the Gulf of Mexico and Galveston Bay.

Another private plane which McCarthy has used to carry him about the country belongs to John Fox, publisher of the Boston *Post*. Though Fox is not a Texan, he has wide-ranging oil holdings. Gas fields in Pennsylvania alone, according to the *Saturday Evening Post*, bring him an estimated $400,000 a month. His paper has joined McCarthy in attacking Harvard University as a nest of Communists. When McCarthy came to Wisconsin from Boston Nov. 19, 1953, and landed at the Stevens

'Wrecking the Republican Party'

"McCarthy will have no compunctions at all about wrecking the Republican Party if it seems to serve his purposes. His contempt for his own party was amply demonstrated during the battle over the confirmation of Charles E. Bohlen as ambassador to the Soviet Union. He then implied clearly that the Republican Secretary of State was a liar. He arrogantly defied both the Senate Republican leader and the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. And at least by implication, he also attacked the Republican President.

"McCarthy has certain very great assets (as a new party candidate). For the first time in American political history, he has succeeded in uniting behind him the whole assortment of small, proto-Fascist extremist groups. These have existed for a long time, but despite their attempts to poison the political atmosphere, they have heretofore been hardly more than a nuisance. Now they are all together in one movement, which can exercise a balance of power in key areas."

THE ALSOPS
Washington Post
Apr. 15, 1953

Point airport, he was flown there in Fox's plane.

HAROLDSON LAFAYETTE HUNT of Dallas, who is McCarthy's most important backer among the wealthy Texans. His income has been estimated at $200,000 a day, or about $70,000,000 a year before taxes, and he is reputed to be the nation's richest man. He made his money in oil. According to Ben H. Bagdikian, who wrote a series of articles about Hunt and his political activities for the Providence (R.I.) *Journal-Bulletin,* Hunt was recently awarded leases on tidelands oil property by Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas. He was the biggest single awardee, getting more than 100,000 acres at an average of $6 an acre while others paid as high as $400.

"Hunt believes that Shivers is a good possibility for President," the *Journal-Bulletin* reported. "He thinks the same of Sen. McCarthy." When Hunt was asked if he were supporting McCarthy for the Presidency in 1956, he replied, "Some day I might be able to answer that better. But I think it is a little too early. It's two years away."

"Hunt," according to the *Journal-Bulletin,* "is estimated to own 200 million dollars' worth of farm land. He is estimated to be the biggest independent oil operator in the world with holdings in excess of 500 million dollars. He is estimated to be the largest grower of pecans in the world. He has, in addition, gold mines, natural gas, and other interests."

In 1951 Hunt established Facts Forum, which the *Journal-Bulletin,* after an exhaustive investigation, described as "an organization of growing power in American mass communications and public opinion." Facts Forum presents political views on a network of radio and TV stations, most of the time for which is

On the right are samples of issues of "Common Sense," published by Conde McGinley, one of the nation's most virulent racists, featuring, 1) anti-Semitism; 2) attacks on the Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson as "Marxist stooges," and 3) fulsome praise of McCarthy.

We fight communism with common sense

price 5 cents

"The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper"

Common Sense

"All the News Kept Out of Print"

VOL. IV, NO. 125 — OCTOBER 15, 1950 — UNION, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A. — FIVE CENTS

YIDDISH MARXISTS PLOT U.S.A. DEFEAT BY U.S.S.R

TRAITORS PLAN SLAUGHTER AND CONQUEST

VI No. 168 — UNION, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 15th, 1952 — $1.00 PER YEAR

INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT RULES BOTH PARTIES

ADLAI AND IKE MARXIST STOOGES

BARUCH, FRANKFURTER, LEHMAN, ARVEY, SCHLESSENGER, SAM ROSENMAN GIVES ORDERS

Here we have Jake Arvey who cracked ... gave a lavish party for Jake Arvey honor-

We communism is treason — fight it with common sense

Common Sense

"All the News Kept Out of Print"

McCARTHYISM Stands For AMERICANISM

GOD BLESS THIS MAN

Senator McCarthy has taken the lid off the sewer and many persons cannot stand the odor. Why are so many people opposed to public hearings for discovering traitors, spies and disloyal enemy agents? What are they afraid of? The witnesses are either involved as enemies of American Constitutional laws or have been influenced by those who are involved. The policy should be—subpoena everyone who complains of these anti-Communist hearings. FULL SPEED AHEAD. TO HELL WITH THE TORPEDOES.

(Published from "The World ...

TULSA EDITOR WRITES

(Continued

"Does he know? at Madison? county in the convention tr over 4,000 being a booed him catch sure "At ing the of 'burnin enough wanted "In to a sock the ra 'Ike' speech he 'a bu here does World ness. Pan ance the cates. and quest his of Did promi little al the has defa is going pointem "Con public ple. of Th

Senator McCarthy Challenges Marxism

Those Americans who wish to live as free men and enjoy Christian worship as they see best, should thank our good Lord for such a man as Joe McCarthy. Senator McCarthy, like all other leaders who had the courage to challenge Marxism, is now attacked by Marxists and their dupes and hatchetmen. Only a few Communists are allowed to admit that they belong to the Communist party and, actually, none have carried cards since 1945. Those 55,000 admitted Communist Party members are only shock troops for the Marxist-Zionists who are the brains and directors of Communism while posing as loving, respectable men and philanthropists.

The Zionists set up Communism in 1917, as one of their fronts, to do a job for them. Zionists use Communism as the aggressive front to secure control of unions and other organizations with huge memberships so that those votes and power can be used to place Christian servants of Zionism in government key spots, to serve the Marxist program.

furnished free. Hunt has said that it is a non-partisan, non-political, educational project with rules against carrying on propaganda. Facts Forum sends out a great quantity of literature and public opinion polls and is building local units in communities throughout the country. It pays members for letters that they get published in their local papers, most of which are letters that reflect the views of Hunt and McCarthy. It has obtained a tax exemption for its expenditures and its contributors.

The *Journal-Bulletin* found that half of Facts Forum's "basic program more often than not is devoted to the political philosophy and methods of McCarthy." According to Richard Wilson in the Dec. 1, 1953, issue of *Look* magazine, Jean Kerr, former aide to McCarthy and now his wife, helped "to launch a recorded television series called Facts Forum. The program was backed by H. L. Hunt, Dallas oil operator, sometimes called the richest man in America. McCarthy was the first guest star on the program. Some say Hunt will eventually back him in a series of reports to the nation on his activities."

According to Frederick W. Collins, Washington correspondent for the Providence (R. I.) *Journal-Bulletin,* he was asked by Victor Johnston, former McCarthy administrative assistant and now secretary of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, to appear on a Facts Forum program interviewing McCarthy. Collins reported in his paper that Johnston told him Hunt was ready to spend some of his fortune electing "our kind of guy."

Hunt, according to the *Journal-Bulletin,* is the biggest contributor to Americans for America, an organization that "spent more than $50,000 for the benefit of ultra-conservative Republican candidates all over the country." The head of Americans for America is Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and strong McCarthy backer. Wood is an officer of Facts Forum.

One of McCarthy's most enthusiastic Texas backers is E. M. Biggers, wealthy rancher who took the lead in collecting the money to buy McCarthy a $6,000 Cadillac for a wedding present. Biggers made the presentation to McCarthy and his wife in Washington. In an interview with the Milwaukee *Journal,* Biggers said, "We had more money than we needed, so we bought all the accessories for the car that we could. Then we still had some money, so we insured it for him. Then we still had some, so we sent what was left to Jean [Mrs. McCarthy] and told her to use it to buy gas for the car."

The Racists Backing McCarthy

Biggers, who also operates a printing plant, seems to dislike Eisenhower as much as he did Truman and thinks that McCarthy is the salvation of the Republican Party, according to the Milwaukee *Journal.* "The Republicans are all through unless they embrace McCarthyism completely," he said in an interview with the *Journal.* "This country is in great danger and Joe is about the only one who knows it."

Biggers does not think that Russia is a danger to America. "I don't worry about Russia," Biggers told the Milwaukee *Journal.* "We could shut them up in 48 hours. Just give 'em an ultimatum." The danger to this country, he told the *Journal,* is "being swallowed up by liberalism, socialism, or whatever you want to call it." He was quoted in the *Journal* as saying that a large part of the country's trouble is due to the fact that "there are too many Jews in Washington." Biggers has a reputation as one of the most active and violent of the peddlers of race hatred.

One of the items distributed by Biggers is entitled *History of the United States,* a four panel cartoon in which the familiar Nazi caricature of a Jewish pawnbroker is shown dethroning Uncle Sam following Uncle's successful rout of the American Indian. *(See Page 71.)* Biggers has also distributed the bigoted literature of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council in New York and the anti-Semitic leaflets composed by Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the best known of the hate-mongers.

Cut out of the same cloth as Biggers is another one of McCarthy's Texas backers, Austin Hancock, a retired insurance executive, of San Antonio. He is the founder of an organization known as the American Heritage Protective Association.

In October, 1945, Hancock issued a 24-page booklet entitled, *Unfolding That Fair Employment Practice Plot.* To help support his thesis that the FEPC legislation is "communistic" he cited such authorities as Elizabeth Dilling, the notorious Chicago hate peddler. On Page 21 he lumped the CIO and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with "un-American" and "communistic" groups.

A Hancock booklet issued in November, 1952, entitled *Unfolding Social Security,* smears the late U.S. Sen. Robert F. Wagner of New York. On Page 6 is found this statement: "This limited scheme of insurance was originated and imported (it is said) from Germany by its original author, R. F. Wagner, New York, U. S. Senator originally from Germany—a staunch New Dealer and author of many un-American bills including that pro-Communist-Socialized Wagner Act. . . . It is unnecessary to give you Wagner's German Jewish ancestry—the race issue has no place in this presentation. Anyway, we do not know Wagner's original name."

This same pamphlet, on Page 44, carries an article entitled, "Jewish United Nations," by Conde McGinley, editor of the notorious and violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense.*

Richard Wilson, in the previously quoted article in the Dec. 1, 1953, issue of *Look,* says, "He [Hancock] has said that he hopes to help get the Republican Presidential nomination for McCarthy."

McCarthy has attracted—the recorded facts do not show that he sought—fanatical support from hate groups across the country. The dean of the hate merchants, Gerald L. K. Smith, grows rhapsodic when he discusses McCarthy in the pages of his publication, *The Cross and The Flag,* and he has made his Christian Nationalist Crusade a distributor of McCarthy speeches and other materials.

The December 1950 issue of *The Cross and The Flag* said, "We are reprinting another of Sen. McCarthy's speeches in this issue. This fearless young statesman constitutes one of the most hopeful signs that has appeared on the horizon of our national life." Smith has helped McCarthy carry on his feud against President Eisenhower. In the November, 1953, issue, Smith noted the attack made

on McCarthy by Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President.

"Eisenhower hates McCarthy," he said. "The brazen brother let the cat out of the bag in Las Vegas when he referred to McCarthy as 'another Hitler' and as 'Nazi-like.' This quotation from brother Art smells Jewish to me. It increases my dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower family tree. We have tried in vain to find out why the West Point Yearbook referred to Dwight Eisenhower as a 'Swedish Jew' even facetiously if that were the case, but our answers have been very, very unsatisfactory."

McCarthy is also backed by Conde McGinley, the hate-mongering editor of *Common Sense,* perhaps the shrillest racist publication in the nation today. In April, 1950, McGinley wrote in his publication: "Those Americans who wish to live as free men and enjoy Christian worship as they see best, should thank our good Lord for such a man as Joe McCarthy. . . Those 55,000 admitted Communist party members are only shock troops for the Marxist-Zionists who are the brains and directors of Communism." On Oct. 15, 1950, McGinley warned in a headline, "YIDDISH MARXISTS PLOT U.S.A. DEFEAT BY U.S.S.R." In the same issue, McGinley wrote that the "Yiddish Marxists invented the Zionist movement. Yiddish Marxists developed this Zionist movement into the most subtle instrument for aggression in the history of the world." Another McGinley headline, this one Aug. 15, 1952, shouted, "INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT RULES BOTH PARTIES—ADLAI AND IKE MARXIST STOOGES." *(See cut Page 73.)*

Frank L. Britton of Inglewood, Calif., is also a McCarthy zealot. His *American Nationalist,* on Aug. 10, 1953, published the charge that "Jews Plot to Murder McCarthy" and attacked the "McCarthy-hating National Conference of Christians and Jews." Virtually every issue carries laudatory references to McCarthy—sandwiched in between attacks on Negroes and Jews.

Another source of McCarthy support is the Minute Women of the U.S.A., Inc., which was exposed as a fanatical organization by the Houston *Post,* in a series of articles by Ralph O'Leary, beginning Oct. 11, 1953. *Time* magazine, on Nov. 2, 1953, reported that the *Post* series showed the Minute Women to be engaged in "irresponsible vigilantism" and "the most powerful organization of its kind . . . since the Ku Klux Klan." McCarthy wrote Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson, founder of the Minute Women, May 8, 1952, hailing the organization's work in fighting Communism.

THE CROSS AND THE FLAG

25¢

VOLUME 12 NOVEMBER, 1953

- SPINELESS DEACONS
- NEW DEAL WATER BABY
- THE STEVENSON FLOP
- PANAMA TREASON
- CHICAGO TRIBUNE VS. THE JEWS
- IKE VS. McCARTHY
- SEGREGATION IN PA
- MURDER WILL OUT
- DIPLOMATIC DOUBL
- WHO MADE RUSSIA

FOUNDED BY GERALD L. K. SMITH

IKE VS. McCARTHY

Eisenhower hates McCarthy. Don't permit anyone to convince you otherwise. He has withheld his expressions of contempt for practical political reasons, because he fears the scorn of McCarthy's following. The President lies in wait, however, hoping and praying that McCarthy will stub his toe or make some slight error which can be blown up and exaggerated to his discredit. Once McCarthy stumbles or falls for a moment, the President and his gang of character assassins will pounce upon the Wisconsin Senator like hungry wolves.

The brazen brother let the cat out of the bag in Las Vegas when he referred to McCarthy as "another Hitler" and as "Nazi-like." This quotation from brother Art smells Jewish to me. It increases my dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower family tree. We have tried in vain to find out why the West Point Yearbook referred to Dwight Eisenhower as a 'Swedish Jew' even facetiously if that were the case, but our answers have been very, very unsatisfactory. Then we have spent much time climbing the family tree, but over there on the old man's side we find that the limbs have been cut off. Then we are led into a nebulous realm where information is not satisfactory. Where do we get all the Davids and Jacobs and the Miltons in this Eisenhower family? Why are they so much more worried about Hitler and Nazis than they are about Stalin and Communists? Why did old Pinko Oxnam refer with much enthusiasm to the encouragement he got for his Soviet propaganda schemes from General Eisenhower?

Nothing has been said lately

Here are the cover of the November issue of Gerald L. K. Smith's "The Cross and The Flag" and an excerpt from the editorial page in which Smith lashed out at Arthur Eisenhower's attack on McCarthy. This is the kind of racist support McCarthy has attracted without publicly accepting or repudiating that support.

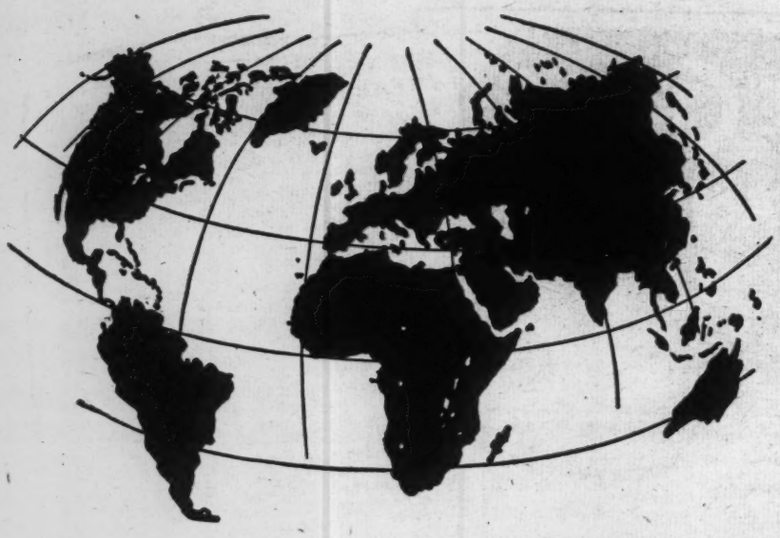
There are many others from the shabby and shadowy world of hate mongering who have rallied to McCarthy. There is nothing in the record to show that McCarthy has either solicited or repudiated their support.

McCarthy also has formidable press and radio support from the Hearst and McCormick newspapers and from such commentators as Fulton Lewis, Jr., Westbrook Pegler, Walter Winchell, George Sokolsky, and others.

A distinguishing characteristic of McCarthy's political career was summed up in the complaint filed by the Wisconsin Board of Bar Commissioners asking his disbarment because of his conduct in the 1946 campaign that put him in the U. S. Senate.

"He . . . knowingly and willfully placed the gratification of his personal ambition above the interests of the public," the Board said.

It is eight years since that Board of noted Wisconsin lawyers formed this basic judgment of McCarthy's character. Certainly the documented facts assembled in these pages confirm the accuracy of their estimate of the man. His "win at any cost" approach to public affairs led him to launch his national political career with the support of the Communists, and, as he seemed to reach out for the biggest political prize of all, he completed the circle by attracting the support of the right-wing extremists—the Texas oil millionaires, the Chicago *Tribune* nationalists, and the racist spokesmen for the hate cult.



SOWING SEEDS OF DISUNITY

Facts on the Extent to Which McCarthy Has Split the Free World and Has Helped To Strengthen the Communist Cause

THE most ironic commentary on Sen. McCarthy's operations is the fact profusely documented on this and succeeding pages—that the man who has made anti-Communism his career has strengthened the Communist cause more than any other single American. As *La Croix (The Cross),* the French Catholic daily, put it with devastating simplicity June 19, 1953: "Far from being a formidable foe of Communism, McCarthy is fast becoming the precious ally of Communism." And a leading spokesman for American Protestantism, the *Christian Century,* reported Sept. 23, 1953, that "in the free nations" McCarthyism, "making America an object of derision before the world . . . [is] helping the local Communist Parties"—so much so that McCarthy has become "the best agent Moscow has."

In no area of American political life have McCarthy's operations proved more destructive than in the critical and highly sensitive field of foreign relations. The testimony of American diplomats, journalists, travelers, and of political leaders and publicists in the countries of the free world, is virtually unanimous that McCarthy has actually aided the Communists by creating a widening gulf between our Allies and ourselves.

Consider the background against which McCarthy has operated to divide the anti-Communist nations of the West:

1. The principal strategic goal of the Kremlin—as defined by the late Premier Stalin and the present Premier Malenkov—is to loosen the bonds that hold the nations of the West together under American leadership.

2. It was the awareness of this basic Soviet strategy that led Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to exclaim in a press conference Dec. 1, 1953: **"Never in all our history was there a time when good friends and Allies meant so much to us."**

Yet it is precisely at this decisive moment in history that McCarthy provides a great deal of grist for the Soviet propaganda mill by damaging his country's reputation for decency and respect for democratic rights. Even McCarthy's supporters are shaken when they see the harvest of ill-will he has sown abroad. Congressman Timothy Sheehan, Illinois Republican and a supporter of McCarthy, told the press when he returned from Europe last fall:

"In all the sections I visited, everyone seemed to know Sen. McCarthy and his investigations. Even during short political discussions, this subject was always broached at the very beginning of conversations. It was unfortunate that the general opinion is that Sen. McCarthy is another Hitler. . ." *(Madison, Wis.* Capital Times, *Nov. 23, 1953)*

Rep. Sheehan's conclusion that Europe generally regards McCarthy as "another Hitler" is reflected in scores of editorials in the European press. An analysis of this editorial comment shows that criticism of McCarthy is based in part on the fear that the Wisconsin Senator is crippling American foreign policy and imperiling the security of the Western alliance designed to prevent Communist aggression.

Paris-Match, France's most important weekly newsmagazine, catering to a conservative audience of more than a million, put it this way June 5, 1953: "If the United States is ruled by fanatical, brutal McCarthy, can the British and Western Europe accept the leadership of a furious demagogue? In the general crisis within the Atlantic Alliance, McCarthy has become a weapon for the anti-Americans."

A leading French daily, *Paris-Presse,* summarized the extent to which McCarthy has confused and weakened U.S. foreign policy when it said May 19, 1953: "The United States has two Secretaries of State—McCarthy and Dulles, and in six

weeks McCarthy has created for Dulles most cruel embarrassments. He decapitated the Voice of America, almost torpedoed the nomination of a U.S. ambassador to Moscow, called Dulles a liar, fastened on Dulles a security chief devoted completely to McCarthy, imposed on Dulles a deal with Greek shipowners, forced the firing of two competent officials in Germany, and is now trying to impose a China blockade . . ."

This summary by a French daily friendly to the U.S. is accurate, but incomplete. For it was written some months before McCarthy added a significant new chapter by attacking what Dulles called "the very heart" of U.S. foreign policy in a nationwide radio and television program Nov. 24, 1953.

What most astonished Europeans, a survey of their press discloses, is the fact that while his original targets had been Democrats Truman and Acheson, he continued to blast away at the President and Secretary of State although now they were Republicans Eisenhower and Dulles.

Combat, a French daily, reflected the opinion of many other European newspapers when, in an article entitled, "McCarthyism: The Advance Guard of Fascism in the United States," it said on Apr. 22, 1953: "While the Democrats were in power McCarthy took out after Acheson, but now that McCarthy's own party is in power, far from calming himself he seems to have doubled his zeal and does not hesitate to attack Dulles and Eisenhower." As Stewart Alsop observed in the Republican New York *Herald-Tribune* Jan. 10, 1954, "McCarthy is, after all, a political carnivore—he lives by attacking. He cannot subsist indefinitely on the corpse of the Truman Administration."

The Eisenhower Administration had been in office only two weeks when McCarthy struck. On Feb. 2, 1953, President Eisenhower delivered his first State of the Union message to Congress. In it he said that "the primary responsibility for keeping out the disloyal and the dangerous rests squarely upon the Executive Branch. I am determined to meet this responsibility." Two days later, Feb. 4, McCarthy initiated the first of a series of attacks on the State Department whose head, John Foster Dulles, had just two weeks before taken his oath of office. By Feb. 22 the New York *Times* could headline a Washington dispatch this way:

McCarthy Poses Administration Problem
His Wide Swings Are Hitting Dulles
And The State Department

McCarthy's Attack on Charles E. Bohlen

Before the Eisenhower Administration had been in office three months, McCarthy broadened his attack by challenging the integrity of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Republican leaders of the Senate. In February 1953, President Eisenhower nominated Charles E. Bohlen for the key post of American ambassador to Moscow. Bohlen entered the Foreign Service under President Hoover in 1929 and had served his government for 24 years when he was selected for this important ambassadorship.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as is its duty, examined Bohlen's qualifications for the position. The members of that committee, which included Republican Senators Taft, Knowland, Ferguson, Hickenlooper, and Chairman Wiley, voted unanimously, 15-0, their approval of Bohlen's high qualifications.

Then McCarthy rose to accuse and attack. He charged Bohlen with being a security risk and alleged that there was damaging material in the FBI files on Bohlen. So bitterly did McCarthy attack that a committee of two, Sen. Taft for the Republicans and Sen. Sparkman for the Democrats, took the almost unprecedented step of reviewing FBI's Bohlen file. Sen. Taft then reported to the Senate of the United States:

"There was no suggestion anywhere by anyone reflecting on the loyalty of Mr. Bohlen in any way, or any association by him with Communism or support of Communism or even tolerance of Communism."

Congressional Record, Mar. 25, 1953

While some people had told the FBI that they disagreed with Bohlen's political views, Sen. Taft said that these same people ended up their statements by saying that they had **"full confidence in the character, the morality, and the general standing and reputation of Mr. Bohlen."**

Thus were McCarthy's charges proven false by "Mr. Republican" himself, as the late Sen. Taft was called. President Eisenhower, in a press conference Mar. 25, also refuted McCarthy's attack. The President said that he knew Bohlen personally, was well acquainted with his philosophy, and believed that he was the best qualified man in the United States for this important post.

For McCarthy, the whole-hearted approval of the President and Sen. Taft and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was not enough. The Senator from Wisconsin continued his attacks on Bohlen, charged Secretary Dulles with "untrue" statements, and on the floor of the Senate questioned the honesty of the Senate Majority Leader, William F. Knowland of California.

So malicious were the McCarthy tirades against Bohlen and those who supported him, including the President and the Secretary of State, that Knowland cried out in the Senate: **"If we have so destroyed confidence in men in the government of the United States, then God help us."**

McCarthy himself was thoroughly repudiated when 74 Senators voted their approval of Bohlen's appointment; McCarthy could find only twelve to join him in a negative vote. They were: Sens. Bricker, Ohio; Bridges, New Hampshire; Dirksen, Illinois; Dworshak, Idaho; Goldwater, Arizona; Malone, Nevada; Mundt, South Dakota; Schoeppel,

Herblock in The Washington Post

"We Have Documentary Evidence That This Man Is Planning a Trip to Moscow"

Kansas; Welker, Idaho, all Republicans; Johnson, Colorado, and McCarran, Nevada, Democrats.

McCarthy was repudiated, but McCarthyism made its contribution to the Communist cause: Ambassador Bohlen's departure was delayed for weeks by McCarthy's attacks at a time when expert American representation at Moscow was important to the new Republican makers of foreign policy. It was the period immediately after Stalin's death when vital decisions affecting grave issues of peace and war were being hammered out in Moscow; the United States alone had no ambassador there. As Clifton Utley told an NBC audience, "Even in the Bohlen matter, where his case was so bad it was foredoomed to defeat, McCarthy essentially commanded the Senate to stand still for two weeks—and it did."

Throughout the non-Communist countries of Europe, McCarthy's effort to obstruct the Eisenhower Administration caused deep concern over the influence he would exercise on American diplomacy. A survey conducted by the New York *Times* Mar. 29, 1953, found America's allies inquiring whether American diplomats in the future were going to be bullied into making distorted reports to please McCarthy. Anti-Communist leaders were reported as being appalled by McCarthy's attack on Eisenhower's "new team," and American prestige was found to be "visibly tarnished." Senate approval of Bohlen was hailed, on the other hand, by the leading non-Communist papers of Europe. "The influence of Mr. McCarthy in the Senate is clearly diminishing," said a leading French paper, *Le Monde,* hopefully on Apr. 7, 1953.

Charles E. Bohlen

Other outstanding diplomats have been hounded out of government service by McCarthyism. The Senator has used the State Department and the Foreign Service as a political punching bag. The fact that in doing so he weakens American diplomacy and strengthens Communist diplomacy has never deterred him from irresponsibly assaulting individuals.

The survivors of McCarthy's attacks carry on their duties greatly disheartened. Never knowing who will be McCarthy's next victim, State Department employees avoid responsibility for action and duck decisions which could be distorted into political attacks.

More important, American diplomats must spend time guarding against sudden stabs from McCarthy and his numerous staff of investigators instead of devoting themselves to advancing the cause of the free world.

Americans of maturity and ability have become reluctant to serve the Department of State and its Foreign Service. Young men are dissuaded from even applying for positions by the thought of being future victims of political smears. Foreign Service job applications declined by almost half in the first six months of 1953 compared to what they were in 1952. With a much smaller group from which to choose, standards of ability and intelligence are measurably lowered.

The *Christian Science Monitor,* June 6, 1953, reported an interview with a State Department official, whose identity it protected, in these words: "The men and women in the State Department don't talk any longer about staying for the good of the service. They want to get out fast. They feel their Department has been ruined beyond repair. . . . Fear, intrigue, and suspicion are now the currency of the whole State Department. No one trusts anyone. No one says anything he can avoid saying. The practices of Fascism have come to the United States."

In a letter to the New York *Times* Jan. 17, 1954, five of America's most distinguished former diplomats spoke up against the impact of McCarthyism on the Foreign Service of our country without identifying the Senator by name.

The five men who signed the letter were: Joseph C. Grew, who had 41 years in our foreign service and was our ambassador to Switzerland, Turkey, and Japan, and served for a time as Undersecretary of State; Norman Armour, 33 years in the State Department, who held, among others, the posts of ambassador to Chile, Argentina, and Spain, and was an assistant Secretary of State; Robert Woods Bliss, 33 years in the State Department, onetime chairman of the Board of Examiners for the Diplomatic Service, minister to Sweden, ambassador to Argentina; G. Howland Shaw, 27 years in the State

'A Form of American Totalitarianism'

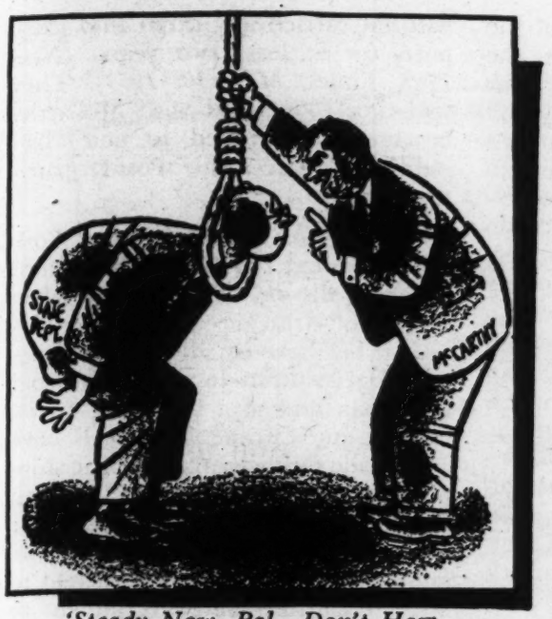
William F. Clancy, associate editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal,* told the ADA of Newark, N. J., that "if McCarthy had never really existed, Communists would have invented him."

Clancy said that, rather than being opposed to McCarthy, the Communists are actually delighted to be able to use his attacks on loyal Americans to spread their own anti-American propaganda here and in other parts of the world.

"McCarthyism is actually a form of American totalitarianism," Clancy said. He pointed out that the two foremost Catholic magazines in this country, *Commonweal* and *America,* a Jesuit publication, were both strongly anti-McCarthy.

"If one is truly anti-Communist," he said, "he must of necessity be an anti-McCarthyite. Both are anathema to a free, democratic society."

Quoted in the *ADA World*
November, 1953



'Steady Now, Pal—Don't Hamstring Me in My Work.'

'We've got the range, now pour it on!'

Anyway, they've given him enough rope!

Department, chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, expert on personnel problems, member of the State Department's Policy Commission; and William Phillips, 39 years in the Department of State, Assistant Secretary of State, Undersecretary, ambassador to Belgium, Italy, and minister to Canada.

Writing of the attacks "from outside sources" on the "loyalty and moral standards" of the Foreign Service, these five retired diplomats pointed out that "with rare exceptions the justification for these attacks has been so flimsy as to have no standing in a court of law or in the mind of any individual capable of differentiating repeated accusation from even a reasonable presumption of guilt."

Among the "sinister" results flowing from these reckless attacks, the five men maintained, was the fact that "the conclusion has become inescapable that a Foreign Service officer who reports on persons and events to the very best of his ability and who makes recommendations which at the time he conscientiously believes to be in the interests of the United States may subsequently find his loyalty and integrity challenged . . . A premium therefore has been put upon reporting and upon recommendations which are ambiguously stated or so cautiously set forth as to be deceiving.

"When any such tendency begins its insiduous work it is not long before accuracy and initiative have been sacrificed to acceptability and conformity. The ultimate result is a threat to national security. In this connection the history of the Nazi

and Fascist Foreign Services before the Second World War is pertinent."

After pointing out the extent to which anonymous informers and careless investigations play their part in the type of attacks made on the Foreign Service, the five diplomats ask "whether we are not laying the foundations of a Foreign Service competent to serve a totalitarian government rather than the government of the United States as we have heretofore known it.

"Fear is playing an important part in American life at the present time. As a result the self-confidence, the confidence in others, the sense of fair play, and the instinct to protect the rights of the non-conformist are—temporarily, it is hoped—in abeyance. But it would be tragic if this fear, expressing itself in an exaggerated emphasis on security, should lead us to cripple the Foreign Service, our first line of national defense, at the very time when its effectiveness is essential to our filling the place which history has assigned to us."

This has been the impact of McCarthy and McCarthyism on the agencies of American foreign policy. Communists and fellow-travelers, boring from within, would have difficulty in equaling the wreckage of the American diplomatic service achieved by McCarthy from his Senate seat.

The Greek Ship Deal

McCarthy has not been content to batter and intimidate the men who are charged with our national security, but he has ventured into the field of making foreign policy on his own. As Senator he has not only played at replacing the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover, but also at replacing Secretary of State Dulles and President Eisenhower himself. The making of foreign policy, as clearly understood in the Constitution, is the responsibility of the Executive Branch of our government.

The first of McCarthy's ventures in the making of foreign policy would have been high comedy, based as it was on pure bluff, if it had not contributed to confusion among our allies about the character of American policy.

On Mar. 27, 1953, McCarthy received his first repudiation by his party and the Eisenhower Administration as headlines throughout the nation proclaimed his defeat in the Bohlen appointment. But an hour after he was decisively voted down on the floor of the Senate, McCarthy's office telephoned the press gallery to announce an important press conference the next day. When the Washington correspondents had assembled, McCarthy broke his Greek shipping story.

McCarthy's strategy in leaping from the Bohlen reversal to the Greek ship story was part of the basic pattern of his "battle-plan" described by George H. Hall in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* Apr. 4, 1953: "Attack always, never defend, never explain and never retreat; when in a hot spot, break off the engagement and attack on another front."

McCarthy announced that he had been carrying on negotiations with the Greek shipowners of New York City. As a result he had secured an agreement with the owners of 242 merchant ships to stop all trade with Communist China, North Korea, and Russian Pacific ports. He spoke of the "dismal failure" of the Eisenhower Administration in not stopping this trade and claimed that he was carrying on negotiations with the Greek ship owners of London to reach the same sort of agreement. The "agreement" reached Mar. 25, 1953, was "negotiated" by McCarthy and several of his staff members without the knowledge of his Senate associates on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations over which he presides.

After McCarthy had made the headlines with his claims, the facts were revealed in small type. The Senator's story was based on a danger which did not exist. The Greek owners told reporters that their ships had not carried any cargo into these ports for at least two years. (*New York* Times, *Mar. 30, 1953*). They said they cooperated with McCarthy because they wanted to end "bad publicity." (*St. Louis* Post-Dispatch *Apr. 5, 1953.*)

On Mar. 31, 1953, the New York *Times* quoted the Greek shipowners as saying the vessels have "not taken cargoes of strategic materials to Red China, but have usually arrived empty at Darien from Japan to load coal for Japan and soya beans for India, Ceylon, and Europe. The deals have been made publicly in the Baltic shipping exchange in London." London Greeks also affirmed that ships under their flag were not going to Communist ports and that ships leased to other countries were forbidden to carry strategic materials to Communist countries. (*London* Times, *Apr. 17, 1953*) Moreover, testimony before the Committee showed that there were only 26 Greek-owned ships involved in any trade with China, and not the 242 claimed by McCarthy in his first sensational splash in the headlines.

Actually McCarthy claimed credit for something the Eisenhower Administration had already accomplished. The State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration had a few weeks previously, after months of negotiations, reached a pact with the Greek government to ban the flow of strategic materials to Communist countries. The Greek officials took prompt action, and, in deference to the Greek government, the State Department gave no publicity to the achievement.

As a Senator, McCarthy had been told about the Greek pact in confidence following his inquiry to the Eisenhower Administration. He immediately set about to harass the Greek shipowners of New York, and they offered to confirm what their government had already accomplished. McCarthy had made, as a high Eisenhower official frankly stated, "phony claims." (*New York* Times, *Mar. 30, 1953*)

McCarthy had not only made phony claims but he had entered into unconstitutional negotiations with citizens of a foreign country. Harold Stassen, director of the Foreign Operations Administration and once a

'Steamroller'

"In Senator Joseph McCarthy's book there is only one side to his story—*his* side; and woe to anyone who would argue otherwise. They can expect McCarthy to come at them like a clattering, thundering streamroller."

St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*
Dec. 7, 1953

close associate of McCarthy's, bluntly asserted that McCarthy's tactics were "undermining American foreign policy" and were "harmful to our objective." (*New York* Times, *Mar. 31, 1953*)

In a letter to Sen. John L. McClellan, a member of McCarthy's Subcommittee, Stassen wrote that McCarthy's action "had these unfortunate effects: It confused the issue of responsibility in the seeking of international action to cut down the flow of goods to the Communists; it increased the difficulties of concluding the necessary agreements with other nations which we are seeking . . . and it has made it more difficult to obtain information and cooperation" in investigating Greek shipowners. (*Quoted in the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch, *Apr. 5, 1953*)

After Secretary Dulles called McCarthy to a conference, a press statement was released by the Eisenhower Administration which pointed to the dangers of Congress unconstitutionally entering the field of foreign policy. This statement McCarthy was unable to challenge and, as the New York *Times* said, "The Voluntary Secretary of State promised to retire from his unconstitutional role." (*Apr. 2, 1953*) To reporters McCarthy admitted that the initiative for the agreement had come from the Greek shippers. But the Senator, cornered by his contradictions, refused to discuss the matter further. A few weeks later he was again back at work endangering American foreign policy on other fronts.

Cohn and Schine Leave Trail of Ill-Will in Europe

Europeans who lacked first-hand knowledge of McCarthyism and what it means were brought face to face with its workings in April of 1953. As chairman of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy sent his two personal aides on an "investigation" trip through Western Europe. These two young men, Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine, aged 26, were supplied with a fat expense account out of the U.S. Treasury for a whirlwind trip across the continent. Stopping briefly at key points, they left behind them a trail of denunciations of American officials and a shocked Europe. No time was taken for sober study and investigation. Radio Free Europe's staff of 1,200, for example, was processed by Cohn and Schine in little more than a half hour.

Neither of the men whom McCarthy selected had any knowledge of Europe or of its diplomatic problems. Schine had a background of a wealthy playboy who had written several popular songs, served as a press agent for a dance orchestra, and had chased after Hollywood starlets. Cohn's experience was more serious, but limited to a few years of legal practice. These two of McCarthy's "investigators" appeared in Europe—representatives of the U.S. government—to insult officials and display their buffoonery and ignorance in each city they visited. Their antics in

Europe earned them the derisive nickname of the Keystone cops.

Writing in *The Reporter*, Richard Rovere observed that the trip "was marked from beginning to end by low comedy. In the basic circumstance of the trip there was the ready-made plot for a gorgeous farce—two young men madly and preposterously bent on the ideological purification of the greatest government on earth. And the journey itself, the real journey, had such familiar fixtures of farce as a female spy who was once the toast of Vienna, a contretemps that involved a platoon of diplomats in a search for a mislaid billfold, and an altercation—denied *in toto* by the principals but sworn to by reputable journalists and in any case firmly fixed now in the profoundest realities of myth—in which young Mr. Schine chased young Mr. Cohn around the hotel lobby swatting him over the head with a rolled-up magazine."

Rovere, who conducted a comprehensive inquiry into the Cohn-Schine expedition, reported that it "appears to have been set up only a few days in advance, and the purpose of it was so obscured that almost everywhere the travelers touched down they gave a different account of why they were traveling. In Paris they said they were looking for inefficiency in government offices overseas. In Bonn they said they were looking for subversives. Asked in Munich which it was, Cohn explained that it was both. 'Efficiency,' he said, 'includes complete political reliability. If anyone is interested in the Communists, then he cannot be efficient.'

"In Rome, a new angle came to light. McCarthy, back in Washington, had told the press that they had been sent abroad to bring back a report on the amount of money that had been spent 'in putting across the Truman Administration' in Europe. This was news to Cohn, but he was equal to it. 'We hadn't heard about that,' he said, 'but anything the chairman of our committee says, if he said it, goes with us.'

"Apparently they had no purpose beyond McCarthy's continuing one of free-style, catch-as-catch-can harassment."

The press of Europe, from conservative to liberal, warned of the ill effect the Cohn and Schine mission had in giving a distorted impression of the United States. The mission gave the Communists a boost in their anti-American campaign, and Communist papers were jubilant over the activities of McCarthy's agents.

One European cartoonist pictured two zoot-suited youngsters lounging over an American official's desk and asking, "Is there anything around here which would injure respect for America?" To this question the official bravely and honestly answered, "Besides you, nothing else!" (*New York* Times, *Apr. 18, 1953*)

In Vienna, the usually pro-American *Arbeiter Zeitung*, after hearing Cohn and Schine's hasty denunciations of American officials, questioned whether McCarthy's methods differed essentially from those of the Communist secret police. In Germany, the independent Munich *Merkur* expressed horror at the extent to which the McCarthy aides "undermined confidence" in anti-Communist radio broadcasts beamed to the Russian people. "It is not known whether Sen. McCarthy was helping the Soviets intentionally or not," said the *Merkur*, "but the effect of his activities was such that he will probably be made an honorary member of the Communist Party by the Kremlin soon." (*Quoted in the U.S. official HICOG digest of German press comment*)

'McCarthy Is a Disgrace To the Name of America'

In Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden's largest and most influential daily, said of Cohn and Schine: "What the gentlemen possibly might have discovered they have already spoiled by foolishness and arrogance. They have introduced anti-American propaganda far more effective than what possibly could have been accomplished by the 'Communistic' books and persons they were supposed to investigate . . . The unanimous opinion of Europe is that Joseph McCarthy symbolizes exactly the reverse of what America stands for and what we have learned to appreciate. His name is the arch enemy of liberty, and a disgrace to the name of America." (*April 24, 1953*)

When the two inquisitors came to London, Lord Beaverbrook's conservative *Daily Express* said: "McCarthy is seeking to promote bitterness between Britain and America, thereby playing Malenkov's game."

The London *News Chronicle* said the Cohn-Schine visit might be worthwhile if they should depart with the impression that "for the large numbers of British citizens McCarthyism has done more to bedevil Anglo-American relations than any other single factor."

The ultra-conservative *Financial Times* lost its temper over the harm done by these two young men and spoke of them as "scummy snoopers" and "distempered jackals."

The usually pro-American London *Times*, on Apr. 29, described the Cohn-Shine expedition as a "grotesque voyage" and noted that McCarthy had so greatly damaged U.S. interests abroad that he "has become the direct concern of the United States' allies."

Sapping America's Prestige

London

"The Communists' manipulation of European distaste for 'McCarthyism' as a maneuver to divide the United States from its allies abroad has caused concern here.

"British and U.S. students of trans-Atlantic relations believe that the picture, at least partly distorted, of the activities of Sen. McCarthy . . . that is being widely accepted in Europe is being employed by the Communists to sap the prestige and influence of the United States. . .

"Prof. Dennis W. Brogan declared in the current edition of *The Spectator:* 'It is an exaggeration, but not much of one, to say that the issue of "McCarthyism" is one of the most powerful wedges being driven between the British and American peoples (and between the American and French and other European nations).' "

DREW MIDDLETON in
The New York *Times*
Feb. 18, 1954

The United Press reported from London Apr. 24, 1953, that *The Independent Weekly,* publication of the Church of England, referred to "McCarthy's two agents of intolerance and totalitarianism."

The Attack on Attlee

For McCarthy this contribution to the Communist effort to discredit the United States and split this nation from its allies was not enough. In May of 1953 McCarthy poured all his venom into promoting ill-feeling and distrust between the United States and Great Britain. On the floor of the U.S. Senate on May 14, McCarthy attacked the former British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, as a Communist, calling him "Comrade Attlee," and charging him with insulting the United States and its citizens.

The occasion for McCarthy's assault on an American ally was a speech which Attlee made in the House of Commons as leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. In the course of a long discussion of foreign policy, the former Prime Minister explained the diversity of opinion in the United States and the constitutional limitations placed upon the President of the United States in his relations with Congress.

In contrast to the British system where the Prime Minister derives his power directly from control of Parliament, Attlee pointed out that President Eisenhower "speaks for the Administration, but in America power is divided between the Administration and Congress." Mentioning also that sometimes members of Congress oppose the President, Attlee commented that one "sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Sen. McCarthy." In the same speech Attlee expressed Britain's gratitude for America's assistance and his admiration of Presidents Eisenhower and Truman. He repeatedly explained that he had no intention of criticizing the American system of government, but was explaining its workings.

McCarthy gave no heed to what Attlee had actually said, but used the occasion of the speech to denounce Great Britain and imply that Attlee, long a leading foe of Communism, was a Soviet sympathizer. Other Senators were irate at McCarthy's blow to Anglo-American friendship. Both Sen. Alexander Wiley, McCarthy's Wisconsin colleague and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the next ranking Republican member of the Committee, Sen. H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, were quick to disavow the attack of their fellow Republican Senator. Speaking of the McCarthy affair, Sen. Smith said, "I can imagine nothing more pleasing to the Kremlin . . ."

In Britain, Attlee hastened to counter the ill effects of the McCarthy speech: "I do not think that anyone in this country judges America by Sen. McCarthy. The British Labor Party and I myself have been vigorously opposing the Communist Party in this country ever since its formation—long before Sen. McCarthy was ever heard of."

The French Catholic Daily, *La Croix,* said June 17, 1953: "McCarthy's insulting of Attlee earned him the general reprobation of Europe and America (except the extremist papers)." The Paris daily, *Combat,* put it this way May 15: "McCarthy's indecent attack against Attlee brings to mind a few predecessors in this kind of eloquence. Goebbels never did better on the best day he ever had."

McCarthy Attacks "The Very Heart of American Policy"

At the end of eleven months of McCarthy's constant attacks on American policy and American officials, the Eisenhower Administration recognized the fundamental split between the leaders of the Republican Party and the junior Senator from Wisconsin. In the weeks preceding this step, McCarthy's charges had reached a new peak of violence. At a crucial stage in international negotiations—in fact, on the eve of the Big Three Conference in Bermuda—he was again undermining his nation's representatives.

On Nov. 24, in a nationally broadcast and telecast speech which was ostensibly a reply to former President Truman's indictment of McCarthyism, the Wisconsin Senator, according to the Alsops in the New York *Herald-Tribune,* "intimated that the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy is one of 'whining, whimpering appeasement.'"

McCarthy's speech was studded

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

with phrases like "perfumed notes," "phony truce," and "blood trade." *The Tablet,* chief organ of the Catholic church in England, warned *(Dec. 12, 1953)* after the McCarthy outcry, "Unless the President can silence the Senator, the Republicans will be in difficulties . . . The world today could not support anything short of a hard, cold realism guiding the policies of the U.S. The time is too serious for Messiahs of either right or left."

The Chicago *Sun-Times (Dec. 3, 1953)* reflected the editorial opinion of many middle-of-the-road dailies in this country when it characterized McCarthy's principal theme as a demand for "blackmail, coercion, and intimidation" and "blustering and domineering methods" in the conduct of American foreign policy. Referring specifically to McCarthy's attack on the Eisenhower Administration for not cracking down on allied nations which trade with Communist China, the *Sun-Times* said: "McCarthy, who professes to abhor Communist methods, would employ those very methods to bring our allies abjectly to heel. He would threaten and browbeat them as Russia does her satellites."

McCarthy's attempt to discredit the Republican Administration for condoning "blood money" trade between our allies and China was answered by Harold E. Stassen, chief of Foreign Economic Operations, who was McCarthy's choice for President in 1948.

Stassen had pointed out on an earlier occasion that the problem involved "a very complex question. If

we insist our Allies break off some of their present trade some of them would be in a position to ask, 'How do we stay alive economically?' " On Jan. 9, 1954, Stassen, whose anti-Communist credentials are as impressive as any official's in the Republican Administration, said that increased East-West trade this year would help push democratic ideas through the Iron Curtain and might even improve political relations with Russia.

Stassen declared in an interview, carried by the Associated Press, that the Republican Administration is now inclined to favor East-West trade because Western Europe's recovery has reached the point where such trade can be economically as well as politically profitable. He pointed out that the Administration still opposed trade with Red China, and would at least until peace is restored in Korea and Indo-China, but, he emphasized, a general resumption of East-West trade could "succeed in convincing the people of the Soviet bloc that the free world is pursuing a genuine policy of peace and even force their leaders to be less hostile to the West."

On Dec. 1, 1953, Secretary of State Dulles, after receiving the President's approval, struck back on the broader issues raised by McCarthy in his attack on the Administration's foreign policy. Without mentioning his name, but with direct reference to McCarthy's attack, Dulles repudiated the Senator's recent insinuations that the Eisenhower Administration was appeasing the Communists.

Dulles told the press: "The burden of that criticism was that we spoke too kindly to our allies and sent them 'perfumed notes,' [the McCarthy phrase] instead of using threats and intimidation to compel them to do our bidding." After stating the desire for constructive criticism, the Secretary of State said that these charges [McCarthy's] were attacking "the very heart of American policy."

The Secretary of State went on to discuss the need for the closest cooperation with our allies. These nations had been willing to give the United States air bases on the periphery of the Soviet Union which were essential to protect the American people from sudden air attack. And our allies, Dulles said, were not as McCarthy would have them, satellites on

Dwight D. Eisenhower

the Soviet pattern. Therefore: "We shall be firm and persistent in trying to secure agreement on what we believe to be right. We shall expect a fair sharing of efforts and burdens. But we shall not try to be arrogant, or to demand of others what we ourselves, if circumstances were reversed, would reject."

President Eisenhower stood fully behind Secretary Dulles in opposing the McCarthy policy of treating our allies in such a way as to drive them into Soviet hands. In his press conference the President said, as paraphrased by the New York *Times* Dec. 2, 1953: "Such coercion, imposed by us on our Allies, would mark the United States, not as a leader, but as an imperialist power, which is the very charge leveled against us by Soviet propaganda that feeds on Mr. McCarthy's diatribes."

John Foster Dulles

Britain, the nation which has suffered most from McCarthy's attacks, hailed the Administration's step.

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* said Dec. 10, 1953: "The rebukes issued by the President and Secretary Dulles to Sen. McCarthy have been reassuring, at least on this side of the Atlantic, because they have set up a barricade of good sense to stem the flood of vituperative politics."

The London *Daily Telegraph (Dec. 5, 1953)* devoted its lead editorial to denouncing McCarthy's "intensification of the demagogic technique which has inflated him into a figure of worldwide significance . . . Even if the Senator fails to shake the Administration, his campaign will continue to poison American attitudes to friendly nations."

Reviewing the whole episode, *ABC*, an important newspaper in Franco Spain, said Dec. 4, 1953:

"The intolerant aggressiveness of his temperament and an impeccable instinct for publicity have led McCarthy to believe that the most important man in today's American political life is McCarthy . . .

"Having received for nothing one half-hour on radio and TV networks, worth in normal circumstances several hundred thousand dollars, McCarthy used the thirty minutes not to defend himself against attacks by ex-President Truman but to attack President Eisenhower, the allies of the United States, and those of the Republicans who disagree with the Soviet spy hunt which is foremost in the Wisconsin Senator's political capital . . .

"The simple negation of the obvious is a familiar tactic for the Senator from Wisconsin . . . His world is divided between traitors at the service of Russia and patriots at the service of McCarthy . . ."

In Rome, *Giornale d'Italia*, the conservative daily, commented that Eisenhower and Dulles took the political risks involved in fighting back against McCarthy because "from too many capitals came alarming reports of the opinion that had been forming

in friendly countries about the American conduct of foreign affairs." The Eisenhower Administration, said this Italian paper, felt obliged to act because "in Europe and Asia the impression was growing that McCarthyism dominates Washington."

'The Spreading Poison'

The incalculable damage done by McCarthy to the Western cause in its historic struggle against Communist ideology shows up with great clarity in the sober comments of our friends in Europe and Asia. The central Soviet goal, Kremlin strategy has emphasized, is to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies.

That is why President Eisenhower urgently emphasized Dec. 4, 1953, that **"unity among free nations is our only hope for survival** in the face of the worldwide conspiracy backed by the weight of Soviet military power." That is why Secretary of State Dulles said Dec. 1, 1953: *"Never in all our history was there a time when good friends and allies meant so much to us."*

Yet it is precisely at this time that McCarthy creates doubt and division among our friends and holds American institutions up to ridicule and mockery throughout the free world. Few Americans realize how seriously our allies abroad take McCarthy and how deeply he strikes terror in the hearts of our friends.

On July 16, 1953, Joseph C. Harsch reported for the *Christian Science Monitor* that "Sen. McCarthy is the most frequently discussed American in Europe."

Constantine Brown, columnist for the Washington *Star*, wrote from Switzerland Oct. 9, 1953: "McCarthyism is more discussed in intellectual circles here than the Soviet threat or Eisenhower's foreign policies."

The New Yorker for May 30, 1953, carried a dispatch from Paris noting that "for the past month American visitors to Europe who are important enough to know important Europeans have been reporting that they are everywhere being asked the same question: 'What are you going to do about McCarthy? What has happened to America?' "

From Rome, Frank Kelley cabled the New York *Herald Tribune* July 26, 1953, the report that the Italians **"are bewildered that a nation so strong as America should be so tolerant of [McCarthy's] fanaticism, of witch-hunting methods in dealing with problems of Communism."**

From Paris, Don Cook of the New York *Herald Tribune* wrote July 26, 1953: "It is a rare Paris diplomatic gathering where a remark is not made to the effect, **'But when we see things like McCarthyism happening to your country, we certainly have doubts about America's capacity for world leadership.'** "

In Belgrade, Eric Bourne sent a dispatch to *The World*, monthly U.S. magazine, for November 1953 reporting that among the forces in world affairs most feared in Yugoslavia is "the influence on U.S. policy of Sen. Joseph McCarthy . . ."

In Tokyo, Prof. Sadayoshi Fukuda, writing in the October issue of the magazine *Bungei Shinju*, reported that one of the principal reasons for anti-Americanism in Japan is "the red-hunting conducted by McCarthy."

In Delhi, India, *The Sunday Statesman* wrote Nov. 22, 1953, of "McCarthy's special nose for politics by smear" with this observation: "While it would be foolish to suggest that the American mind has been paralyzed by McCarthy, its slow poison has spread fairly wide and deep."

In a series of articles in the *Christian Science Monitor* in July 1953, Joseph C. Harsch made these significant comments while studying conditions in Europe: "In each European country anti-McCarthyism takes its own separate form based on national experience . . . In Germany the German mind has found what it regards as a release from its own sense of guilt about Hitler. From the day Hitler achieved power, Germans have winced under the charge of having lacked the political wisdom and the moral courage to stop Hitler before it was too late. To the German of 1953, Sen. McCarthy is reason to say to an American, 'Now practice what you have preached.' Sen. McCarthy has become the German's vindication of his own sense of guilt about Hitler." *(July 22)* "If the future generation of Europeans turns again to Communism, the turn will be dated from the spring of 1953 when McCarthyism discredited anti-Communism in Europe. Europe cannot be held against Communism without the support of its intellectuals and its working classes. In those areas the damage [done by McCarthy] has been devastating." *(July 23)*

It is strikingly significant that *all* anti-totalitarian political groups in Europe are opposed to McCarthy. The New York *Herald-Tribune* for May 22, 1953, put it this way: "He is criticized as much from the extreme Right as from the extreme Left, and the Center regards him as a threat to the world it is trying to create."

On July 22, 1953, Joseph C. Harsch of the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed much the same conclusion in these words: "There are literally no defenders of Sen. McCarthy in Europe except for the occasional individual who always hated America anyway . . . Such a person says, and I

A 'Fearful Thing'

"The voice of McCarthy was abroad in the land and it is now, as it was in the beginning, a poisoned and fearful thing. It went on forever making unproved charges, forever irresponsible, forever merely free of libel; it went on exploiting the insecure, the anxious, the confused, and the afraid.

"It told no truth, and held no answers. . . . We have known demagogues in our political history but this is a special kind—an evil kind, a deliberate kind. It adds falseness to the already false.

"It represents the other side of the election coin. It is the spurious and the counterfeit. It would be legal tender nowhere in any world where reason was and where intelligence was operative."

The Commonweal
Catholic weekly magazine

have heard it, 'I like McCarthy. He proves how barbarous America really is.' "

Even more significant than this universal loathing of McCarthyism by the democratic forces of Europe is the fact that the Communist press alone makes little or no genuine protest against McCarthy, for it is in the totalitarian interest to have America's good name besmirched by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. A survey of the French press, conducted by Lionel Durand, former foreign editor of *Paris-Presse* and more recently editor of the official organ of the World Veterans Federation, showed that over a sample period of two months in 1953 papers of all but one political and religious complexion—conservative, middle-of-the-road, Catholic, Protestant, and independent—expressed alarm and disgust over McCarthy's operations. The one exception was the French Communist daily, *L'Humanite,* which alone made no direct attack on McCarthyism.

Aiding the Communists

Americans know that McCarthy is not running the United States, despite the fact that he wields tremendous influence, and that the traditions of American freedom and democratic procedure are still strong.

"Feel Free To Write Whatever You Want"

"I Hear He's Going to Demand Equal Time in the White House"

But outside of the United States it is the reports of McCarthy's charges which give the distorted impression of his power. And when, as in the case of the Cohn-Schine mission, outstanding officials are discharged after being subjected to McCarthy's attack, McCarthy's rule of terror seems stronger in the eyes of outsiders than it really is. As the Washington *Post* pointed out Oct. 3, 1953, the very fact that "McCarthyism *seems* to have reached such heights of intimidation is almost as damaging as if the intimidation were a fact."

So great has been the adverse impact of McCarthyism on U.S. foreign policy that the U.S. government has officially recognized the barriers which McCarthy has created to bar the successful functioning of that policy. The National Security Council, the most important strategic planning body in the United States, made up of the military and diplomatic chiefs, has had to concern itself with a detailed study of the effect of McCarthy in undermining confidence in America. (*Washington* Post, *Nov. 21, 1953*)

But it is the aid McCarthy gives Communism that chiefly concerns our friends abroad. Adlai Stevenson, for instance, reported in *Look* magazine Sept. 23, 1953, that "one of Western Europe's most responsible and respected leaders told me that McCarthyism has done America more harm in eight months than Soviet propaganda has done in eight years."

Bill Baggs, columnist for the Miami *Daily News,* reported a conversation with a Norwegian who emphasized that McCarthy "makes these times hard for us. He promotes hysteria. When he promotes hysteria, the Communists use this against America in Europe."

In Italy, a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent found that Italian Communists owed "a vote of thanks" to McCarthy because his attacks on the U.S. Information Service led to the removal from their library shelves of some of the most effective anti-Communist propaganda ever to appear in Italy.

In Canada, the Montreal *Star* reported that McCarthy "has become a symbol in many parts of his own country and abroad of the worst kind of American. Enemies of the United States joyfully proclaim this, and many friends of America have had their faith in American leadership weakened by the presence of such a man in the Senate."

A representative report on British opinion was written by Philip Drew, special correspondent for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* from London Dec. 5, 1953: "The other day an English friend who watches international doings, and particularly Anglo-American doings, pretty closely, shook us considerably with this one:

" 'If the Soviet Communists hope to weaken the Western Alliance, and most especially the Anglo-American part of it, they will never succeed. But they can satisfy themselves there is a man unconsciously doing a much more efficient wrecking job than anybody in the Kremlin would ever have chosen. The name is Sen. Joseph McCarthy.'

"Just to set things straight the man who said this is no bug-in-the-head Bevanite. He is not even a socialist. He is a conservative who is sick to death of reading every day in British and American newspapers little things and big things that add up to the souring of Anglo-American feelings. And he is not alone. It is what an alarming number of Britons are thinking."

Constantine Brown, columnist for the Washington *Star,* was obliged to

report from Switzerland Oct. 10, 1953, that Communists were effectively spreading wild rumors about the degree to which McCarthy is now able to control American thinking. One of the "concoctions" of "poisonous propaganda against the United States" shows the extent, Brown reported, to which the Communists have exploited fears of McCarthyism.

"A sample of this concoction was served with cigars and coffee after a dinner attended by this reporter: 'McCarthyism is actually an American form of Hitlerism. McCarthy's impact on the frightened American mind of today is no less powerful than Hitler's was before he came to power 20 years ago. He has created the bogey of treason in the government and has slurred the reputations of men whose only guilt was to think, years ago, differently from the present American thinking.' "

Reports of this kind by commentators as conservative as Constantine Brown, who are not identified as anti-McCarthy, make it clear how joyfully the Communists have been boosting McCarthy's reputation as a way of creating doubt and suspicion of America among European friends. These rumors developed and circulated by Communists had reached so many in pro-American Switzerland that one of Europe's outstanding newspapers, the Swiss *Neue Zuricher Zeitung,* pleaded with Americans to realize "what kind of impression is created abroad by those tendencies which are characterized by the name of McCarthy. Persons whom we had become used to admiring have been helplessly subjected to the most debasing investigations." (*Quoted in a Geneva dispatch to the New York* Herald Tribune *July 26, 1953*)

In an Austrian estimate of McCarthy and his works, the *Neue Wiener Tageszeitung* said Apr. 19, 1953: "McCarthy's influence and his methods of action of 'making politics' run counter to the whole of the past character of the United States and to the spirit actuating this democratic country. They are unheard of, because his method of approaching the problem is not serious, and offends the sacred principles of fair play."

Another Austrian estimate of McCarthy, this one by Dr. Oskar Pollak,

The Challenge

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

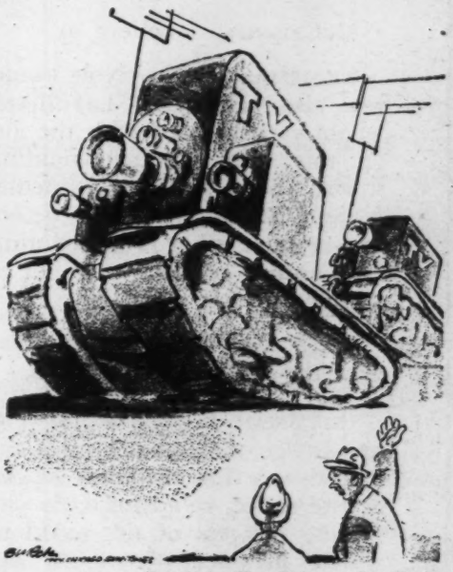
chief editor of the militantly anti-Communist *Arbeiter-Zeitung,* on Apr. 14, 1953, characterized McCarthy as "the best ally the Communists have in the United States." On another occasion *(May 20)* this leading Austrian daily put it this way: "Looking at the total of McCarthy's activities, one sees that in foreign affairs he has always—with few exceptions—played into the hands of the Communists."

Said the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in a leading editorial Apr. 14, 1953: "The methods of the McCarthy G.P.U. are a mockery of the liberties of an American citizen—liberties of which the citizens of the whole free world are proud. It is the worst and most ineffectual weapon against Communism —to copy its G.P.U. No one indeed needs to warn us in Austria . . . what Communist infiltration means and how it should be fought. That is why we protest against McCarthy and his terror. It makes the battle harder for America—and for us."

La Croix, the Catholic daily of France, not only described McCarthy on June 19, 1953, as "fast becoming the precious ally of Communism" *(see p. 76)* but went on to say editorially: "Led by another man than McCarthy, the Committee to investigate the danger of Communism would certainly have appreciable results. Unfortunately that is not the case . . . It can never be said too often how much that war (between McCarthy and the whole Democratic Party, half the Republican Party, the State Department, and perhaps even the White House) has done to America and the whole world; that war of lies, of groundless attacks, slander, and pompous declarations that McCarthy has waged with pitiless violence . . . McCarthy doesn't care a bit about results. What interests him is the publicity these affairs bring him. His only fear is to fall into obscurity. His only desire: attract attention."

On another phase of McCarthy's operations, *La Croix* noted that "in accusing indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty, McCarthy does enormous harm to the former and gives a manifest advantage to the latter. But far from wishing to change his methods, he has a tendency to worsen them. He lies. He accuses with no proof. He starts with the idea that the public is too stupid to prefer a complex truth to a simple but spectacular lie . . . Let us hope that in the interests of the United States and of the entire world they [the American people] do not take too long to discover the truth about Joe McCarthy, Senator and witch-hunter."

Another French daily, the influential *France-Soir,* a moderate paper, said on Nov. 4, 1953: "Sen. McCarthy specializes in the most far-fetched accusations, launched under the cover



Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

"Haven't You Heard? McCarthy's Declared War on the Army"

If McCarthy Were a Witness . . .

A well-known British journalist, for three years a Washington correspondent, last year tried his hand at reporting a hypothetical Senate hearing where the witness, rather than the inquisitor, was Senator McCarthy—but where the method was still strictly McCarthyite. The remarkable result, reprinted below, was published in the famous English magazine, Punch *(June 10, 1953).*

CHAIRMAN. Well, Senator, picking up our questioning where we left off yesterday, you will admit, I take it, that when you defeated the late Sen. Robert LaFollette in the Wisconsin primaries in 1946, you had the support of the Communist and fellow-traveler vote?

McCARTHY. What of it? As I said at the time, Communists have votes, don't they?

CHAIRMAN. Please answer the question, Senator. Did you have the support of the Communist and fellow-traveler vote against LaFollette?

McCARTHY. I believe so.

CHAIRMAN. Right. Now would you also agree that LaFollette, whom you defeated with the aid of this vote, though holding strong liberal views, was intensely anti-Communist, long before you or most other professed anti-Communists of today thought of taking up such a position?

McCARTHY. I'm not familiar with the late Senator's record.

CHAIRMAN. It's not within your knowledge, then, that he was one of the very few members of the Senate to see, in advance, the appalling dangers of the mood in which President Roosevelt approached the Yalta Conference, to the point that he actually went to see the President before he left for Yalta to plead with him to take a tougher and more realistic attitude towards the Russians?

McCARTHY. No, it's not.

CHAIRMAN. You see what I'm getting at, though, don't you, Senator—that the Communists and fellow-travelers in Wisconsin had very good reasons for wanting to get LaFollette out of the Senate and you in, and were delighted when you succeeded?

McCARTHY *(banging the table, thereby stimulating a new burst of energy on the part of the photographers).* If that is so, they've had every reason subsequently to regret it.

CHAIRMAN. Are you so sure?

McCARTHY. I'd like to read into the record a resolution passed by the American Communist Party and published in the *Daily Worker* to the effect that Senator Joseph McCarthy is one of the bitterest and most unrelenting foes of Communism. . .

CHAIRMAN. You can read anything you like into the record, Senator, but did you help to draft the resolution?

McCARTHY. Did I help . . . that's ridiculous. We're both grown up, aren't we?

CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

McCARTHY. No, I didn't.

CHAIRMAN. Now another question. Have you got any present or former Communists on your staff?

McCARTHY. I . . .

CHAIRMAN. The question, Senator.

McCARTHY. My staff has been carefully selected and screened.

CHAIRMAN. What we want to know is whether there are any present or former Communists among them.

(A pause.)

McCARTHY. Two former Communists who . . .

CHAIRMAN. Good. For the record, the Senator employs two former Communists. He was elected in Wisconsin with Communist and fellow-traveler support. He denies being as of now a member of the Communist Party, but it is a matter of public knowledge that his activities since he became a Senator have greatly benefited the cause of Communism here in the United States and abroad.

Furthermore, it can be said with a certainty that, if he were an undercover party member, chosen for that reason to oust LaFollette (particularly dangerous, from the Communist point of view, because a progressive himself, and bearing a name famous among progressives, and at the same time intensely and knowledgeably anti-Communist), everything he has done and said subsequently would support such a hypothesis.

(McCarthy begins to expostulate violently, again lavishly photographed the while.)

CHAIRMAN. You'll have every opportunity, Senator, to rebut these grave charges. The session is now suspended.

—MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE
Editor, *Punch*

of parliamentary immunity against high officials and eminent persons. His accusations are always made in the most sensational form. In general, these accusations are not followed by real proof, but the noise made by the Senator shatters the most solidly established reputations and has already resulted in the destruction of careers of men well known in the United States."

The right-wing Paris daily, *Aurore,* made this comment on June 9, 1953: "Since Sen. McCarthy launched the witch-hunt, the United States, which had been until then sure of its strength and of its institutions, lives in a tense atmosphere with the press each morning denouncing new plotters and the radio revealing each night new conspiracies."

In Norway, *Arbeidernes Pressekontor,* news service of the Labor Party which serves 45 Norwegian newspapers, carried an article Nov. 11, 1953, by Anders Buraas, who had just completed a five months fact-finding trip through North America. Referring to McCarthyism, Buraas concluded: "The loser is American democracy. In the opinion of the rest of the world the prestige of America has been weakened . . . Democracy has survived many a tough fight, but somewhere there must be a limit to what democracy can endure."

Also in Norway, *Kontakt,* a middle-of-the-road monthly magazine, observed in June 1953: "McCarthy managed to cripple the information machinery of the Voice of America at a time when America had most use for it, namely during the period of Stalin's death . . . The result of McCarthy's investigations is a crippling demoralization of government employees . . . Nobody dares make a major decision any more. . . He creates fear among Americans . . . It is the same foundation on which Hitler built his Germany . . . McCarthy is the most power-hungry and unscrupulous politician of the century."

Aktuell, independent news magazine that is printed in Norway and circulates throughout all Scandinavia, wrote May 23, 1953: "Among those who make it most difficult to be a friend of America, Sen. McCarthy is number one. He destroys more good will than the Information Service can possibly build. When he is caught lying, he answers by spreading more poison."

'Guerrilla Warfare'

"There is today no challenge to the latent greatness of the American people that so demands action than the problem of legislative investigating committees which conduct political guerrilla warfare . . . and in the process besmirch private citizens, public officials, and each other . . . It is here in the growing misuse of the investigative process that the rights of the individual are being most grievously assaulted."

WILLIAM T. GOSSETT
Vice President
The Ford Motor Company

Dagbladet, largest daily in Norway, warned its readers Mar. 20, 1953, that the United States was mistaken in feeling that Fascism was a purely European disease. "Hitler had less support in Germany when he took over than McCarthy has in America today. It was rather difficult in the 1930's to make people understand what type of a man Hitler was. Those who tried to tell the truth were told they were hysterical if not something worse."

In Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter,* Stockholm's largest daily, commented editorially June 19, 1953, that "McCarthy's position in American political life is alarming in more than one sense . . . These reactionaries with taints of Fascism have succeeded, although to a limited degree so far, in discrediting the principles of any living democracy. They have succeeded in pressing President Eisenhower and other high officials in a manner which in our eyes has weakened the present American government, and America . . . If any group in America is engaged in un-American activities it certainly is Sen. McCarthy and his followers."

In Italy, John P. Leacacos, a conservative European correspondent for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* cabled from Rome Dec. 4, 1953: "Dirty espionage linen being washed in public back home has lowered esteem for the United States and indirectly enhanced Russian prestige. Accusations that former American officials were once Reds is used by the Communist press to brag: 'See, even in capitalistic America there are important proletarian patriots who believe in Communism.' "

Leacacos reported that scoffers who dislike the United States are able to capitalize on the operations of Americans like McCarthy by being able to say: "Willy nilly, the United States is taking on vices of its arch enemy, Communism. Fear imbued by Red terror in its victims is allegedly duplicated by fear and uncertainty instilled in American citizens by 'smear' charges."

In Germany, the Frankfurt *Allge-*

Our Reliance—'The Love of Liberty'

Below is the Lincoln quotation which McCarthy, in a radio address to the nation Nov. 24, 1953, garbled and distorted to produce exactly the opposite of Lincoln's point:

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, our Army and our Navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle.

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1858

meine, an independent conservative and one of the most important dailies in Western Germany, on Nov. 13, 1953, warned that the "spread of McCarthyism" would "fill America's friends with increasing anxiety." On Dec. 2, 1953, that German daily editorialized that it "is an illusion" to believe that McCarthy's chief objective is to expose spies. "What is really going forward has emerged into clear light in McCarthy's challenge to President Eisenhower. Forces are growing in America with which we have long been familiar in our less fortunate continent. No country is protected against fascistic germs . . . If these forces should continue to gain ground in America, the leading Power of the Western World, there would be reason for the gravest anxiety."

On Dec. 22, 1953, *Der Kurier,* a French-licensed daily in Berlin, one of the most influential Christian Democratic publications in Germany, in a review of the Anderson-May book on McCarthy, commented that McCarthy "sees Communists everywhere, as a delirious alcoholic sees white mice." The review wonders if "not the least important explanation of McCarthy's . . . following in the U.S.A. is the fact that Americans saw only from afar" the tragedy of the rise of Hitler.

This theme that McCarthyism might be a stage in the development of Nazism is contained in scores of warnings in the German press. The *Wesser-Kurier,* an independent publication, said that if Goebbels were alive, he "would have appreciated McCarthy," and the *Allgemeine* of Frankfurt professed to see in McCarthy "a united loudspeaker to give voice to the anti-liberal, anti-Semitic, and anti-British forces . . . in America."

The exposure of the frightful price the United States is paying for McCarthyism comes not only from American correspondents abroad and foreign editors, but from American travelers and GIs stationed overseas. Two comments from Americans abroad are representative of countless others like them. One is from an American soldier, the other an American woman.

Joseph V. O'Brien, now a civilian after 12 years of active military and combat duty in Europe, Africa,

To What Low Levels?

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Japan, and Korea, was on a furlough in Copenhagen, Denmark, during the summer of 1953. In a report to the Milwaukee *Journal,* Dec. 26, 1953, O'Brien wrote that he met a Chinese Communist who told him that "Sen. McCarthy is one of Communism's best friends in America.

"I asked why, to which the Chinese replied: 'Your Sen. McCarthy generates and spreads suspicion, doubt, and distrust of your public officials, military leaders, your religious, educational, and scientific institutions, neighbor against neighbor. We care nothing about who McCarthy talks for or against, so long as he generates and spreads confused thinking and widespread distrust. Your Sen. McCarthy supplies us indirectly with endless propaganda material which we use to our great advantage and to the detriment of America.' "

The American woman is Josephine Quirk. She traveled in Europe on a confidential mission during the summer of 1950. She reported her findings in an article in the October 1950 issue of Father Baker's *Victorian,* a Catholic monthly published by Father Baker's Homes for Charity (National Shrine and Basilica of Our Lady of Victory) at Lackawanna, New York. Here is what this woman who has spent 15 years lecturing in this country on Communism had to say about what she heard in Europe:

"Even if every man accused [by McCarthy] of Communism is really a Red, it will never justify the weapon he has given Moscow to blast and misrepresent us.

"The Senator is the 'darling' of Moscow. They hope he goes on forever. Wherever there is a Red leader, the Senator's accusations are hailed and passed on to the people as actual proofs of the power of the Kremlin in the most important department [State] of the U.S. government . . .

"The Russians, no matter what we think of them, are no dopes about gauging the sensitiveness of Europeans. They have been watching the effect of McCarthy's foaming charges with very shrewd interest and have been exploiting them to the hilt."

It would be possible to go on indefinitely with comparable quotations. All of them hammer home the same conclusion—that McCarthy has seriously impaired the functioning of American foreign policy, reduced our capacity for leadership in the free world, sown seeds of doubt and disunity among our friends and allies, and strengthened Communism in the world struggle of ideologies. Just as significant as the multiplicity of anti-McCarthy comments by anti-Communist forces abroad is the scarcity, if not the downright absence, of such quotations in the Communist newspapers of Europe. These papers regard McCarthy as their helper because his irresponsible attacks undermine confidence in the men and institutions that are most dangerous to the Communists.

'As Great a Threat As the Kremlin'

Perhaps the most striking commentary on the extent to which McCarthyism parallels Communism in its threat to freedom came from Father Leon Sullivan, a Catholic missionary who was imprisoned by the Communists in China. Writing of his experiences in *The Commonweal,* the Catholic weekly, Nov. 14, 1952, Father Sullivan said: "I would rather return to my Chinese Communist prison cell than avail myself of Senator McCarthy's 'protection.' **He is as great, if not a greater threat to American freedom than the military might of the Kremlin, and, believe me, I do not underestimate either the Kremlin's might or its cleverness."**

'The Big Truth'

Our Great Hope Is a Fighting Faith in Freedom, Not the Fear Generated by McCarthy

THE DOMINANT reality that emerges from the documented record of McCarthy in action is the fact that this man who has made anti-Communism his political career has contributed dangerously to strengthening the Communist cause. If the Kremlin could succeed in planting one of its own agents in the Senate of the United States, it could hardly hope for greater results in creating doubt, disunity, and fear in America than it has gained from McCarthy's operations.

If this judgment seems harsh and extreme, we can only reply that the hard facts painstakingly assembled in this issue of *The Progressive* make it clear that—

- McCarthy has struck violently at the very principles of freedom and fair play which distinguish democratic self-government from Communist regimentation.

- McCarthy has sown seeds of suspicion and disunity among the nations of the free world at the very moment they most need unity against the threat of Communist aggression.

- McCarthy has flagrantly demoralized the civil and military establishments of our government at a time of unparalleled world crisis.

By substituting headlines and hysteria for facts and evidence, McCarthy has so successfully harnessed Hitler's concept of "The Big Lie" to his own purposes that many decent Americans actually believe he has exposed a Communist plot in our government and rescued the Republic from betrayal by traitors.

Many Americans who share this belief say they find McCarthy's methods repulsive, but they feel that in tense times like ours we need someone to do "the dirty work" of exposing the subversives in our midst.

This widely held feeling might be more understandable if McCarthy were in fact exposing Communists in government and saving us from a Red plot. But fact piled relentlessly on fact in this issue of *The Progressive* shows that the evidence does not in any way support such a conclusion.

In the pitifully rare cases that he has focused his sights on what may have seemed like a worthwhile target, McCarthy has so totally distorted the evidence and overplayed his hand as to render his "revelations" less than useless. In his eyes honest mistakes, misjudgments, or misunderstandings become part of a sinister pattern of conspiracy.

The evidence seems to us overwhelming that if we overlook methods because it is results we say we want, McCarthy has not in any measurable way contributed to strengthening the security of our country against spies and saboteurs. More than four years of hit-and-run accusations have yet to produce a single conviction of a Communist in government on evidence uncovered by McCarthy.

Some Americans who know of no specific achievements in McCarthy's record of Red-hunting are still loath to criticize because they think his activities have been worthwhile in dramatizing the evils of Communism and alerting the nation to the menace. However, as Elmer Davis so crisply put it recently, "This amounts to saying that nothing brings the danger of fire more to the attention of the public than turning in false alarms all over town."

But means and methods *are* important to people who love liberty and cherish principles of tolerance and fair play. It is the contrast between our means and methods, and those of the totalitarians, whether Communist or Fascist, which mark

As America Goes, So Goes the World

Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

one of the great gulfs between them and us.

Allan Nevins, one of our foremost historians, summed this up with great clarity recently when he said:

"The fact is that in the protection of basic human rights, method is everything. The Spanish Inquisition justified torture on the ground that it was in a good cause, and was a mere matter of method. The Russian secret police justifies the knock on the door at 3 a.m., the summary sentence, and the pistol shot or deportation to a slave camp on the ground that all this is in a good cause and is a mere matter of method."

The right of Congressional committees to investigate and the need for the most comprehensive surveillance in guarding the nation's security are not at issue; what is at stake is the urgent necessity for exposing and combating the dangerously un-American character of McCarthy's one-man show before it completes the corruption of what is finest in the American system of law and justice.

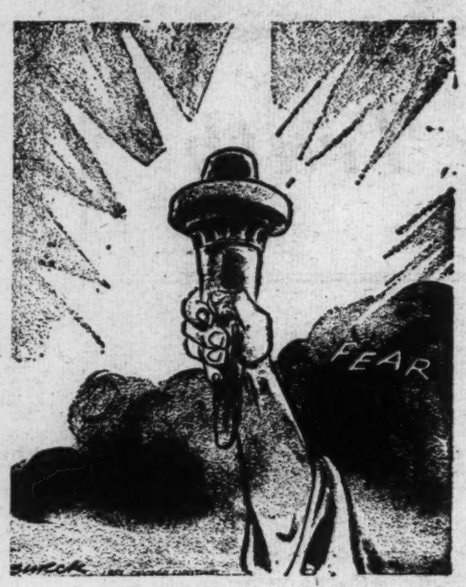
Learned Hand, one of the wisest of American jurists, who has retired as Chief Judge of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals after 42 years on the bench, warned his countrymen of this very danger in a memorable address a year and a half ago. Said Judge Hand:

"I believe that that community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose.

"Such fears as these are a solvent which eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only insofar as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving."

In his nightly newscast Feb. 24, 1954, Edward R. Murrow quoted

When the Clouds Roll Away



Burck in Chicago Sun-Times

David Schoenbrun, CBS chief in Paris, on precisely this point. Commenting on the shocked response of our friends in Europe to the capitulation of the U.S. Army to McCarthy, Schoenbrun told Murrow: "They [our friends] don't think a line can be drawn between objectives and methods, particularly when methods, as in the McCarthy case, are so spectacular and destructive that they obviously achieve objectives far removed from the avowed one.

"It is a case of burning down the barn to catch a rat, one French editor told me, pointing out that it is ridiculous to say you approve rat-catching, although you deplore the fact that the barn burned down. You cannot separate the two, any more than you can say that you approved Hitler's aims while deploring his uncouth methods. Hitler's aims may have been to eradicate Communism in Germany and destroy the Soviet Union, but what his *methods* did in fact accomplish was to eradicate democracy in Germany and destroy France—not Russia."

II

We live in a dangerous age, and surely one of the greatest dangers that confronts us is the counterfeit philosophy of Communism and its appeal to the underprivileged of humanity. But we do not begin to meet that menace by burning books, by crushing dissent, and by creating an atmosphere of hysteria.

"How can we defeat Communism," President Eisenhower asked at Dartmouth last year, "unless we know what it is? What it teaches—why does it have such an appeal for men? . . . . We have got to fight it with something better."

Here is the heart of our problem in this dangerous age—the challenge to oppose Communism with something better. This we can never hope to do if we abandon our most cherished democratic principles and embrace the very methods we abhor in Communism. This process of diluting precisely those qualities which distinguish us from those we oppose is dangerously far advanced in McCarthyism. McCarthy's daily activities carry us perilously close to the Kremlin concepts that trial by jury must be replaced with trial by mere accusation; that honest, human error of judgment is equivalent to criminal offense; that dissenters are traitors, and that every friendly foreign nation must become our regimented satellite or suffer our wrath and reprisals.

The first battle in the struggle against Communism is within ourselves—to strengthen our own dedication to democracy by living its compelling principles in our daily lives.

If we are to be true to ourselves and effective in action with others, ours must be more than a mere negative adherence to anti-Communism. A fighting faith in freedom, not cringing fear of Communism, alone will qualify the United States of America to lead the free world in the historic clash of ideologies that is the dominant fact of life in our time.

We of *The Progressive* are convinced that our best chance to keep the lamps of hope and liberty burning brightly in a world hungry for light and leadership is to deal head-on with the conditions which create the doubts and fears on which McCarthy and Malenkov thrive. The first great stride down that road of hope must be to replace "The Big Lie" of Communism *and* McCarthyism with "The Big Truth" of a working democracy.

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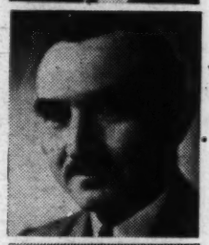

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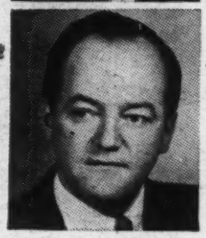

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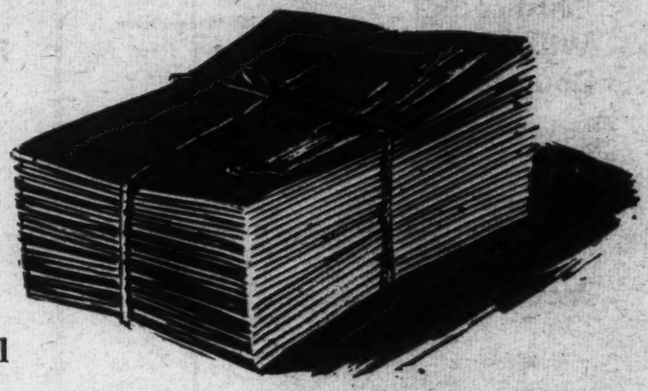

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schools to which he can conveniently send his children; then is the time when the illusory appeal of Communism assumes great proportions. . . . If the farmers are content, the threat of Communism will be reduced to the point of impotency. . . . I strongly urge the powers-that-be to pay more heed to the humble requests of the Thai farmer. One hundred baht spent on irrigation may save ten thousand baht at the front." (The baht is the unit of Thai currency.)

In recent months members of parliament for the northeast provinces have repeatedly warned the government that political unrest and agitation is most likely to begin there, in the areas close to Laos. "Northeast suffering from drought". . . . "Poverty in N.E. Luring Reds". . . . "Water Scarcity Causes Disease." These are typical newspaper headlines in recent months. In one district in Ubol Province, 900 elementary school boys had to stay away from school because there was no rice to eat at home. A former minister of agriculture has stated that he fears "there will be a crisis in Thailand at the end of the year because farmers cannot sell their rice and they have no way to get money."

To all these complaints the government has no reply except a few vague promises. Opponents of the government are therefore asking two leading questions: (1) What will be the use of U.S. military aid if the people are discontented and apathetic? (2) How can the present government be entrusted with economic aid when it failed so miserably to make good use of the wealth that poured into the country during the postwar years? A socialist member of parliament (one of the mere handful of opposition members) with whom I discussed these problems told me that he believes the United States is helping the wrong people.

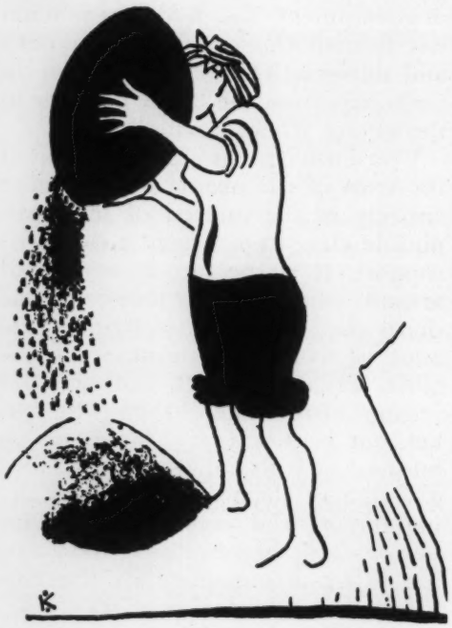
"You Americans and British alike have supported the selfish reactionary elements in Indo-China and see what it has brought you," this lawmaker observed. "You will support Bao Dai in Vietnam, and corrupt governments in Cambodia and Laos and so bring Communism right up to our frontiers. In Guatemala the United States found a way to help its friends who overthrew the government. Give us liberals and socialists the same sort of support and you will soon see a big change here. Otherwise, more and more of the opposition will be driven to the same conclusions as Pridi Panomyong—that our only salvation lies in cooperation with Red China."

I asked him whether there are in Thailand today men who could lead a progressive democratic government that could pull the people out of their apathy and give them something positive worth fighting for.

"Yes, of course," he replied. "There are liberals like Seni Pramoi, and Khuang Aphaiwong who held the premiership in governments just after the war, and socialists like Prasert —all men of integrity and loved by the people. If there were genuinely free elections tomorrow, they would be voted into power without a doubt. But there never will be free elections in Thailand—the present rulers and their friends have too much to lose."

"What about the danger of political conflict opening the way for Communism?" I asked.

"The British don't seem to be so afraid of that in Malaya!" was his reply. "And there you have actual war going on with the Communists. Yet still they are pushing ahead for elections and real self-government, all known to the police. Government has become a joke to our people. But when the people begin to see the government doing something for them, then there will be a quick change and confidence will return."



V

This man, and other politicians with whom I have spoken, convinced me that an alternative government with a positive program is a possibility. Such a program would be based on free election of all members of parliament, the development of local government, and long-term economic projects backed by advice and assistance from the United Nations. It is still not too late for such a policy to be put into effect and as a first step the United States and British governments might advise the present Siamese rulers, in the strongest possible terms, that really free elections should be held as soon as possible. Otherwise Thailand may soon become another Indo-China.

Even before the recent call by Pridi Panomyong from Peking to the people of Thailand to overthrow the present government, his supporters had been slipping out of the country to join the Free Thai movement in Laos and China. There is now evidence that regular contact exists between the left-wing opposition in Thailand and the Free Thai organization outside the country. Agents are coming and going with increasing frequency. Only a few days after the broadcast of Pridi's appeal over Peking radio, verbatim copies were printed in Bangkok and secretly distributed to every newspaper and to every member of parliament.

An ever-increasing number of Siamese liberal and socialist patriots, believers in democracy, are giving up all hope that anything can be done to help their country under the present regime. If their voice is not heard by America and Britain they will surely turn to Red China. Continued reliance on the military strengthening of Thailand, to the exclusion of political, social, and economic reforms long overdue, will not resolve the tragedy of Thailand. It can only weaken the will of the people to resist the clever promises of the Communists and make the true defense of the country vastly more difficult.

How Murrow Does It

By Irwin Ross

THE disparate fates of Edward R. Murrow and Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, in the last seven months, ought to still a few of the alarmist cries over the fate of freedom in America. Last March, it will be recalled, Murrow mounted an uninhibited television attack on McCarthy and all his works. Murrow was widely applauded at the time, but there was a lot of doleful head-wagging along Madison Avenue. This time, it was suggested, the intrepid Murrow had gone too far: his previously indulgent sponsor, under pressure from the McCarthyite claque, was likely to dump him when the session was out.

For Murrow had assailed the Senator in a "controversial" manner unprecedented on radio and television. He pulled no punches, withheld no judgments. He pinned the McCarthy phenomenon to the screen—and cooly set about dissecting the Senator's deceit, bombast, and demagogy. The stuff of the show was McCarthy's own words and actions, recorded on film and on tape, interspersed with Murrow's astringent comments. The audience saw the Senator in almost every sequence, his bull-dog vigor oddly contrasting with his self-conscious, rather unctuous laugh. A more devastating portrait could hardly have been sketched.

The predictions of disaster were of course unfounded. No injury befell Murrow. Instead, the Peabody committee honored him for the fifth time; he lectured to the cadets at West Point, and added several additional testimonials to the sixty-odd citations and awards he already possessed. And he has continued to assail the Senator with unimpaired vigor.

As for McCarthy, the ensuing months have brought him an unending series of embarrassments and disasters—so much so that there is some danger he will soon be cast in the role of underdog.

By this time, Murrow's polemical forays have been endlessly celebrated in print. What is in many ways more interesting is his technical virtuosity. With a vigor and imagination which no one else has equalled, he has regularly brought the raw stuff of history into the living rooms of America—neatly packaged and deftly chronicled, with all the tang and reality sealed in.

Murrow occupies so much air time on the Columbia network that he has become known as "the intellectual's Arthur Godfrey." (And next to Godfrey he is CBS' most profitable property.) He does two weekly TV shows and two daily radio shows—one of them a 15-minute news broadcast. Last year his take-home pay was $240,627.

Murrow's TV programs differ markedly. *See It Now,* currently in its fourth year, is basically a news documentary, sober in intent though generally executed with dry wit. *Person to Person,* which is considerably more casual in its approach, is a novel kind of interview program that has Murrow, in a studio, chatting successively with two celebrities who are in their homes—anywhere from one to 3000 miles away.

For *See It Now* Murrow, who scorns sedentary broadcasters, frequently goes along as a working reporter. His tall, stoop-shouldered figure—clothed in elegant Chesterfield, or ratty trench coat, or army field jacket, depending on the occasion—is as familiar a sight to his fans as is his lean and handsome and slightly somber face.

Murrow and his co-producer, Fred W. Friendly, have always conceived of *See It Now* in rather spacious terms. They maintain five full-time camera crews, four here and one in

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Europe, and enjoy nothing better than dispatching them, in a day or two's notice, to India, Hong Kong, Dutch Guiana, or the Suez Canal. Their sponsor, the Aluminum Company of America, puts up $23,000 a week for production costs, but Murrow and Friendly have not always been able to keep within their budget, in which case CBS foots the extra bill—often not without some grumbling. Both men tend to regard financial considerations as intolerable restraints on their creative spirit, particularly when some big project is underway—like sending a camera crew to India to interview Nehru, or several crews to document a hot war in Korea or a cold war in Berlin. And they normally get their way.

See It Now has never suffered from a poverty of ambition, any more than of money. A couple of years ago, the Air Force proposed a program on our coastal anti-aircraft defenses, to spur recruiting for the ground-observer corps. Murrow and Friendly regarded it as old hat. After some deep thought, they came up with the suggestion that the Air Force provide *See It Now* with nothing less than a mock bombing of New York—"enemy" bombers, American interceptors, and all the rest. The Generals finally agreed, but wanted the "enemy" planes to take off from the U.S. No good, said *See It Now*. If there was going to be an attack, it had to be realistic, with at least one B-29 crossing the Atlantic—and with a *See It Now* cameraman and reporter along, of course. And so it was arranged. The mock bombing made a dramatic show: the cross-Atlantic hop, the B-29's approach over the Maine coast—close to the ground to get under the radar screen—then brief combat with the fighter planes, and finally the bomb run down the spine of Manhattan.

However varied its subject matter, each number of *See It Now* displays the distinctive Murrow style—understatement, wry good humor, with here and there a touch of acid wit. Commentary is sparing: the pictures carry the story. Everything is unrehearsed. "We just hold up the camera," says Friendly, "and people talk into it. That little box is the most perceptive instrument ever devised." They often concentrate on close-ups, where a twitch of the shoulder or a flick of an eye becomes a bravura gesture. If a man is insincere, he can damn himself in 45 seconds flat.

An unvarnished view of reality has always distinguished the program. Instructing the crews that covered the fighting in Korea, Murrow cautioned against "razzle dazzle fancy gadgets and exciting switches . . . It is our intent to capture the sound of combat by coming back with the little picture. The best picture we could get would be a single GI hacking away at a single foxhole in the ice of a Korean winter . . . We're anxious to know how you change a spark plug when your hands are too numb to coordinate. Or a close-up of what frostbite looks like." By the time they were through, they had many such "little pictures"—around 50,000 feet of film, slimmed down to 5,000 for a special hour-long show.

The "little picture," the off-beat view that captures the essence of a situation, is a Murrow specialty. Reporter Joe Wershba once caught a wonderful bit of political nonsense when he covered an Eisenhower meeting in Baltimore during the 1952 campaign. Before Ike was to go on, a man from a Manhattan ad agency got up on the stage to instruct the audience in how and when to applaud. While in the middle of the "warm-up," a colleague hastened across the stage and hauled the instructor into the wings. Apparently, his timing had gone awry—there still were several minutes before air time. Later, at the propitious moment, the warm-up was resumed, the house rocked with applause, and the show went on. The regular newsreel photographers paid no heed to this amusing sequence but *See It Now's* cameras kept grinding away. The result, on TV, was an oblique glimpse of campaign operations which most Americans never see.

The atmosphere around the *See It Now* shop has all the frenetic quality of a college newspaper at edition time. The New York staff is small—Murrow, Friendly, a handful of film cutters, and a few office people—and the technical problems are immense. Film is often shot halfway across the world 48 hours before show time; it has to be flown back to New York, processed in the laboratory, screened in the projection room, cut to size, and fitted with commentary. For a normal program, around 25,000 feet of film are shot, of which about one-tenth is used. Just viewing 25,000 feet takes many hours. Friendly and his crew often have to work a straight 36 hour shift—from Monday morning clear through Tuesday night, knocking off when the show ends at 11 p.m.

One problem *See It Now* doesn't have is sponsor trouble. Indeed, the sponsor, the Aluminum Company of America, treats Murrow with a deference that is altogether rare in the trade. He has the authority, which he frequently employs, to drop the middle commercial if he thinks it conflicts with tone or continuity. ALCOA never interferes in program selection, and often doesn't know what's going to appear until the program is on the air. "The agreement was that they'd make the aluminum, and we'd make the show," says Murrow.

See It Now gets some of its best effects because of its willingness to waste film. There was the time *See It Now* shot Sen. and Mrs. Estes Kefauver toiling over a receiving line during the New Hampshire primary fight in early 1952. The last guest had left, and a tired and troubled Kefauver, unaware that the camera was still on him, was seen complaining to his wife that he had done so poorly that night, he could barely get his words out, and she kept trying to reassure him. Here, in a few moments of film, was all the boneweariness and pathos of the politician's lot.

See It Now thrives on controversy. It had a glorious romp with the last Presidential campaign, documenting our extravagent political folkways in a fashion no other program has tried. To present the essence of the major debates, Murrow and Friendly developed a technique of quick "cuts"—juxtaposing contrasting statements from Ike and Steve on the same subject. It was an oddly effective device, highlighting the absurdities of po-

litical rhetoric and also giving a sharp sense of the real differences of views. Being highly selective, it was a difficult technique to employ without being charged with unfairness. But Murrow carried it off with surprising success; the mail indicated that partisans of each candidate thought he favored their man. (And even today Murrow refuses to say whom, if anyone, he did favor. He will answer any other question from a reporter, but he will not put a political label on himself.)

Amidst the solemnities of a political campaign, Murrow could not deny himself an occasional satirical thrust. At one point he had an extended sequence on the imaginative lengths to which candidates would go to prove their local affiliations. First there was Stevenson, solemnly recalling to an audience in Louisville, Ky. that his grandparents hailed from there. Next, one saw Eisenhower, making the point that he was born in Dixie. Quick cut to Stevenson: his grandfather spoke here in Richmond 60 years ago this week. Cut back to Eisenhower: he had met his wife in this state (Texas). Stevenson again, in Connecticut: "My son is also a student in Connecticut." Ike again, in Iowa: "My Mamie is an Iowa girl."

Murrow has a talent for spotting dramatic potential in a controversy that most people would overlook. He saw an insignificant item or two in the New York papers, saying that the American Civil Liberties Union had been having trouble in getting a meeting hall in Indianapolis, because of the opposition of the American Legion. A local Catholic Church had finally taken the wandering brethren in. Murrow suddenly saw the episode as a kind of test tube conflict between the impulses promoting and squelching freedom in this country. He rushed the cameras to Indianapolis, and they returned with one of his most memorable shows—including a fascinating sequence of "cross-cuts" between the ACLU meeting and a simultaneous protest meeting held by the Legion.

No controversy is too strenuous or too ticklish for Murrow to plunge into. Normally, he tries to present both sides as fairly as possible, but it is impossible to interpret the news

'Thanks for the Compliment'

without an editorial slant—and Murrow's slant is always toward the free and open society. He expresses it with vigor—and never with greater effect than when he reported, last fall, on the strange case of Lt. Milo Radulovitch.

Radulovitch had been suspended from the Air Force reserve as a "security risk." No charge of disloyalty had been made against him personally—rather allegations that his father and sister had Communist leanings. Radulovitch made a spirited defense, arguing that he could not be held responsible for the derelictions of his relatives. But it availed him nothing.

At this point Murrow got interested in his plight. A three-man camera crew was dispatched to his hometown of Dexter, Mich. They interviewed everybody in sight—all the Radulovitches, the lieutenant's lawyer, several townspeople. The Air Force would not talk, but the local American Legion head, the town dentist, and the police chief said some pretty bitter things about the absurdity of "guilt by relationship." It all made an absorbing presentation of a novel slice of Americana, whose moral Murrow pointedly drew: "we believe that 'the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father,' even though that iniquity be proved beyond all doubt, which in this case it was not."

Several million Americans were listening. So, apparently, was the Air Force. A few weeks later Lt. Radulovitch was reinstated with Air Force Secretary Harold Talbott going on *See It Now* to announce the happy news.

See It Now has its relaxed moments, but Murrow's lighter side is regularly on display only on *Person to Person,* his Friday night interview show, co-produced by John Aaron and Jesse Zousmer. Murrow delights in coupling on one program such contrasting personalities as Adlai Stevenson and a fashion model; Eva Gabor and V. K. Krishna Menon, India's chief delegate to the U.N.; Joe Louis and Sir Roger Makins, the British Ambassador.

The viewer sees Murrow in the studio, and the guest in his or her home. Sometimes they are chatting together on a split screen, at other times only Murrow or the interviewee appears, although the other's voice is heard. It is a most informal affair, in which Murrow asks about the celebrity's hobbies, work schedule, mementoes. The guest generally takes Murrow on a tour of his home, walking around with considerable freedom by virtue of a wireless mike (developed by *Person to Person* at a cost of $5,000 each) pinned to lapel or shoulder strap.

The show is "all live" and completely unrehearsed. This makes dullness a normal hazard, if the guest turns camera shy, and indeed some of the 11-minute chats seem of endless duration. But, at its best, the show is sprightly and often unexpected in its revelations. Krishna Menon was grim and disdainful, almost snarling at Murrow, who happens to be a friend of his. James Caeser Petrillo provided a wonderful moment when he forgot he was on television and almost took a swipe at a grandson, who was tugging at his cornet; then he recovered and patted the youngster pleasantly on the head. Elsa Maxwell was uproariously funny when Murrow ran down a list of famous people and asked if she knew them. She knew almost everybody. "Eisenhower?" "Yes, I love

him." "Mr. Churchill?" "Oh, I love him, wonderful man, known him 30 years." "Queen Elizabeth?" "Presented once." "Peter of Yugoslavia?" "Too well." "Henry Ford?" "Love the great industrialist."

Off the air, Murrow gives the impression of imperturbability — a smoothly efficient human machine, swift in his movements, measured in his speech, a bit on the dour side but also capable of suddenly turning the switch for a half-hour of genial relaxation. But even in his most easy-going moments, he seems to have himself under tight control—and he often betrays an undercurrent of tension. He is a compulsive smoker, and a line of sweat is always breaking across his brow—even in the coolest rooms.

Murrow has reason to be tense. He carries such a burden of work that his waking hours have to be organized as tightly as a railroad time-table. On Tuesday and Friday nights he is at the studio presenting *See It Now* and *Person to Person*, and he normally allots Monday and Thursday nights, as well as many daytime hours, to helping whip the shows into shape. Weekdays he also has to devote himself to his radio news program, broadcast at 7:45 p.m. (EST). His *Person to Person* colleagues, John Aaron and Jesse Zousmer, aid him with research for the news show and prepare the first six or seven minutes of "hard news," but Murrow composes the end commentary himself. He generally tinkers with the radio show at odd moments during the day and works uninterruptedly at it from around 5 p.m. to 7:30. In addition to these chores, his voice is also heard at 5:55 p.m. (EST) each day, introducing a series of personal testaments called *This I Believe*. It is a recorded program, and from time to time Murrow trots off to a sound room to read a batch of introductions.

Murrow does not precisely batten on work. At 46, he has enormous resources of energy and can carry on for days on three or four hours' sleep. He is liable, though, to look hollow-eyed and cadaverous and altogether the worse for wear. But, however fatigued, his mind seems to click along at a furious rate. "He's the only man I know who doesn't lose his mental acuteness no matter how tired he gets," says William S. Paley, the board chairman of CBS and an old admirer of Murrow's. But the strange thing about Murrow, most of his friends agree, is that he seems to enjoy fatigue. He is always pushing himself to the edge of exhaustion, for reasons which are in some dispute. "A simple masochistic drive," one colleague will tell you. "The boy likes to suffer—it's the only way he can feel worthy of all the dough he makes."

"The explanation is less complicated," another friend says. "Murrow does his best work when he's under pressure. He will purposely while away the afternoon chatting with visitors—and then have to whip himself into furious concentration to get his radio script out on time. He apparently thinks it'll be a better script. And he gets a boyish thrill out of proving what a daredevil he is with a deadline."

Another CBS colleague, who has known Murrow intimately for many years, says, "Ed does everything as if it's the last thing on earth that he's going to do—whether it's smacking a shot down the fairway or reading a script on the air. Always the anxiety, the fierce concentration. That's a great part of his strength. Other commentators, when the news is dull, will often betray a note of boredom in their voices. But not Murrow."

The note in Murrow's cultivated baritone is always one of controlled tension. His measured, deliberate tones and "pregnant" silences seem to invest every event, however routine, with a portentous significance. This mildly somber quality is Murrow's trademark; the wags around CBS call him the "Voice of Doom."

Murrow's radio performance is otherwise distinguished by a modesty of intent uncommon among broadcasters. He dislikes to call himself a commentator. Too pretentious. He's a reporter, he insists, and he also does not think he should exploit his "monopoly position" to force his own views down the public's throat. On his first broadcast of his current radio show, back in 1947, he said, "This program is not a place where personal opinions should be mixed up with ascertainable facts." Not that he often does not express a personal opinion—but it is labeled as such, and is at the end of the program, clearly separated from the "hard news."

Politically, Murrow can best be described as an unritualistic liberal. Over the years, his radio broadcasts have favored the Democrats on foreign policy questions; in domestic affairs he hews to a line pretty much down the middle. If he were a British citizen, he told me on one occasion, he would have voted for Labor in 1945 and for the Conservatives in 1951. He likes to think of himself as a mugwump.

Murrow has an oddly pessimistic cast of mind. From time to time, he will privately express a pious conviction that the republic will survive, but he generally regards our immediate prospects as pretty bleak. While his grim view of the world seldom changes, Murrow's own moods are subject to wild fluctuations. Some mornings his staff is delighted to find him in a state of almost manic affability, wreathed in smiles and crackling with small jokes. On other days, an impenetrable gloom will settle over him, and he will barely communicate. If he has a lunch date with a friend, he is likely to sit through the meal without saying six words. But if he is introduced to a stranger, while in one of these funks, Murrow's charm is suddenly galvanized. He will make small talk and be altogether agreeable. "Question of politeness," an associate says. "Murrow can't bear discourtesy. He'll act out his miseries only with his friends."

Murrow's style of life is in rather ornate contrast to the nostalgia with which he speaks of his simple origins. He dresses with quiet elegance in suits made by Anderson and Sheppard, Ltd., Savile Row, London; he inhabits a large and handsome Park Avenue apartment and a three bathroom "log cabin" in Pawling, N.Y.; he regularly dines at such elevated establishments as "21" and Voisin. Yet his conversation is filled with

memories of his rugged logging days, and one gets the impression, at times, that Murrow primarily thinks of himself as merely one of the most accomplished compassmen ever to tread the Washington woods.

He is contradictory in other ways as well. He has a connoisseur's taste in wines, but virtually no interest in food. He has gone into New York's Le Pavillon, possibly the best French restaurant in America, and ordered scrambled eggs and bacon. Wasn't hungry. "Probably also wanted to shock the captain," says his wife.

With his solemn mien, and clipped, decisive manner of speech—sprinkled with a few rugged epithets and an occasional, well-calculated grammatical error—Murrow often gives the impression of being a very tough fellow. The truth is that he's a soft touch, with a vast well of sentimentality that is immediately tapped whenever an old London hand comes into the office.

Murrow has been in the big time for 17 years, ever since he was sent abroad to head CBS' European service. With Hitler on the prowl, and Europe about to crack at every seam, it was a happy assignment for a budding reporter. Murrow, however, was no reporter; he had spent most of his career in educational uplift work, and he had never even covered a police beat. But he was adaptable.

Murrow's success story, standard in other particulars, is deficient in the early nurture of some driving ambition. He never had any precise ambition: he was just a young man who wanted to get on, and he was not in any great hurry. He came from a poor and entirely non-intellectual family; his father was first a farmer in North Carolina and then a locomotive engineer in Washington. Murrow went to a small high school at Edison, Wash.; after class and during summer vacation, he used to pick up loose change working in a nearby logging camp.

At Washington State College, where he won a Phi Beta Kappa key, his interests expanded considerably. He took courses all the way from animal husbandry to historic costuming, majored in history and speech—and started to read furiously, mostly in the ancients. He had no interest yet in contemporary history. No ca-

McCarthy Marches On

reer line, either, though in his junior year he thought vaguely about becoming a lawyer. But two important things happened to him: a female speech teacher took a flattering interest in his voice, which underwent its first vigorous training; and in his senior year he became president of the student body. This led to his attendance at a number of national student conferences, where he impressed the delegates sufficiently to get elected president of the National Student Federation of America. He took up his duties after he graduated from college in June 1930.

With the presidency came a small office in New York, a salary of $25 a week, and a decision, since he lacked any more promising alternatives, to pursue a career in education. After two years Murrow moved on to the Institute of International Education, as assistant director, largely concerned with arranging student and teacher exchanges between America and Europe. He also served with a committee to aid "Displaced European Scholars" — finding teaching berths in the United States for academicians exiled by Hitler. "For me, it was a year's revolving seminar with some of the best minds of Germany," Murrow recalls. His consuming interest in politics, and his obsessive concern with the hazards democracy faces in the modern world, date from this period.

In 1934, Murrow married Janet Huntington Brewster, late of Mt. Holyoke College, whom he had met a couple of years before on a train bound for New Orleans, where they were both to attend a student conference. The following year Murrow, who by this time was quite well-known in educational circles, was offered a job by CBS to head up a new department, "Talks and Education." Still the amateur academician, but now he could look forward to more than a professor's affluence.

Murrow did an impressive job as CBS' emissary to the egg-heads, arranging programs and propagandizing radio's merits as an educational medium. (But no one ever suggested that he approach a microphone.) He was rewarded, two years later, by a transfer to London and the title of European Director. Apart from secretarial help, he had no staff—but this was to be the real beginning of his career.

He soon hired a jobless newspaperman named William Shirer to help him with his managerial chores, which largely consisted of squiring notables to the studio and shortwaving string quartets to New York. No hint of radio reporting, but the following year Hitler invaded Austria, and Murrow and Shirer bounded to the microphone, broadcasting the news to a gasping world. They were on the scene—and there was no time to corral big names.

When war came closer, Murrow was given an ampler budget and he started to recruit a staff of bright and unknown young men—such current luminaries of CBS as Charles Collingwood, Bill Downs, Richard C. Hottelet, Larry Lesueur, Eric Sevareid. With Shirer, they were the first "Murrow boys" and under their patron's shrewd tutelage they pioneered CBS's foreign service and made it one of the best in the business—long on interpretation, short on histrionics, as dispassionate and objective as possible.

The war made Murrow a household name in America; the staccato breathlessness of "This is . . . London," which began each night's show, conjured up an image of wailing

sirens, night battles high over the Thames, and a British courage as implacable as it was undramatic. Murrow took a microphone up on the rooftops to record an air raid and down in the streets to follow the progress of the rescue squads. Murrow's best estimate is that he was on 25 bombing missions over the continent. The first two or three missions made good copy for his show, but thereafter his friends were baffled as to why he kept risking his hide. Murrow had a variety of explanations — he was sore because people back home thought the raids were milk runs, and he was going to tell them differently; it was a matter of "sheer individual arrogance" —his resolution against the fates; and finally he couldn't say no when some youngsters, with whom he had flown before, would call up to ask him along. They obviously thought he was lucky.

He was. Not a scratch in the air or on the ground. Three times his London offices were bombed out. They were close to the BBC, a great convenience but also a great hazard, for the Germans gave it frequent attention. After the third bombing, Murrow wanted to move his office into his apartment building, which had never been hit although it was also near the BBC, but his wife vetoed that inspiration. How far can you push your luck?

He finally came home in 1946, his family by this time having been enlarged by the birth of a son. Murrow was promptly made a member of CBS' board of directors and a vice-president in charge of its whole news operation. It was fitting recognition for his distinction as a reporter, but he soon chafed at the enforced silence. The general impression around CBS is that he was an uninspired administrator, but William Paley denies it. Murrow has said he felt imprisoned in his plush office, and anyway he hated to fire people. Eighteen months later he was back at the microphone, still a board member but no longer a V-P. He hasn't strayed far from that mike since.

I See by the Papers

By ROBERT LASCH

THE ELECTION campaign now closing has not been so heated as the Presidential race, but it is a safe bet that in many communities some candidates and their supporters are unhappy over the treatment they received in the newspapers.

The notion that the press slants the campaign news to favor one party or the other has gained ground steadily in recent years. There is no unanimity on which party gets the advantage. Though most of the complaints come from Democrats, the charge has been made—by the late Sen. Robert A. Taft, for one—that a New Dealish taint among reporters produces a bias in the press against Republicans.

It is easy to be wrong in imputing bias to news coverage, especially when one's feelings are exacerbated by the frenzy of a campaign. With President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Speaker Martin, and sundry lesser personages beating the bushes in behalf of the GOP during the past few weeks, a great many voters may have received the impression that the newspapers were giving the Republicans a decided edge on news coverage of this campaign.

The advantage may have existed, but it does not follow that it was the result of biased news treatment. The truth is that a President, a Vice President, and a Speaker of the House do make news which has to be reported, whether a political party benefits thereby or not. Where to draw the line between news and propaganda? How to judge whether the press is handling an election campaign on the basis of honest news values, or on the basis of front office favoritism?

This question of bias in news coverage has always been primarily one of determining the facts. No newspaper is precisely like another any more than individuals are like each other, and generalizations from a few examples are dangerous. There were so many bitter complaints about press performance during the 1952 campaign that some attempt should have been made long since to determine the facts about it.

But many editors were touchy on the subject. A committee appointed by the journalism fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, concluded that nothing in the way of an investigation should be undertaken because there was just no way to get the facts. The American Society of Newspaper Editors repeatedly ducked the issue, mostly on the same questionable grounds. The publishers' trade associations scarcely deigned to notice the controversy at all.

Nathan B. Blumberg, assistant professor of journalism at the University of Nebraska, a former reporter and editor, has performed a most useful service by trying to find out just what the facts about press coverage of the 1952 campaign were. He could not, of course, survey the performance of every newspaper in every town. Nor could he render an absolute judgment on the press as a whole. But he could and did study 35 representative newspapers of varying circulation in every section of the country, and through

them he has tried to throw some light on the 1952 campaign coverage. His findings are reported in a book just published by the University of Nebraska Press, called *One-Party Press?*

Mr. Blumberg's method was to study every issue of the 35 papers for one month of the campaign—the final 30 days, from Oct. 6 to Nov. 4. He measured the number of column-inches devoted to campaign news and pictures of each party on the front page and on selected inside pages. He noted the number and size of photographs and the number and size of headlines. This gave him a quantitative analysis which he then sought to supplement by qualitative judgments. For example, he discounted the heavy news play for one party resulting from a visit to a particular city by one of the candidates, since here the "local angle" would distort national news values. He made subjective judgments as to which party should be credited with a particular news item. He made allowances for special local conditions affecting news values, and so on. His conclusion is that while bias in news coverage cannot be scientifically measured, the existence of bias can be determined.

II

Of the 35 newspapers studied, Mr. Blumberg decided that 18 showed no evidence of partiality in the news columns. Fifteen of these papers supported Eisenhower, two Stevenson, and one took no stand. Here is the list:

Baltimore (Md.) *Sun.*
Birmingham (Ala.) *News.*
Boise (Idaho) *Daily Statesman.*
Burlington (Vt.) *Free-Press.*
Des Moines (Ia.) *Register.*
Fargo (N. D.) *Forum.*
Hartford (Conn.) *Times.*
Memphis (Tenn.) *Commercial Appeal.*
Miami (Fla.) *Herald.*
Minneapolis (Minn.) *Star.*
New York (N. Y.) *Times.*
Philadelphia (Pa.) *Evening Bulletin.*
Portland (Ore.) *Oregonian.*
Richmond (Va.) *Times-Dispatch.*
Wilmington (Del.) *Journal-Every-Evening.*
Jackson (Miss.) *Clarion-Ledger.*
Louisville (Ky.) *Courier-Journal.*
Salt Lake City (Utah) *Deseret News.*

In addition to these papers which get Mr. Blumberg's clean bill, he lists 11 others in a kind of twilight zone. Evidently they bothered him, for one reason or another, but all he wants to say about them by way of final judgment is that they showed "no *conclusive* evidence of partiality in news columns." Seven supported Eisenhower, three Stevenson, and one took no stand. They are:

Bangor (Me.) *News.*
Dallas (Tex.) *Morning News.*
Denver (Colo.) *Post.*
Detroit (Mich.) *News.*
Omaha (Neb.) *World-Herald.*
Phoenix (Ariz.) *Gazette.*
Seattle (Wash.) *Post-Intelligencer.*
Atlanta (Ga.) *Journal.*
Milwaukee (Wis.) *Journal.*
St. Louis (Mo.) *Post-Dispatch.*
New Orleans (La.) *Times-Picayune.*

Finally, Mr. Blumberg concludes that six out of the 35 newspapers definitely showed "evidence of partiality in news columns." Four of these supported Eisenhower and two Stevenson. The list:

Chicago (Ill.) *Tribune.*
Indianapolis (Ind.) *Star.*
Los Angeles (Calif.) *Times.*
Sioux Falls (S. D.) *Argus-Leader.*
Charleston (W. Va.) *Gazette.*
Great Falls (Mont.) *Tribune.*

Thus Mr. Blumberg in effect gives an "excellent" rating to roughly half of the newspapers he studied, a rating of "poor" to about one-sixth, and of "not so good" to the rest. That is a much better showing, I imagine, than many critics of the press would have expected.

There are, of course, shortcomings in this survey which the author would be the first to acknowledge. You cannot, as he says, measure news play accurately with a yardstick. The column inches you add up do not tell you anything of the biased headlines which may have been used, such as the Phoenix *Gazette's* amazing line at the top of Page One which converted that daily newspaper into a handbill: "IKE WILL ARRIVE AT MONTGOMERY STADIUM AT 9:25 TOMORROW MORNING: LET'S BE THERE TO SAY 'HOWDY'." Nor does sheer space begin to indicate the relative treatment accorded similar stories, as in the case of the Los Angeles *Times,* which gave Stevenson's arrival in that city a restrained one-column headline, and Eisenhower's arrival a joyous four-column headline, with trimmings.

Nevertheless the amount of space devoted to a particular party or candidate day after day—especially on Page One or in other prominent positions—does have some significance, and must be regarded as one indicator, if not the only one, of a newspaper's fairness or bias in a campaign. Space, after all, is the common commodity which all newspapers deal in. It can be measured and it is the same for all papers. While an extraordinary proportion of it, as measured by an acceptable standard, is consistently devoted to one side of an issue or a campaign, the public is entitled to draw at least a provisional conclusion of bias.

III

My principal criticism of Mr. Blumberg's valuable work is that it seems to lack a definite standard by which to measure the performance of his 35 newspapers. In the comments he gives on each newspaper, explaining and evaluating the statistical study of its campaign coverage, he comes very close at times to making the assumption that an Eisenhower paper proved its impartiality if it gave the Democrats the larger news coverage, and vice versa. Of course the party a newspaper supports has nothing to do with the fairness of its own coverage. An Eisenhower paper which slanted the news for the Democrats, or a Stevenson paper which gave the Republicans the break, would be equally guilty.

Nor can it be assumed that the

ROBERT LASCH, who was educated at the University of Nebraska, Oxford, and Harvard, is an editorial writer for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, widely regarded as one of the best of the American dailies. A Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, he served for a time as chief editorial writer for the Chicago Sun-Times before going to St. Louis. His article, "For a Free Press," won the Atlantic Prize for 1944.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAN 23 1956

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I just had the pleasure of viewing the film, "A Tale of 2,000 Cities," which you have so powerfully narrated.

After seeing this film and having seen "The Whites of Their Eyes" on several occasions, I am impelled to add my most sincere thanks for the distinguished contribution that you are making to our efforts to build up the United States Army Reserve.

I believe you have been informed that "The Whites of Their Eyes" has appeared on almost every television station in the United States and has been given several thousand group showings in our communities. We look forward to an even better audience coverage for the most recent film.

You may be interested in knowing that I have recently written a personal letter to the Mayors of major municipalities (350 in all) requesting their local cooperation with our Reserve defense needs. We plan to ask each Mayor who responds favorably to sponsor local showings of "A Tale of 2,000 Cities" because of the particular aptness of this picture.

I have been informed that you have also narrated "Fire Power" which is now in the final production stages. I am indeed looking forward with pleasure to previewing this in the near future.

Once again, may I express our gratitude to you for the help you are giving the United States Army Reserve.

Sincerely yours,

Hugh M. Milton II

Hugh M. Milton II
Assistant Secretary of the Army

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

UNITED NATIONS PLAZA AT 46TH STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK
CABLE ADDRESS INTERPAX
JAMES T. SHOTWELL
PRESIDENT-EMERITUS

April 6, 1954

Dr. Frank Stanton,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue, New York.

Dear Dr. Stanton:

Some comment has been made in the press lately about Edward R. Murrow having been associated with a group of "Marxists" who are said to have met in my home for a period of time in the early 1930's. The intimation has been that, if Ed was not a Marxist himself, at least his thinking was closely allied with theirs. This same group was referred to by Frederick Vanderbilt Field in a letter which he wrote in 1938, and which was printed as part of the hearings before the Senate subcommittee which investigated the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1952. Field talked of a group of "about 18 or 20 people" who met at my house and ate my food one evening a week for about four months, and said that he arranged matters so that out of a meeting of 20 persons, "there were 19 Marxists or pseudo-Marxists and one violent anti-Marxist, Shotwell himself."

This is a completely distorted picture of what went on. At that time, I was Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, in which post I succeeded Dr. Millikan. In connection with my work on the Committee, I formed a discussion group, quite informal, of young people. It was this group to which Field referred. The group changed from time to time and was not, by any means, composed only of Marxists. Field was one of the group, and of course was a Marxist. There were a number of others whom he brought in, of the same stripe. There was also a strong group of anti-Marxists, however, which included Ed Murrow. The group met at my home, and there were extended discussions on Marxist theory in which Ed and the other anti-Marxists -- including myself -- debated the fallacies in the Marxist theory of economic history. All this discussion was on an entirely theoretical plane and there wasn't even discussion of practical Marxism.

The group broke up finally, principally because of a spoofing of the left wing group. I arranged to have a microphone wired from an upstairs room into the family radio set and then made an elaborate pretense of getting a Stalin broadcast on short wave, the actual "broadcasting" being done in Russian by a White Russian member of the anti-Marxist group. Translated, the broadcast was an attack by J. V. Stalin on Field and his associates, accusing them of being harmful to the Communist cause, and nothing but a group of parlor socialists. The spoof (which was the way we looked at it)

was not taken in good part by our left-wing group. They left at once and never came back.

This is the true story behind Field's 1938 letter, and one which clearly is no discredit to Ed. I have known Ed since 1931 or 1932 and the suggestions which have come from certain quarters during the last few weeks that he is, or ever was, a Marxist or Communist sympathizer are absurd. My only interest is to see that the record is set straight on this, and if this letter will be of any use to that end, you have my permission to use it n any manner which you see fit.

Very truly yours,

James T. Shotwell

James T. Shotwell

Answered by Mr. M. 3/26 ecd.

ASSOCIATION OF RADIO NEWS ANALYSTS

24 EAST 39TH ST., NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 5-7400

March 22, 1954

OFFICERS 1954

PRESIDENT
H. V. KALTENBORN

VICE PRESIDENTS
WILLIAM COSTELLO
RAYMOND SWING

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LEON PEARSON

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MERRILL MUELLER
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LEON PEARSON
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ALBERT WARNER

CHICAGO
CLIFTON M. UTLEY

LOS ANGELES
ELMER W. PETERSON

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

As Secretary, I am writing to transmit to you officially a copy of the following resolution:

The Association of Radio News Analysts at a regular membership meeting on March 18th:

NOTING that Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin has questioned the veracity and personal integrity of our distinguished fellow member Edward R. Murrow; and

MINDFUL of the fact the Association in Article I of its code of ethics "expects and requires of the radio news analyst painstaking accuracy in his public statements" and under Article II "expects and requires of the radio news analyst the exercise of sound judgement and good taste and the avoidance of sensationalism in both the substance of his broadcast material and the manner of its presentation";

RECALLING Mr.Murrow's long membership in this Association, the Association therefore puts itself on record as completely convinced that Edward R. Murrow in his controversy with Senator McCarthy has continued to uphold the ideals and ethics of this Association.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. Murrow and to Senator McCarthy.

(signed) H. V. Kaltenborn, President
John MacVane, Secretary
Association of Radio News Analysts

Best regards,

John MacVane

John MacVane
Secretary of A. R. N. A.

JM/CF

I.G-4

CODE OF ETHICS

of the

ASSOCIATION OF RADIO NEWS ANALYSTS

The Association of Radio News Analysts, desiring to maintain the independence and prestige of the profession and to improve the standards of analytical broadcasting and to protect the best interests of the public and the industry, has adopted the following Code of Ethical Practice:

I.

The Association expects and requires of the radio news analyst painstaking accuracy in his public statements.

II.

The Association expects and requires of the radio news analyst the exercise of sound judgment and good taste, and the avoidance of sensationalism in both the substance of his broadcast material and the manner of its presentation.

III.

The Association believes that the inclusion in any radio news analysis of commercial, or "institutional" advertising material in the guise of news or personal opinion is undesirable.

IV.

The Association believes the reading of commercial announcements by radio news analysts is against the best interests of broadcasting. It requires its own members to refrain from this practice. The Association deplores the interruption of a news analysis by commercial announcements.

V.

The Association endorses the standards of the National Association of Broadcasters restricting the time allotted to commercial announcements in connection with news broadcasts.

VI.

The Association opposes all censorship of broadcast material.

3/23 Ack'd by
Mr. Munroe
Dec'd.

VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE

NAVARRE, BEDFORD VILLAGE, NEW YORK

March 12/54

Dear Mr. Munroe:

If by any chance you should want a statement from me about the "Moscow Summer School", I am at your service.

I was a Trustee of the Institute of International Education for 25 years: I remember the Moscow episode.

Congratulations and best wishes

to you!

Sincerely yours,

Virginia C. Gildersleeve.

I have tried three times – in vain –

to get this message to you by telephone.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1954.

Dear Fred:

After seeing the Tuesday night show, I want you to know how much we appreciated your coverage of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings in Akron, Ohio on Charter Review. The subject is one that is close to the Secretary's heart and is of real importance to us. By the way, I felt that you did an effective job in sustaining interest in what could be a pretty dull subject; and I feel more encouraged about the possibilities of success when the "See It Now" technique is applied to intangibles that are difficult to understand by their very nature.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

John P. Meagher
Chief
Radio-Television Branch
News Division

Mr. Fred Friendly,
"See It Now",
CBS Television,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

S 27

February 18, 1954

Dear Mr. Lane:

Very many thanks for your letter and kind comments about SEE IT NOW and PERSON TO PERSON.

This is just a note to tell you that I am enclosing two transcripts for you and Congressman Gavin about Lawrence, Massachusetts.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Thomas J. Lane
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

rh

THOMAS J. LANE
7TH DISTRICT, MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEE:
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

February 3, 1954

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It has long been my desire to compliment you on your fine television programs, "SEE IT NOW" and "PERSON TO PERSON".

Unfortunately, I did not view your program presented on Tuesday, February 2, 1954, which, I understand was from Lawrence, Massachusetts.

In discussing this program with Congressman Leon H. Gavin, whose Congressional District is faced with the same unemployment problem as Lawrence, he suggested that I communicate with you and request that you furnish each of us with a transcript of this particular part of your program.

Your cooperation in advising whether it will be possible for you to comply with this request will be appreciated.

Expressing to you my sincere hope for your continued success in factual reporting of the news, and in the television field, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Lane

Transcripts
5 — 9 —

Peterson, Val

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION

WASHINGTON

File

OFFICE OF
THE ADMINISTRATOR

JAN 14 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

We want you to know that several of your recent shows packed a real wallop - particularly the Korean Story and the '53 News Roundup. We're delighted - but not surprised - that you took both the radio and TV commentator laurels.

Please come see us soon.

Cordially,

Val

Val Peterson

S2R

January 12, 1954

Dear Secretary Stevens:

Very many thanks for your nice letter and kind comments. I am sorry you were unable to see the Christmas in Korea program but delighted to know that you heard good things about it. We have received a good deal of very appreciative mail from viewers which makes those of us who work on the show very happy indeed. Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary Robert T. Stevens
Secretary of the Army
Department of the Army
Washington, D.C.

rh

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON

JAN 6 1954

F.F.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The other evening at the time of your television broadcast, "Christmas in Korea," I was flying back to Washington and was unable to view it. I was very disappointed in not seeing it, and now that I have heard so very many laudatory comments about it I am especially sorry that I missed it.

I do want you to know, however, that as Secretary of the Army I sincerely appreciate the service you rendered both to our troops in Korea and to the American people. I know that our men in the front lines appreciated the fact that you spent your Christmas telling their loved ones back home what a fine job they are doing. At the same time, you helped to remind the nation that there is still an important job to be done and that our fighting men still need and merit the constant support of all of us.

I realize how much you must have wanted to be with your own family on Christmas, and for that reason I appreciate your timely broadcast all the more. Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Robert T. Stevens

Robert T. Stevens
Secretary of the Army

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Anderson, Robert

November 30, 1953

Dear Secretary Anderson:

Very many thanks for your nice letter and kind comments concerning our presentation of the Hunter Killer Exercises on SEE IT NOW. I am glad that you also liked the two radio broadcasts. We had received a great deal of favorable comment on all three programs, and I am delighted that we were able to do them.

It was a great pleasure for me and my colleagues to be able to work with Captain Fitzhugh Lee and the entire crew of the USS GILBERT ISLANDS and also the officers and men of the BECUNA. We could not possibly have had finer cooperation than that which was given us by all hands.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary Robert Anderson
Secretary of the Navy
Department of the Navy
Washington 25, D.C.

rh

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

21 NOV 1953

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have heard many favorable comments regarding your vivid presentation of the Hunter Killer Exercises Tuesday night on your "See It Now" program over the Columbia Broadcasting System Television network. I wish to congratulate you and your staff for a program that was extremely interesting, timely and effective.

Certainly the importance of the submarine problem cannot be overemphasized and with your cooperation it has been brought dramatically to the attention of the American people.

Your television program and also your two radio broadcasts from the USS GILBERT ISLANDS indicated your quick grasp and keen appreciation of the problems which the Navy faces in its relentless efforts to control the Seas.

You have rendered the country an invaluable service in your factual presentation of this phase of Navy operations.

R. B. Anderson

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Marshall, George

November 16, 1953

Dear General Marshall:

Thank you for your gracious letter of November 5. Please permit me to say I derived deep personal satisfaction from the award to you and from the possibility of using the medium of television to report it at some length.

I am still hopeful that sometime in the spring you may feel disposed to undertake the television tour of Gettysburg which we discussed shortly before you left for the Coronation.

Respectfully yours,

General George C. Marshall
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY
G. C. MARSHALL
WASHINGTON

NOV 5 1953

~~F.F.~~
Returned

Dear Murrow:

I appreciate very much your selecting me as your subject for your "See It Now" show of last evening. The nurse on the ward arranged for a TV set and so I was able to see it without leaving my bed.

Mr. Truman and you were most thoughtful and kind in expressing yourselves on the occasion of the Award. Needless to say, it is a great tribute and I am deeply honored. While it is individual in nature, it truly belongs to all of our people. Sorry that I was not in a position to acknowledge.

With warmest regards.

Faithfully yours,

G C Marshall

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

October 23, 1953

Dear Senator Lehman:

Fred Friendly and I want to thank you very much indeed for your nice letter about the Radulovich Story. We are delighted to know that you and Mrs. Lehman were enthusiastic about the program. I join in your conviction that the American people generally want fair play, a conviction gratifyingly borne out by the tremendous amount of favorable reaction to the program.

Many thanks again for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Senator Herbert H. Lehman
820 Park Avenue
New York 21, New York

rh

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

820 Park Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.
October 21, 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Mrs. Lehman and I listened to the "See It Now" program last night. It was excellently done and we found it most interesting. My heartiest congratulations to you and Mr. Friendly. Since I am convinced that the American people generally want fair play, I believe that the very objective presentation by you of this case was a very real contribution.

Very sincerely yours,

Herbert H. Lehman

DeChant, Jack

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

In reply refer to: PA

OCT 22 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

In behalf of the Administration may I express my thanks to you for the excellent narration in the motion picture "DISASTER ON MAIN STREET," a print of which is being forwarded to you under separate cover.

We consider this film to be a very important one in our recently completed series of eight public education films, produced by private companies at no cost to the Government. Through the cooperation of such companies, and individuals like yourself, the presentation of this survival information to the American people is having a real effect.

As you well know, all of us are deeply grateful for your continuing support of our program, expressed so often in so many ways.

Cordially,

Jack

John A. DeChant
Director of Public Affairs

WASHINGTON CALLING

MARQUIS CHILDS
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.

LA SALLE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

E.R.M.
I've answered this - F.F.

June 5, 1953

Mr. Fred Friendly
% Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Fred Friendly:

It has been a long time since I have talked with you, but I am presuming to write you in the belief that you are always interested in ideas.

In my opinion, "You Can See It Now" is just about the best thing on TV. Among the things I have liked best have been your documentaries, conspicuously, of course, the one on Korea.

I should like to suggest that you do a documentary on Albert Schweitzer and his work in French Equatorial Africa. If there is a saint living today it is Dr. Schweitzer, and the value of his work at the medical mission at Lambarene is both for its actuallity and as a symbol, a very great contribution in easing the terrible tensions in Africa. You probably know his beautiful short book, "Out of My Life and Thought." Life magazine has done him twice, once on the occasion of his appearance at Aspen, Colorado.

I am convinced that an intimate view of the old man -- he is nearing 80 -- still at work in his hospital in the jungle, with the whole background developed in the documentary, including the great musicianship which he has preserved along with everything else, would be a tremendous inspiration to Americans. To me it is a little as if St. Francis of Assissi were still living and there were an opportunity to record his life.

I know this would be costly, but I do believe it would be rewarding.

Sincerely yours,

Marquis Childs

Marquis Childs

MC:hh

June 16, 1953

Dear Mark:

I was very pleased to hear from you and to know that you get to see "See It Now". Ed and I have talked about the Schweitzer idea and we are currently trying to get expense approval from Management to do it. As you may imagine, it would be an extremely costly venture. If we ever do get to do it, I would like to come down to Washington to discuss the story with you. In the meantime, thanks very much for writing to us, and Ed joins me in sending you his warmest personal regards.

Cordially,

Fred Friendly

Mr. Marquis Childs
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

SM

HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
and
UNITED NATIONS COMMAND
APO 500

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

29 April 1953

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I appreciate very much your kind letter of thanks for the cooperation which the United Nations Command was only too happy to give to the Columbia Broadcasting System camera crews which went to Korea to film your report on Christmas among our men there. We have heard considerable about the excellence and effectiveness of the report and are gratified if you feel that we were able to contribute in any way to its preparation.

Sincerely,

Mark W. Clark

MARK W. CLARK
General, United States Army

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
Office of the Public Information Officer
APO 500

28 April 1953

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The comments in your letter of 8 April are appreciated and they are being passed to Major Clagett and Lieutenant Jenkins whom you mentioned, both of whom have returned to the United States.

Sincerely,

D.R. Nugent

D.R. NUGENT
Lt Col USMC
Public Information Officer

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

SIN

"The World's Largest Legion Post"

THE AMERICAN LEGION

OMAHA POST No. 1
Phone JAckson 8400
2027 DODGE STREET
Omaha 2, Nebraska

April 15, 1953

Office Of The Adjutant

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Certainly sorry your schedule would not permit you to attend our post meeting last night saluting the Flood Fighters of '52. However, your film "See it Now" certainly fit in well with our program and was enjoyed by the almost 700 in attendance. Former Governor Val Petersen of Nebraska was our principal speaker. To refresh the memories of our guests, we presented each one with a souvinir sand bag commemorating the first anniversary of the flood.

Your film is now on its way back and should be in your hands shortly.

Thanks again for your cooperation.

~~Best regards,~~

John L. Saggau,
Adjutant

JLS V

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

MB574

M.OMA439 NL PD=OMAHA NEBR 19=

1953 MAR 19 PM 7 23

:EDWARD R MURROW=

:COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=:

SORRY YOU CANT BE WITH US ON APRIL 14TH BUT UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITION. APPRECIATE OFFER OF FILM ON FLOOD PIECE. WILL RETURN IT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MEETING. THANKS AND THE BEST TO YOU=

JOHN L SAGGAU ADJUTANT OMAHA POST NO 1 THE AMERICAN LEGION 2027 DODGE=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MARCH 18, 1953

JOHN L. SAGGAU
AMERICAN LEGION POST NO.1
2027 DODGE STREET
OMAHA 2, NEBRASKA

VERY SORRY BUT PRESSURE OF THINGS AND MY OWN ABSENCE FROM TOWN DURING NEXT FEW WEEKS NOW MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME UNDERTAKE ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ TO DO INTRODUCTORY PIECE FOR APRIL 14 MEETING, BUT GLAD SEND YOU FILM SEE IT NOW FLOOD PIECE. WILL SHIP IT OUT WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS AND MUST ASK YOU RETURN IT AS SOON AS CONVENIENT. MY BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS OF MEETING.

REGARDS

ED MURROW

Hank - pls send
Flood kine
to this guy.
natalie

T150-43-7

"The World's Largest Legion Post"

THE AMERICAN LEGION

OMAHA POST No. 1
Phone JAckson 8400
2027 DODGE STREET
Omaha 2, Nebraska

Office Of The Adjutant

March 4, 1953

Mr. Fred Friendly
45 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Friendly:

During the past month we have corresponded with Mr. Ed Murrow, relative to the possibility of his making the principal address at a post meeting of Omaha Post No. 1 on Tuesday, April 14th, at which time we are going to salute the flood fighters of both Omaha and Council Bluffs for the splendid job they did in holding back the "Big Muddy" last April.

I realize, as do the members of this Post, the busy schedule you and Mr. Murrow have cut out for yourselves. I realize all too well you have undoubtedly hundreds upon hundreds of requests to appear at different civic functions throughout the country and will understand if you will be unable to help us out during this post meeting.

I received a wire today from Mr. Murrow, in which he advised it would be impossible to be here on the 14th, but he said he would look into the possibility of making a film for our post meeting. Here is what I hope you and Mr. Murrow will be able to do:

Our Commander, Mr. Ephraim Marks, during the program would say that our guest tonight, by means of the magic of film, is Mr. Edward R. Murrow. We, of course, would kill the lights and flash Mr. Murrow on the screen. He would say "thank you, Mr. Marks, and good evening members of Omaha Post No. 1 and their guests". He could say a few words about the work done by the boys of Omaha and Council Bluffs and introduce some of the shots he took here on his "See It Now" program. At the conclusion if we could have a close-up of Mr. Murrow saying it was nice to be with us, etc., it would make the program so far as this office is concerned and I think I speak for every member of this.....The World's Largest Legion Post.

The above suggestion is very, very rough as you no doubt can tell, but that is the general idea of what we would like to have. Any suggestions you may have along this line will be very much appreciated.

My sincerest thanks in advance for whatever you will be able to do for us.

Best regards,

John L. Saggau

John L. Saggau,
Adjutant

JLS v

P.S. I am enclosing herewith a brochure in order to give you an idea of how big this operation is and what we do for the thousands of veterans, not only in this community, but those on the tough side of the ledger, who happen to be passing through Omaha.

Here Are Some of the Reasons Why . . .

OMAHA POST NO. 1 is t

WE ALL SAY

The Legion

For me in...

'53

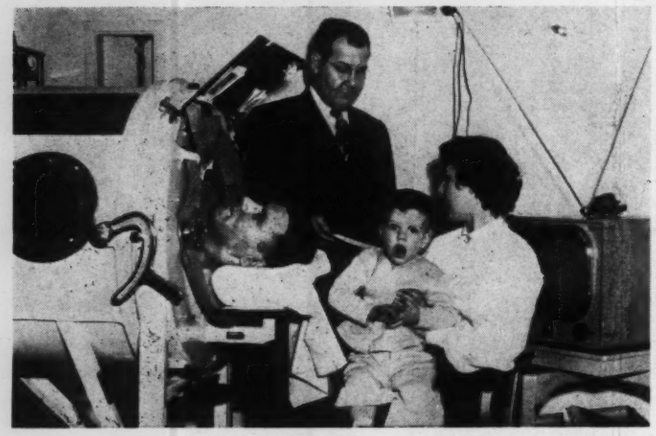
THE BADGE OF HONOR TO WEAR WITH PRIDE

AMERICAN LEGION U.S.

the WORLD'S GREATEST

To Serve Those Who Served Their Country Is the No. 1 Aim of Omaha Post No. 1

Every month an average of 700 veterans and veterans' families come to the Service Office of Post No. 1, seeking some sort of aid or counsel. Many of them ask for advice rather than money, but it costs the Post more than $20 thousand a year to handle these eight thousand cases . . . and to maintain a similar service at the Veterans Hospital in Omaha.



Wife of Post member stricken with polio receives useful check from Service Officer Paul L. Weber.

War widows face countless problems, which Weber helps to solve.

Post Honor Guard is always available to give military rites to departed comrades.

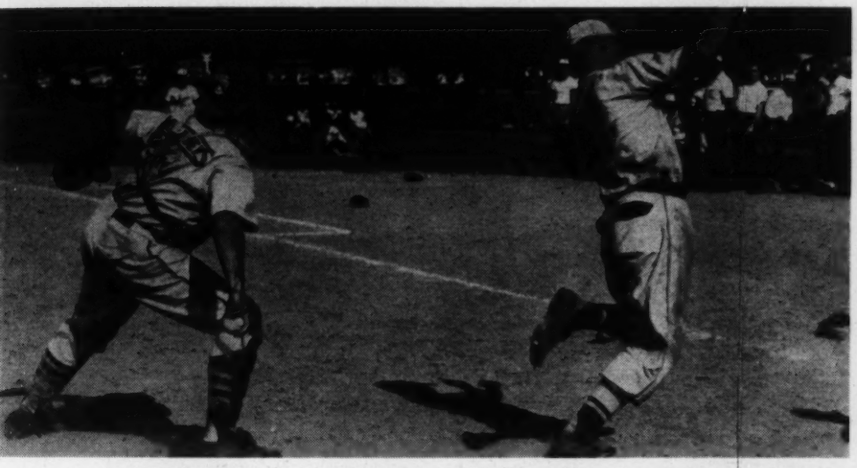
Burned-out family starts all over again with emergency aid from the Post and the Post Auxiliary.

Christmas baskets for needy families form a big project for Post volunteers.

Cornhusker Boys' and Girls' State at Lincoln attracts the cream of the high school crop. The Americanism program is 100 per cent Legion sponsored.

Early Training Builds Useful Citizens
Post's Youth Program Is Practical Workshop of Americanism

Everyone knows about American Legion Junior Base ball and its great success in Omaha. Fewer know about the Post's sponsorship of Boys' and Girls' County Government, or about Cornhusker Boys' and Girls' State in Lincoln to which the Post sends scores of high school juniors each year. Fewer yet are familiar with the Post's 16 annual School Awards for outstanding young citizenship, or the yearly oratorical contests on the U. S. Constitution which focus so much youthful attention on Americanism.



Fair play and good sportsmanship are integral in Legion ball. Omaha Post sponsored two Little World Series in Omaha. Thousands of Omaha boys participate in Legion ball each year.

An outstanding ROTC cadet proudly receives Legion medal. Omaha Post No. 1 presents scores of medals to outstanding cadets every year.

And in Emergencies— When the Chips Are Down— Omaha Post is the Outfit with Both Brains and Brawn

Post members mark all veterans' graves, decorate them with Flags on Memorial Day.

The Legion means good times as well as help in emergencies—this Christmas party typifies the Legion's deep interest in the children of the Post.

Flood threat of the spring of '52 brought literally thousands of Omaha Posters to the dikes for a revival of wartime teamwork.

Past Commander Sam W. Reynolds, left, spends sleepless nights as Director of Civil Defense. CD, incidentally, is Legion-sponsored in Omaha.

Salvation Army's Brig. and Mrs. Albert E. Baldwin visit Legion Club's kitchen which stayed open day and night preparing food and coffee for flood-fighters. The Post donated over 500 dollars worth of food and coffee to the Salvation Army.

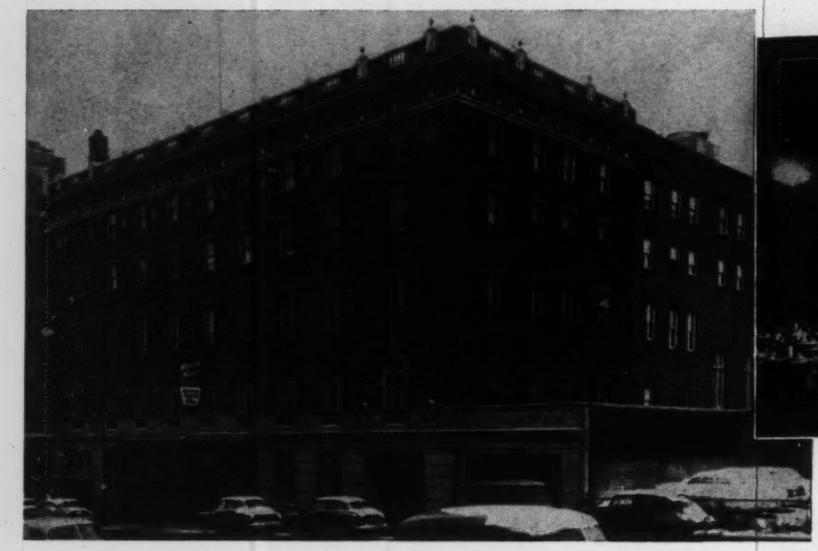
Yours . . .

for only $4 a Year . . . .

A MILLION-DOLLAR CLUBHOUSE

To Play In!

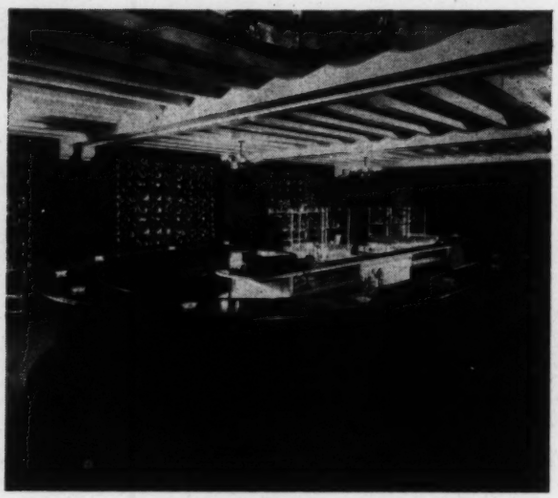
Nowhere else in Omaha, perhaps in the country, can $4 buy such club privileges. They're worth $75 to $100 on any but a Legion basis. The Palm Garden, for example, is the Midwest's most magnificent dining room and supper club, dancing nightly, and prices are scaled so low that, if you go there on only four "Nights out" a year, you've already got your $4 back.



Your modern club-house at 2027 Dodge Street offers you and your guests . . .

. . . the glamorous, air-conditioned Palm Garden, home of fine food, good music and Omaha's most spacious dance floor . . .

. . . . . the second-floor lounge for reading or cards



. . . and the magnificent circular bar, where bargain prices are the rule.

Ephraim L. Marks,
Commander
and
Lloyd E. Skinner,
Membership Chairman

"Tip" Saggau,
Adjutant

Fellow Veterans:

Here, in picture and caption, you have the Legion Story for 1953. You can clearly see why you owe it to yourselves as Americans, as veterans of three great wars, and as residents of Omaha, to join with us in the World's Largest — and Greatest — American Legion Post, Omaha Post No. 1.

I'm ex-Army myself, but I always liked the greeting they gave us when we went aboard ship. The Navy boys said, "Glad to have you aboard!"

We hope we will have the opportunity to extend the same greeting to 20,000 of you in 1953.

And I'm sure that if you come with us, you will respond, in Navy style, "GLAD TO *BE* ABOARD!"

Ephraim L. Marks

Commander, Omaha Post No. 1

Fellow Veterans:

This message is addressed to the 22,000 veterans who are not members of either Omaha Post No. 1 or any of the other fine Legion posts in this area. We are naturally proudest of our own Post, and to be counted among us offers so many advantages that, frankly, I find myself wondering why any of you would want to remain apart.

Is it simply because you have never been approached for membership? If that is the only reason, it is soon remedied. Fill out the enclosed application blank and send us your $4.00!

Is it for a deeper reason, perhaps because you, like myself, do not agree with all of the policies pursued by the American Legion? If that is so, the best and perhaps the only way to remedy this is to join up and be active in Legion affairs and bring about a change in those policies.

We veterans have a tremendous stake in the future of America. The clearest and most respected spokesman for the veterans is the American Legion. It is a democratic organization. *You cannot afford to remain outside.*

Lloyd E. Skinner

Membership Chairman

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF ORDNANCE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

IN REPLY REFER TO:

SIN

Add Thru Mr. Murrow

14 APR 1953

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I wish to express my appreciation to you for the fine film sequence on the manufacture of ammunition which appeared on your "See It Now" program on Sunday, April 5.

The business of making ammunition is one not well understood except by a relatively few men who have devoted their lives to it. Certainly the complexity of it is not generally understood by the American public, for it is a business for which there is no civilian counterpart.

Your film sequence served to partially explain this complex industrial process, though I am sorry that time did not permit identification of the firms where the operations were taking place. These are fine companies and deserve a great deal of credit. I believe them to be representative of the many good manufacturers which we have under contract.

Though I realize that this is a difficult story to present through the medium of television in an interesting way, there has always been something heart-warming to me about the way American Industry has turned from making such things as pots and pans, railway cars, and television sets, to strange new items that go into rounds of ammunition.

The photography on your show was excellent, and was of particular interest to me because motion pictures of these processes have seldom been attempted on such a scale, and where attempted have not been done too successfully.

Because these films could be of tremendous value to us for morale and educational purposes, I have asked that inquiry be made as to whether prints might be obtained for these uses, and, if so, on what basis.

When this inquiry reaches you, if it has not done so already, I hope that you will see fit to make them available to us.

Sincerely yours,

E L Ford

E. L. FORD
Major General, USA
Chief of Ordnance

14 APR 1953

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Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

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Sincerely yours,

E. L. FORD
Major General, USA
Chief of Ordnance

Barkley, Alben

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
2101 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1953

My dear Friends:

Let me thank you for your gracious message on the inauguration of my television program. It was very gracious of you to wire me, and I know of no one from whom I would rather have received such a message.

Jane and I appreciate your invitation to have an evening with you and sometime when we are in New York we hope we may arrange it.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially yours,

Alben W. Barkley

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

S/N

February 4, 1953

Dear Frank:

Thanks for the kind words. I, too, thought the shot of Ike and Mamie singing was one of the most appealing of the many that we have produced. Incidentally, it was exclusively ours, but I can't ever bring myself to use that word on the air.

We have-- if I do say so and shouldn't-- an unequalled file of film starting with that God-awful day in Abilene and ending with the inauguration. Sometime I shall try to put it all together in sequence and send it down to you. The film is rather more intimate than newsreel stuff, and I think it can be made into a rather interesting historical document.

As ever yours,

Honorable Frank Carlson
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

FRANK CARLSON, KANS., CHAIRMAN
JAMES H. DUFF, PA.
WILLIAM E. JENNER, IND.
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
DWIGHT GRISWOLD, NEBR.
WILLIAM A. PURTELL, CONN.
OLIN D. JOHNSTON, S. C.
MATTHEW M. NEELY, W. VA.
JOHN O. PASTORE, R. I.
MIKE MONRONEY, OKLA.
PRICE DANIEL, TEX.
FRANK A. PASCHAL, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE
AND CIVIL SERVICE

January 27, 1953.

Mr. Edward Murrow,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

As one who always enjoys your Sunday evening television programs, I want to especially commend you for the excellent program last Sunday evening.

I am probably prejudice, but your televising of Ike and Mamie participating in Fred Waring's song was one of the best.

This is just a note to express my sincere thanks to you for the many courtesies extended during the past year. It was a privilege to meet and work with you.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Frank Carlson

Frank Carlson

FC/MF

Vandenberg, Hoyt S.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 January 1953

Dear Ed:

Thanks a million for your continuing efforts to recruit additional ground observers. Your program yesterday should contribute directly and substantially to this country's air defense.

Once again Murrow is way out front in helping to make America informed, alert and effective in these times.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Van

HOYT S. VANDENBERG
Chief of Staff, ~~United States~~ Air Force

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Trygve. Lie

SECRETARY-GENERAL

6 January 1953.

Ed
F

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I wish to thank you very much for your invitation to spend a day with Sir Gladwyn Jebb and Lord Caldecote as your guest at the Dutchess Valley Rod and Gun Club. I had a most delightful day with fine and successful shooting and enjoyed the very friendly hospitality extended to me by everyone in the club.

I would also like to take this opportunity to tell you how much I appreciated your TV show at 3.30 p.m. Sunday on CBS channel 2 which I followed with great interest. I think I can say it was one of the most interesting hours I have ever spent before my TV set, watching programs on international matters and problems. I would appreciate it very much if you could find an opportunity to convey to all the participating CBS correspondents my sincere appreciation.

Yours sincerely,

Trygve Lie

Trygve Lie,
Secretary-General.

Mr. Edward Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Rosenberg, Anna M.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OCT 30 1952

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It has been my privilege from time to time to view your program, "See It Now", and I have thoroughly enjoyed your consistently excellent, informative and timely presentations.

With particular reference to your show on Sunday, October 26, 1952, I should like to express my appreciation and that of the Department of Defense for the public service you rendered in the presentation on voting by members of the Armed Forces overseas.

The Office of Armed Forces Information and Education has endeavored in every way possible to disseminate voting information to all service personnel and it is felt the various programs have been effective. However, there are, as your program dramatized, several states which either have no provisions or very restrictive provisions for absentee and/or soldier voting. Much progress has been made in our efforts to correct this situation; however, these provisions being wholly under state jurisdiction we can only try to educate the state legislators and hope that in time appropriate legislation will be enacted. It is felt that your pointing up this fact in your program last Sunday will be of great assistance.

The entire presentation was well done and we in the Department are grateful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Anna M. Rosenberg

Anna M. Rosenberg

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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Sincerely yours,

ANNA M. ROSENBERG

Anna M. Rosenberg

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

E.R.M.
F.S.F.

8 October 1952

My dear Fred Friendly:-

I think you are contributing a very important part to "See It Now" by Ed Murrow. His work is outstanding; so is yours.

My congratulations to you and also to him.

HBS.

Fred S. Friendly, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JUL 21 1952

Fred

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING COMPANY
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I would like to express my appreciation for the excellent job you did for the Air Force on your Sunday, 29 July "See It Now" Television show.

Your presentation of the problems and procedures of the Air Force Air Defense Command did much to explain to the public how their air defense is conducted and to stimulate interest in Ground Observer volunteers which we need so badly.

The success of this production must, undoubtedly, also be attributed to the spirit of your staff. The officers in my office who worked with your people tell me Mr. Fred Friendly, Ed Scott, Bill Thompson and many others, worked long hours to make this program a success.

Sincerely,

Sory Smith

SORY SMITH
Brigadier General, USAF
Director of Public Information

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

10 JUL 1952

Ed

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I should like to compliment you and thank you for your very effective presentation on the mission of the Air Defense Command during your "See It Now" program Sunday, June 29th.

I was particularly impressed with your recognition of our urgent need for civilian volunteer ground observers to supplement the defense of our country.

The recruitment of these people to assist this nation in vigilance against enemy aerial attack must be increased three-fold to avert catastrophe in the event of emergency. Public awareness of this need is our primary concern. Since "See It Now" has such a tremendous audience, we feel a long stride has been taken toward that objective.

Sincerely yours,

N. F. Twining

N. F. TWINING
Acting Chief of Staff
United States Air Force

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

HEADQUARTERS
STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND
Offutt Air Force Base
Omaha, Nebraska

1 July 1952

Fred

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your excellent presentation of the Air Defense Command GCC problem last Sunday rates high praise in this headquarters.

General LeMay, with whom I watched the show, afterwards remarked about your accurate and intensly interesting approach to the subject.

From a professional standpoint, I can only say that if the efforts I know you put into recording this piece on film are evenly matched by an increase in recruiting of observers, ADC should have people ten deep at all posts.

We at SAC were happy to assist you in our small way.

Lt. Fred Joyce of this office sends his warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Reade Tilley

READE TILLEY
Lt. Colonel, USAF
Special Assistant to the
Commanding General

3/N.

July 3, 1952

Dear Larry:

Thanks for your gracious letter of the 30th. I had hoped we had made the need for additional ground observers clear and intended to give more details, but as you probably saw, we got mixed up with the projector breaking down and I just didn't have time at the end.

The show is off the air for the next nine weeks, but you can count on us to continue to do what we can in this area when we resume operations. Again my thanks for writing as you did.

As ever yours,

Mr. Lawrence Wilkinson
New York State Civil Defense Commission
124 East 28th Street
New York 16, New York

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
NEW YORK STATE CIVIL DEFENSE COMMISSION
124 EAST 28TH STREET, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

LAWRENCE WILKINSON
CHAIRMAN

30 June 1952

Dear Ed:

General Clay and I watched with great interest last evening your presentation of the mock Bomber Attack on New York, and we both felt that you did an impressive job. I have, however, one comment which my Civil Defense responsibilities lead me to pass on to you. The need for additional ground observers was clearly implied in the development of the script, but I am afraid that very few viewers, even if sufficiently moved, would have known where ground observers and filter center operators were required or how to go about volunteering for service.

As you know, the Air Force has ordered the activation of the ground observer system effective 14 July and although we, in New York, with over 600 ground observation posts and four filter centers, are completely organized and, I think, more adequately staffed than other states, we are still far short of having sufficient volunteers to man all these posts twenty-four hours a day, day in and day out.

Consequently, if the occasion should arise, you would be doing Civil Defense and the Air Force a great service by spending a half minute or so giving specific directions as to how and where volunteers should enroll.

Again, my sincere congratulations on the excellent job you did.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Larry

L. WILKINSON
Chairman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Chester Bowles

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
AMERICAN EMBASSY

New Delhi, India, March 17, 1952

Dear Ed Murrow:

Enclosed is a memorandum outlining the Point Four program we are hoping to have in India. It is built around the idea of making India self-sufficient in food in the next four years.

A great part of this increase in food production is to come through a village to village program of agricultural extension work (on the American model), public health work including the elimination of malaria, and adult education. We hope that one-third of India's villages and 120 million of her people can be reached in four years. American aid in each individual project would be limited to a four year period, at the end of which time the area should be fully self-supporting with a substantially higher level of food production.

We are currently carrying on discussions with the representatives of the Government of India on this proposal. Progress has been very good so far and we expect to reach agreement within a few days. We have, of course, made clear at every point that only the U.S. Congress can make the final decision on how much American assistance should be granted to India.

I understand that there has been some talk about sending Bill Costello out here. He is a first class correspondent and can make a tremendous contribution to improving understanding between India and the United States. This is a key place in the free world today and it needs all the coverage it can get. I certainly

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbis Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

hope that Bill can come out here.

I hear wonderful things about your television program. I can't tell you how many people in the States told me that it is the one reason they are sure they really should have a television set in their homes. I am sure that your program is going to have a tremendous role in the forthcoming campaign and I very much regret that we won't be able to get to see any of it over here. I wonder how long it will take before that will be possible.

My very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Chester Bowles

Chester Bowles

This TCA program would be the biggest all out attack on poverty yet attempted on a village to village basis. And yet the cost to us would be less than our economic aid to Greece over a four year period.

I am also enclosing a memo that I prepared for some member of Congress. If you can't come to India – at least give these memos a good look!

CB.

(S/N) 4.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FEB 28 1952

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My sincere thanks for the recognition which you gave women in the service on your "See It Now" program of February 24. We consider this one of the finest tributes paid to women in uniform since the campaign for additional recruits was initiated in November. Considering the prestige and following which your program enjoys throughout the nation, and the finesse with which you handled the message about the care given our wounded men, recruiting for nurses will be greatly benefited.

Please accept my warm gratitude for this splendid and patriotic contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Anna M. Rosenberg

Anna M. Rosenberg

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

FEB. 28, 1952

Dear Mr. Friendly:

You and your entire staff and crew are to be congratulated on the great public service job "See It Now" is doing for the Armed Forces. I especially want to thank all of you for the splendid production on February 24 which honored women in the service. I consider it one of the finest tributes paid our women in unfirom and one that I sincerely feel every one of them deserves.

Your cooperation is most appreciated and I am especially gratified over the splendid handling of the message concerning nurses. It is a fine contribution to our efforts to recruit thousands more.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ Anna M. Rosenberg

Anna M. Rosenberg

Mr. Fred Friendly
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

March 10, 1952

Dear Mrs. Rosenberg:

Thank you for your very gracious letter about "See It Now." I know how busy you must be, and my staff and I appreciate your taking the time to write to us.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Friendly

Mrs. Anna Rosenberg
Assistant Secretary of Defense,
Washington 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

27 FEB 1952

Rec'd

Dear Mr. Murrow:

During the past several months, since the inception of "See It Now," your cameramen have shot a great many feet of film in Korea. In our opinion, this footage, together with your commentary, provides some of the most comprehensive and objective coverage of the Korean conflict.

It would be very desirable if a duplicate of this film and tape material could be made available for reproduction and placement in Department of Defense film libraries. It would then be shown in schools and colleges and used for reference and training purposes within the military services.

We would appreciate learning your reaction to our proposal at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Clayton Fritchey

CLAYTON FRITCHEY
Director

– 71342 76214

Mr. Charles Dillon

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Answered by phone
to Martin

PAT MC CARRAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS.
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.
HERBERT R. O'CONOR, MD.
ESTES KEFAUVER, TENN.
WILLIS SMITH, N. C.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
WILLIAM LANGER, N. DAK.
HOMER FERGUSON, MICH.
WILLIAM E. JENNER, IND.
ARTHUR V. WATKINS, UTAH
ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, N. J.
J. G. SOURWINE, COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

3/N

February 25, 1952
(dictated 2/24/52)

NA

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I just want to express my personal appreciation for your having the Kefauvers on TV this afternoon. I was sorry I was not here when you called.

You did my cause a tremendous amount of good. It is wonderful to see how friends come to your help by things like this happening.

Some day I want to really have you out to the house where we can have a long visit and talk about politics, Kappa Sigma and a lot of things.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Estes

February 13, 1952

Dear Major Christie:

Your recent letter to Mr. Murrow has been forwarded to the Fred Friendly office for answering; please accept our apologies for a tardy answer.

Under spearate cover, I am sending you a 16mm print of the Korean patrol section of "See It Now" on January 20th. We are glad to loan this film to you but ask that it be used only for training purposes in your own Armory and that it be returned to us when you are through with it.

Sincerely,

Natalie Foster, for
Fred W. Friendly
Producer, "See It Now"

Major G. R. Christie
New Jersey National Guard,
50th Reconnaissance Battalion,
Rayway Avenue,
Westfield, New Jersey

S/N

HEADQUARTERS
50th RECONNAISSANCE BATTALION, NJNG
National Guard Armory
Rahway Avenue
Westfield, N. J.

21 January 1952

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Attention: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

Gentlemen:

I noted with great interest on your broadcast "See It Now" Sunday, January 20th, the film taken in Korea. Of particular interest was the interview with the returning patrol from the 45th Division, a former National Guard unit. The remarks of the men interviewed indicated very graphically a basic violation which military people have been trying for years to correct in patrol leaders, namely, "bunching up" of key personnel in the platoon.

It would be of untold value if such graphic portrayal could be shown to men currently being trained in the National Guard, and accordingly, I wonder if it would be possible for our unit to procure on a loan basis a copy of that particular film (16 mm if possible) so that we may utilize the lessons so graphically portrayed in the conduct of our own training.

FOR THE COMMANDING OFFICER:

for
G. R. CHRISTIE
Major Armor, NJNG
Executive Officer

I19-5592

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WASHINGTON

FF.

31 JAN 1952

My dear Mr. Murrow:

I was happy to be able to make some contribution to your SEE IT NOW program.

I know you are disappointed over the transmission you had planned from the SABLEFISH, but believe that nevertheless the program was one that impressed the public with the importance of our submarine forces.

I am passing on to the officers and men of the SABLEFISH your appreciation for their cooperation. Speaking for them, I know they were only too happy to be able to help you.

Sometime when you are in Washington I would enjoy it if you would arrange to call at the office so we may become better acquainted.

Sincerely yours,

Dan A. Kimball

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WASHINGTON

31 JAN 1952

From: Secretary of the Navy
To: Commanding Officer, USS SABLEFISH
Via: Chief of Naval Operations

Subj: Commendation

1. The Secretary of the Navy takes pleasure in transmitting to the Commanding Officer, officers and men of the USS SABLEFISH the expressions of appreciation received from Mr. Edward R. Murrow for the cooperation given in the production of televisision program SEE IT NOW.

2. The following extract from Mr. Murrow's letter, which was addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, is quoted for information:

> "I must take this opportunity to tell you of the excellent cooperation the officers and men of the SABLEFISH gave our television crew. From each of our reporters and technicians I received the impression that the conduct, willingness to work at all hours and the general spirit of the SABLEFISH personnel created a strong, new respect for the men of the submarine service and the Navy. I should appreciate any effort you might personally make to acquaint the men of the USS SABLEFISH with our sincere appreciation for their outstanding cooperation under difficult conditions. We are encouraged by our reception on the SABLEFISH to schedule television programs from other Navy ships sometime in the future".

3. The spirit of willingness and cooperation which brings forth such expressions is a source of gratification to the Secretary of the Navy and merits a commendation for all hands concerned.

DAN A. KIMBALL

Copy to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

December 19, 1951

Dear Dave:

This is literally the first opportunity to say my thanks for your generous and gracious comment concerning "See It Now". I have taken the liberty of showing your communication to my colleagues and they join with me in expressing thanks for your encouragement.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. David E. Lilienthal
Drake Hotel
440 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(07)

1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA452 PD=WASHINGTON DC 18 435P= 1951 NOV 18 PM 5 03

EDWARD R MURROW=

580 PARK AVE=

HELEN AND I GREATLY ENJOYED YOUR SHOW. IT WAS INTERESTING IMAGINATIVE AND QUITE MOVING. YOU HAVE TAKEN A REAL STEP AHEAD IN DEVELOPING TELEVISION AS A MAJOR FORCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS. WARM REGARDS=

DAVID E LILIENTHAL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

State of California
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
SACRAMENTO

EARL WARREN
GOVERNOR

January 29, 1952

FF

SP

~~Mr. Edward R. Murrow~~
"SEE IT NOW"
~~Columbia Broadcasting~~ Company
15 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It was fine to be on your program. I appreciate the cordial questions which you asked and the extremely friendly way in which you conducted the entire affair.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Earl Warren
Governor

EW:fl

WILLIAM C. PFEIFFER
CHAIRMAN
JANE TODD
VICE-CHAIRMAN
THOMAS E. STEPHENS
SECRETARY
ALGER B. CHAPMAN
TREASURER

J. RUSSEL SPRAGUE
MRS. CHARLES W. WEIS, JR.
MEMBERS
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NEW YORK
REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

41 EAST 42ND STREET — NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 2-5828

Dec. 10, 1951

Mr. Ed Scott
WCBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I was very much interested in Ed Murrow's show yesterday because of the Republican Finance Committee dinner. The material was used very effectively, and I think I voice the sentiments of all concerned when I say we are appreciative.

But what interested me most on the show was the very fine job you and the camera crew did on the coal town. That was an excellent portrayal of the men involved, community life and feeling. It seems to me that it had a lot of the flavor and deep feeling that was contained in the program you and Don Hollenbeck did on the passing of The Sun two years ago. My sincere complitments on a job well done.

Regards,

Harvey

Harvey A. Call

HAC/pm

December 12, 1951

Dear Harvey:

Thanks for the nice remarks on Sunday's show. Glad you liked the Mine piece. I'm sure before the campaignover, we'll be doing more out of New York on the Republicans.

Sincerely,

Edmund Scott

Mr. Harvey Call
New York Republican State Committee,
41 East 42nd Street,
New York 17, New York

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

S/W

December 6, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Just a note to thank you for the magnificent program you had last Sunday, in telling the story for the need for blood by military forces.

Your constant support of the Armed Forces Blood Donor Program is indeed gratifying.

Plans are under way to get a print or a kinescope of your program for distribution as part of our film package on the Armed Forces Blood Donor Program.

Again, many and sincere thanks for a job extremely well done.

Sincerely,

Paul Gaynor

Paul Gaynor
ARMED FORCES BLOOD DONOR PROGRAM

PG:aw

COLUMBUS 5-0402

HEARST METROTONE NEWS
INCORPORATED
EXECUTIVE OFFICES
450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

November 19, 1951

Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbus Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Fred:

I sat enthralled for thirty minutes watching the "SEE IT NOW" program. Personally, I think this is the greatest advance that has been made in TV programs of this character. My heartiest congratulations both to Ed Murrow and yourself for the splendid presentation.

I understand that simultaneously with this premiere, another Friendly made its debut. Every good wish to you, your wife and child.

Sincerely yours

C.B. Stratton

CBS..ES

C.B. Stratton

December 19, 1951

Dear Harold:

This is literally the first opportunity to say my thanks for your generous and gracious comment concerning "Was It Now". I have taken the liberty of showing your communication to my colleagues and they join with me in expressing thanks for your encouragement.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, President
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 4

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 15, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS TELEVISION
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Congratulations on your new television show "See It Now." It will be a valuable addition to the news world.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/me

Ickes, Harold L.
I

HAROLD L. ICKES
3624 PROSPECT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

DUPONT 2281

July 14, 1951.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your script of June 22 which was requested by Miss Stewart of my office. I read it with a great deal of interest and I want to express my keen appreciation of your personal reaction to what I said before the Subcommittee of the Senate considering the question of morals in the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government. What you said was quite encouraging.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Ickes

Harold L. Ickes.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

THOMAS J. LANE
7TH DIST., MASSACHUSETTS

K

COMMITTEE:
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

June 28, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It is my pleasure to enclose a copy of my remarks on the floor of the House under date of June 27, 1951, in response to a recent radio broadcast you gave suggesting the establishment of the VOICE OF AMERICA as an independent agency equipped with highly competent personnel to win public support the world over for the truths that will bring peace and dignity to men.

With all good wishes for your continued success as one of our highly respected radio commentators, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Lane

Enclosure

an agency of sufficient prestige to cooperate with the State Department, the Army, Navy, Air Force, and other departments in the formulation of a consistent policy that will win congressional support.

George Washington, with an eye to the main chance, organized a propaganda bureau during the Revolutionary War. So important did he consider this effort that he picked men of the stature of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin to provide it with winning ideas. They managed to get guerrilla pamphlets behind the British lines, and sold 6,000 Hessian troops on the advisability of deserting.

We need to be reminded that it was politics almost as much as force of arms that won victory in World War I. We drove a wedge between the Kaiser and the German people by dropping leaflets from planes and balloons that reassured the people as to our intentions. "Germany," said General Ludendorff, "failed in the fight of intellects."

When World War II broke out, we did not try to minimize the value of psychological warfare. With encouraging realism, we set up a full-bodied agency under the name Office of War Information, and staffed it with the best minds we could get. That it helped to soften up the enemy's aggressive will is beyond question.

Why is it that in the present crisis that will go on for a long, long time, whether it be hot, cold, or expediently under wraps, that we let communism hold the initiative? Up to now we have not acted but reacted. We dance to their tune, usually waiting for them to call the play before we adopt countermeasures.

All the while we are missing our one big opportunity.

By setting up an iron curtain around his vast heartland, Stalin has admitted his one great fear. It is that the truth reaching through to his own people will encourage them to take matters into their own hands and bring the prison walls of communism down into the dust.

Why do we hesitate?

Is American energy, intelligence, and imagination afraid of itself?

Military, economic, and diplomatic measures do not round out the formula necessary for survival as long as we omit or neglect the compelling duty to contact the Russian people and convince them of the better life outside that is being withheld from them by their masters, of our earnest desire for peace and mutual helpfulness, and of the hard fact the we are rearming only to defend ourselves from the very same tyranny that now enslaves the Russian people.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LANE. I yield.

Mr. GATHINGS. The gentleman is making a very fine speech. I commend him wholeheartedly, especially on that part of the speech in which he stated that we ought to go behind the iron curtain and bring our American ideals to those people who live back behind the curtain, even in Russia.

Mr. LANE. I thank the gentleman from Arkansas for his contribution.

The Soviets use the forum of the United Nations to spread the big lie in the United States, but seal us off from all touch with the Russian people and deny us the opportunity to bring home our factual side of the story to them.

The free exchange of information is as vital to us in our dealings with the peoples of other nations as it is in promoting understanding among groups and individuals here in the United States.

When any government refuses to extend to us the rights that we grant to it, there is but one recourse left. We must deliver the news of our actions and intentions, by every conceivable means, directly to the people of Russia.

For that job the Voice of America needs more money for material, facilities, and skilled personnel.

More than that, it needs the status of an independent agency, with a voice of its own in the shaping of those policies that will win cooperation and friendship for us throughout the world.

Stalin is not scared by the strenuous efforts being made by an aroused United States to rearm itself and its allies. This fits in with his theory that we will suffer an economic breakdown in the process. But it does give him the jitters to think of a revolt by his own people.

In the years from 1921 to 1941, there were more than 30 separate uprisings against the Soviet regime. Although they were poorly organized and soon crushed, they were symptoms of chronic discontent. Even today there are some 15,000,000 Russians in the concentration camps of their own government. It looks like Stalin fears a lot of his comrades.

We cannot win the friendship of the Russian people, or the Chinese people, or any others unless we communicate with them, and the VOA is the one remaining lifeline by which we can reach through to them now and as far as we can see into the uncertain future.

Many others have gambled with their lives to escape the clutch of communism. These people are the ones who can speak for the free Russia that millions of their kin must long for. They can inspire and guide the anti-Communist underground because they speak for Russia and against the oppressors in the Kremlin.

The Voice of America is a light in the dark that beams news to the Russian people past every obstacle that is calculated to keep the people in ignorance. Hour after Mrs. Kasenkina jumped from a window of the Soviet consulate in New York, rather than return to the so-called Communist paradise, word-of-mouth chain reaction to the story was spreading through Russia, thanks to the VOA. Expand this by a continuing stream of facts, and the day will come when the Communist tyranny will be overthrown by the Russian people themselves.

We have the best product in the world to sell to the Russian people. It is the hope of help from the free world to liberate them and give them the opportunity to attain the kind of life that they want —at peace with themselves and their neighbors.

We have the potential apparatus to get this message across to them. We possess all the means and methods if we but use them.

What is stopping us?

The Voice of America is the victim by association of the suspicions which, rightly or wrongly, are directed against the State Department. It also suffers from its junior status because it is not consulted in the shaping of the high-level policy that it is supposed to implement.

Free the Voice of America by making it an independent agency. Give it an appropriation that will permit the use of highly competent personnel to win public support the world over, for the truths that will bring peace and dignity to man.

1851 HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY 1951

The New York Times
Times Square

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
PUBLISHER

June 14, 1951

No answer
Show to Fred F.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

When your program about The New York Times came over the air, I was out and missed it. Since then I've been out of the city and haven't had a chance to hear a recording of it until just now.

May I congratulate you on it. I've heard about it from several of my friends, who have all been unanimous in thinking well of it, and I certainly associate myself with their point of view. I thought it was first class. Once again, my congratulations.

Faithfully yours,

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

M

Vandenberg Hoyt S.

June 5, 1951

Dear Van:

I shall show your letter of May 29, to my colleagues who work on HEAR IT NOW. This is high praise indeed. I have read the text of your testimony before the Senators, and you read like a statesman. Your task, as I see it, is as much that of educator as aviator, and I think on this occasion you performed magnificently. Again my best thanks for your generous and gracious comments.

As ever yours,

Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg
Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force
Washington, D.C.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

3 Gred - FYI
And pls return.

May 29, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The documentary on the B-36 which you included in the April 27th program of your "Hear It Now" series was a truly outstanding contribution to public understanding of the function of this aircraft in the defense of our nation.

Your follow-up program of May 4th in which you paid tribute to the valor of the B-36 crew members who were the unfortunate victims of a mid-air collision was not only the epitome of good taste but displayed a deep understanding of the role our airmen are playing often at very high stakes, in protecting America's security.

On behalf of the men and women of the United States Air Force I would like to express wholehearted appreciation for this latest example of your continued efforts to interpret the mission of the Air Force with authenticity, rare talent, and creative skill.

Sincerely,

Van

HOYT S. VANDENBERG
Chief of Staff, United States Air Force

Farley, Jas. A.

June 1, 1951

Dear Jim:

You are a most thoughtful friend whom I see all too seldom. My best thanks for your gracious note of congratulations, and again my thanks to you for helping us out on the Franco interview last winter.

As ever yours,

Mr. James A. Farley
The Coca-Cola ~~Export~~ Corporation
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

The Coca-Cola Export Corporation

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

18.

Dear ~~Mr. Murrow~~ Ed:

I noted with interest that you will receive recognition for your work as a commentator at the dinner to be held at the Waldorf-Astoria on the evening of May 16th. May I extend hearty congratulations and best wishes for your continued success, good health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York 22, New York

May 1, 1951

Caldwell, Millard
PA

FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

APR 11 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to extend my personal appreciation for the distinct service you have rendered Civil Defense by narrating the motion picture, "Survival Under Atomic Attack."

The dignity, authority, and sincerity of your voice on the sound track has, I believe, increased considerably the effectiveness of this film.

I hope that we may have the privilege of hearing your voice on other such official Civil Defense motion pictures.

Sincerely,

Millard Caldwell

Symington, Stuart

January 24, 1951

Dear Stu:

My belated thanks for a pleasant lunch and discussion and my congratulations upon the speech. I think you were well advised not to include more of the "moth-eaten Murrow."

As ever yours,

Mr. Stuart Symington
National Security Resources Board
Washington 25, D. C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
NATIONAL SECURITY RESOURCES BOARD
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

January 16, 1951

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

A million thanks for your note of January 11.

I already had almost too many quotes but grabbed your thought about great words and great deeds. If I have to be a plagiarist, I would rather be one re Murrow than anybody else.

It was fine to see you and I want to congratulate you on the great job you are doing for your country. Whenever things look this way or that and you would like to see me for another discussion, it would be my pleasure, and as the weather gets warmer, do bring those clubs.

Again with appreciation.

Sincerely,

Stuart Symington

Case, Francis

FRANCIS CASE
2D DIST., SOUTH DAKOTA

OFFICE ASSISTANTS:
ARTHUR JUHNKE, KENNEBEC
MAUD C. SPARKS, RAPID CITY
RODNEY MOULTON, CANTON
ROBERT JANDULA, LEMMON

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

HOME ADDRESS:
CUSTER, S. DAK.

December 26, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to drop you a note to apologize for what seems to be neglect or failure to respond to your telegram of November 9th askingfor my opinion on certain matters that are either pending before the Congress now or will be coming session.

I was away from home for a few days immediately following the election and when your telegram reached me, I felt that it would then be out of date to answer.

I did want to acknowledge the telegram, however, and say that if you are in Washington at any time drop in. I think all America is appreciative of the great service you have rendered in charge of news reports for Columbia Broadcasting.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis Case

C O P Y

United States Senate
Committee on Foreign Relations

The Pantlind Hotel
Grand Rapids, Michigan
November 24, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

I deeply appreciate your letter of November 21. You outline a notable project which I think is well worthwhile. I want to help in any way I can. But, frankly, I am afraid it is impossible for you to count upon my personal participation in your broadcast. I am still far from well. My stubborn convalescence still pursues me with aches and pains. Just between us, I do not know what I can do if I return in January as is my fondest aspiration. Certainly I shall be on "limited service" for a while and I know my Doctors will absolutely prohibit any outside activities. Therefore, I would not dare to let you rely upon my personal participation in your program.

I know how well you do these documentary things. I had the pleasure yesterday of listening to the record (which you were good enough to send me) particularly covering the Harding-Coolidge era. It was really wonderful. It reminded me of the fact that I had something to do with initiating the use of direct quotations in radio recordings. You may recall that I had a rather sensational (at the time) radio "debate" with President Roosevelt in the 1936 campaign, in which I let him speak for himself (from other available radio recordings) and then answered him.

I am glad CBS is undertaking the project you describe. My untimely illness has kept me out of the bi-partisan foreign policy debate for more than a year. The opponents have pretty well confused the country on the subject. The President himself has not helped any by his resurrected habit of castigating the "no good 80th Congress" when I was Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He has tried to somewhat discriminate between domestic and foreign policies in this respect; but it has been a feeble discrimination which has left a sadly erroneous impression with the country. Of course I am prejudiced but I think the 80th Congress made the greatest of all records in projecting a new foreign policy for the United States and a new national unity on foreign policy through nearly fifty major issues in which the Committee invariably voted 13-0 with totally unpartisan concept and results. If the 80th Congress was "no good" (without exceptions) then the United Nations and the Greek-Turkey program and the ECA and the Rio Treaty (to mention just a few items) were "no good," - and that isn't just true even in the President's own book. Needless to say, these comments are entirely personal and confidential to you for your own background thinking. They are not quotation or attribution.

C O P Y

I think the greatest libel on our "bi-partisan foreign policy" is the repetitious charge that we Republicans were operating on a rubber stamp "me too" basis, for the Truman Administration. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In every instance we completely explored every project submitted to us (which included no Asiatic projects except in ECA). There was the fullest disclosure to our Committee. We made many criticisms and corrections. I personally practically re-wrote the original ECA legislation. Thus we anticipated most of the hurdles. Thus we had true bi-partisan and unpartisan consideration of these matters. Thus we got our votes of 13-0. There was no "me too" in it. I hasten to add that the State Department and the President fully cooperated in these respects.

In my opinion the great achievement was to create confidence in our foreign policies both at home and abroad. In my opinion there is vital need - greater than ever - to recreate this procedure (expanded to cover all major foreign policy considerations) and this resultant unity. It will be more difficult because our critics have had a lively vocal season. Some of our friends have not helped - as witness the President's "no good" speech and the Secretary's "anti-revisionist" speech. Of course foreign policy must be under constant review and even "revision" if required. There is nothing in true bi-partisan foreign policy which calls for a gag, or which discourages the utmost vigilance on the part of Republicans. In holding the Administration to strict accountability for all of its acts and projects. The grave need is to find a "meeting of minds" which will reassure our own country and the world that our democracy can function in times of crisis. The need is to consult national rather than political destiny.

These are some of the thoughts I would have given you upon this subject in a personal interview, to which you are welcome at any time. I am entirely at your service in any way I can be helpful within the limitations defined above. I shall look forward to your CBS featurewith the deepest interest.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,

/s/ A.H. Vandenberg

McMahon, Brien

BRIEN McMAHON
CONNECTICUT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J / no answer

November 14, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City

Dear Ed:

In the rush of the campaign, I listened very little to the radio. I missed the broadcast in which you were so kind to me.

So many of my friends listened to it and I know it did a lot of good. I am very grateful and I hope to see you soon.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Brien

United States Senator

C O P Y

United States Senate
Committee on Foreign Relations

The Pantlind Hotel
Grand Rapids, Michigan
November 24, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

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COPY

I think the greatest libel on our "bi-partisan foreign policy" is the repetitious charge that we Republicans were operating on a rubber stamp "me too" basis, for the Truman Administration. Nothing could be farther from the truth. In every instance we completely explored every project submitted to us (which included no Asiatic projects except in ECA). There was the fullest disclosure to our Committee. We made many criticisms and corrections. I personally practically re-wrote the original ECA legislation. Thus we anticipated most of the hurdles. Thus we had true bi-partisan and unpartisan consideration of these matters. Thus we got our votes of 13-0. There was no "me too" in it. I hasten to add that the State Department and the President fully cooperated in these respects.

In my opinion the great achievement was to create confidence in our foreign policies both at home and abroad. In my opinion there is vital need - greater than ever - to recreate this procedure (expanded to cover all major foreign policy considerations) and this resultant unity. It will be more difficult because our critics have had a lively vocal season. Some of our friends have not helped - as witness the President's "no good" speech and the Secretary's "anti-revisionist" speech. Of course foreign policy must be under constant review and even "revision" if required. There is nothing in true bi-partisan foreign policy which calls for a gag, or which discourages the utmost vigilance on the part of Republicans. In holding the Administration to strict accountability for all of its acts and projects. The grave need is to find a "meeting of minds" which will reassure our own country and the world that our democracy can function in times of crisis. The need is to consult national rather than political destiny.

These are some of the thoughts I would have given you upon this subject in a personal interview, to which you are welcome at any time. I am entirely at your service in any way I can be helpful within the limitations defined above. I shall look forward to your CBS featurewith the deepest interest.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,

/s/ A.H. Vandenberg

Roosevelt, Eleanor

UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

2 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-6810

October 3, 1950

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The heightened interest in the United Nations since the meetings have been televised is again in evidence, this time by the attached letter.

It certainly is wonderful, and I hope the broadcasts will continue.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

[Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt]

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

original in Wessell vault.

COPY

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

How can we impress upon the television broadcasting companies the importance of continuing the United Nations programs? During July and August the Council was presented every day, and many women in my neighborhood alone became regular visitors to view the sessions. It is so important to keep the general public aware of the struggle we are making to keep the peace. I do hope you can pass on to CBS our hopes for a daily program.

Thank you for your staunch work with the General Assembly.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. F.P.) Virginia Starbuck Thornton

19 Manor Hill Road,
Summit, New Jersey.

Album III

SECRETARY OF THE ARMY
WASHINGTON

2 October 1950

Dear Ed:

I appreciate very much your sending me the third volume of "I Can Hear It Now."

Incidentally, some time when you are over this way, if it is convenient you might stop by for a brief chat on the general situation.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank Pace, Jr.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Album

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
OFFICE OF THE VICE CHIEF OF STAFF
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 September 1950

Dear Ed:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the third volume of "I Can Hear It Now." My wife and I have played the earlier albums many, many times and I must admit to chills running up and down my spine when the voices of Churchill and Roosevelt bring back the critical days of the early 40's.

I hope by this time you have lost the dirt, fleas and fatigue of Korea. After your strenuous time in the Far East, you deserve a rest.

Please let me know when you are again in Washington so that we can get together for lunch and a chat.

Sincerely,

LAURIS NORSTAD
Lieutenant General, USAF
Acting Vice Chief of Staff

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Album

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Pantlind Hotel
Grand Rapids, Michigan
September 30, 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of September 22, and I shall welcome the third volume of your Columbia Records.

I deeply appreciate the spirit in which you have written.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and and faithfully,

A H Vandenberg

Album

CORDELL HULL

WARDMAN PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 30, 1950.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am indeed very thankful for your third volume of "I CAN HEAR IT NOW". I know I shall find it of very great interest, and do appreciate your kindness. I hope some of these days to see you again.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York.

Album

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON

September 29, 1950

Dear Ed:

I want you to know that I greatly appreciate and highly value receiving the volumes of "I Can Hear It Now." You have been kind enough to send me the first two volumes issued, and I have placed these in a very special spot in my library and have on a number of occasions used them in entertaining guests.

I look forward to being able to build up this collection as it is completed, and will rely on your continued generosity in supplying them.

Sincerely,

Howard

Attorney General

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Album

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE FELIX FRANKFURTER

September 29, 1950.

Dear Ed:

Thank you for sending me the third volume of "I Can Hear It Now," which will doubtless arrive in due course.

The pleasure of the luncheon at the Murrows still lingers and, at the risk of arousing the jealousy of his parents, not the least pleasurable part of it was Casey's share.

With cordial regards,

Felix Frankfurter

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.

Dillon, Charles

NATIONAL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT
OFFICE OF PUBLIC INFORMATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

4 January 1950

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Counselor on Public Affairs
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

We want to take this opportunity, as we enter the New Year, to tell you how very appreciative we are of the cooperation extended by you, to the Department of Defense since the radio and television services of the Armed Forces have been combined.

It is our sincere desire to be of better service during 1950.

With best wishes to all of you for a successful and Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Charles

CHARLES DILLON
Chief, Radio-TV Branch

TOM CONNALLY, TEX., CHAIRMAN
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
MILLARD E. TYDINGS, MD.
CLAUDE PEPPER, FLA.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.
H. ALEXANDER SMITH, N. J.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, IOWA
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.
FRANCIS O. WILCOX, CHIEF OF STAFF

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

December 13, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

Thanks for your letter and your ~~thoughtf~~ulness in sending me a copy of your latest album at my Washington address. I shall ~~look for~~ it with greatest interest.

Your first album was tremendous. I am certain the second will keep up the pace.

With warm personal regards and best wishes,

Cordially and faithfully,

A H Vandenberg

Hoover, J. Edgar

July 13, 1949.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
United States Department of Justice,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of June 17th. I am glad you found the broadcast objective, for I certainly tried to make it so.

I am now enjoying two months' vacation from broadcasting, but I hope to see you when next I am in Washington.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

June 17, 1949

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I did want to write you this personal note to thank you for the manner in which you so objectively reported the position of the FBI in the current situation on your broadcast last night.

Your confidence at this time is indeed very gratifying and I do hope the FBI will always be worthy of your support.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Eisenhower, D. D.
Rm 201
535 West 116th St.
N. Y. 27

DDE

8 June 1948

Dear Ed:

Thank you very much for your nice wire. It was just like you to think of an old friend on a day that has so much significance for him.

With warm personal regard,

Cordially,

Ike

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

JUNE 7, 1948

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

JUST TO OFFER YOU MY BEST SALUTE AND BETTER WISHES FOR SUCCESS REGARDS

ED MURROW

Hull, Cordell

CORDELL HULL

WARDMAN PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 12, 1949.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you for your cordial note of May 9. It indeed gives a sense of relief to be back in my home at the Wardman Park. I am more than appreciative of your suggestion regarding a possible broadcast at some time later. I should say that I am on the sidelines and have really made no plans except to refrain from making public statements at present. Needless to say, I have long enjoyed very much your daily broadcasts.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
New York City.

Hull, Cordell

May 9, 1949

Dear Mr. Hull:

This is merely a note to say the reporting of your recovery and return to the Wardman Park gave me more pleasure than any news item in recent months.

I have no desire to importune you for you more than most men deserve to enjoy fearless rest after hopeful work, but if, at any time, you feel disposed to say anything to the American people, I would be delighted to place a microphone at your disposal.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Cordell Hull
Wardman Park
Washington, D.C.

CORDELL HULL

WARDMAN PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 26, 1949.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Just a line to express my appreciation of your recent personal reference to my return from the hospital. Let me at the same time extend my greetings and congratulations upon your fine accomplishments in the radio world. The set of records containing important speeches and statements, which you sent to me, have been most interesting and enjoyable, and I again thank you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Cordell Hull

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
New York City.

Forrestal, James

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

18 May 1948

My dear Ed Murrow:

I am sorry that we are not to have the benefit of your services and counsel but I fully appreciate the reasons that lie behind your decision: the fact that your franchise rests upon a continuity in the public ear and that sponsors must have someone to fill the niche which you now occupy.

In any event I am glad to have become acquainted with you and I will not hesitate to take advantage of your offer to be of service to us on a limited time basis as the occasion arises.

Secretary Symington joins me in my regret at your inability to accept.

Sincerely yours,

James Forrestal

James Forrestal

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

May 14, 1948

Dear Mr. Forrestal:

After careful consideration I am obliged to decline the proposal you made during our very pleasant luncheon last week. I am persuaded that satisfactory significant service could not be performed in a matter of ninety days and my current contractual commitments make it impossible for me to free myself for even so short a period of time.

I am not insensitive to the honor you have done me in suggesting that I work with you. This decision stems from no reluctance to serve my country. Repeatedly during the war I applied to Generals Eisenhower and Donovan for reinstatement of my reserve commission and each time was told that such contribution as I might make to the war effort could best be achieved with a microphone. I hope that the same may be true in these days of uneasy peace.

It is unnecessary to tell you, I am sure, that if I can be of service to you or your staff, either here or in Washington, you have but to command me.

Respectfully yours,

The Honorable James V. Forrestal
Secretary of Defense
Pentagon Building
Washington 25, D.C.

cc: Mr. Ward Wheelock

Mr. William S. Paley

Davies, Joseph E.

JOSEPH E. DAVIES
BOWEN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 11, 1947

Yours

My dear Murrow:

Congratulations upon the very high honor which you have received from the experts of your own craft, in the award of the radio editors to you.

Personally, I regretted the fact that you had left the editorial for the executive field when you came back from your remarkable war reporting abroad. I also welcomed you back on the air for I had missed you. Your analysis last night was particularly strong. It was penetrating and well-balanced. It also displayed vision. I decided to drop you a line this morning, even before I heard the late announcement of the award to you.

At a time when hysteria is sweeping over the country, a steady voice, with high purpose and obvious American spirit, is of the greatest value.

If at any time you are in Washington, do run out and have lunch with me if you can.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joseph E. Davies

Joseph E. Davies

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

July 23, 1947

Dear Herb Swope:

I am grateful. Your analysis of what is required is the kind of talk I understand.

Some time early in September, after I have had a couple of weeks off to recharge the batteries, I would welcome the opportunity to sit down and talk with you about the whole project. Believe me, I face the job with a full cargo of humility.

Thanks again for your letter.

As ever yours,

Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope
745 Fifth Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

21 July 1947.

Dear Ed Murrow:-

I am glad you are shifting your work, so that we may again hear your carefully chosen words and your well thought out themes. Verbum sapienti:

In time of heavy stress the public mind inclines towards dogma. When the pressure is lessened that mind becomes querulous when it is told what to think; it wants to be informed, not directed.

This is a preamble saying that the broader, more objective you can make your news, the better service you will be rendering.

I think the day of the commentator-- narrow, didactic, pseudo-authoritative - has gone by. The oracle is resented; the informer is welcomed.

I am sure you will do well whatever you are called upon to do.

My warm regard.

Herbert Bayard Swope

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, 22, N.Y.

General Information Division
Reference Department
From Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Ave., New York, 12/1/41

CBS
REFERENCE
DEPARTMENT

ATTENTION: CITY, RADIO AND PICTURE EDITORS

1,100 LEADERS OF NATION HONOR EDWARD R. MURROW AT FETE TOMORROW

More than 1,100 of the nation's leaders of thought and action gather tomorrow evening (Tuesday, December 2) to honor Edward R. Murrow, chief of the Columbia Broadcasting System's European correspondents, at a testimonial dinner in the Waldorf Astoria, New York City.

Murrow returned to the United States last Monday (November 24), after a gruelling wartime assignment which kept him at his post in London since February, 1939, and thrice saw him bombed out of offices and apartment in the British capital.

Murrow's first formal and entirely uncensored address since his arrival aboard the liner Excambion from Lisbon is to be broadcast from the banquet scene over the nationwide facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting System. Other speakers to be heard on this broadcast (WABC-CBS, 9:30 PM, EST) are: William S. Paley, CBS president; Archibald MacLeish, Librarian of Congress; Toastmaster Elmer Davis, CBS news analyst, and William L. Shirer, author of "Berlin Diary."

Among the distinguished guests are: Lieutenant Governor Charles Poletti, of New York; James L. Fly, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission; Alfred E. Smith, the Most Rev. J. Francis A. McIntyre, Chancellor of the Archidiocese of New York; Acting Mayor Newbold Morris, Paul B. West, president of the National Association of Manufacturers; Kent Cooper, general manager of the Associated Press; Joseph V. Connolly, president of the International News Service and King Features Syndicate; Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press, and Robert Sherwood, playwright.

(End)

Compiled February 1960

RED STARS — No. 3

THE REDS ARE BACK IN HOLLYWOOD! ! !

AMERICANS . . . .

To save America from the Communist Conspiracy —

DON'T PATRONIZE REDS!!!

KEEP THEM OUT
OF YOUR (TV)
LIVING ROOMS —
OUT OF RADIO —
OFF THE SCREEN

This Tract tells how YOU can do it!

In 1947, in a speech in Hollywood, Myron C. Fagan, famous Playright-Director-Producer, charged that the REDS had acquired absolute control of Hollywood and Broadway — **and transformed our Stage, Screen and Radio into the Communist Conspiracy's most effective Fifth Column in America** . . . that the RED Stars, Directors, Writers and Producers of Hollywood were the chief supporters, financial and otherwise, of Communist propaganda in America . . . that many films made by the Hollywood REDS were being used by Moscow in Asia, Africa and throughout the world to create hatred of America and Americans . . . that other films were made to craftily glorify COMMUNISM and ONE-WORLD-

ISM . . . and still other films that **deliberately** created dissensions and hatreds between Negroes and Whites, between North and South, between Minority Groups and Americans.

That speech startled the nation. **The Hollywood Moguls frantically denied everything.** That brought the House Un-American Activities Committee into action. Their Hearings in Hollywood and Washington fully confirmed all the (Fagan) charges against the industry and **all** the **named** Stars — **and sent the notorious "Hollywood Ten" to jail.** That ROCKED the nation! The people, **infuriated,** began to "blacklist" the theatres showing those REDS and the Red Films. Panic swept through the entire industry—it chased Charlie Chaplin out of the country—it drove SCORES of other REDS off the Screen . . . and, far more important, **it closed THOUSANDS of theatres!**

THAT did the job! . . . it hit the Moguls in their most vulnerable spot: **their pocketbook!** — and all their "'righteous" denials changed to piteous pleas for forgiveness. They piously promised that **"never again would they employ any REDS"** — that **"never again would they produce RED-propaganda films"** and for a time they **seemingly** kept their promises—they even barred all tainted Stars from "Oscar" honors.

But **actually** they were merely waiting for the people to **forget.** And even while "waiting" they were scheming and conniving how to keep those REDS "alive" — and finally bring them back into public favor . . . they continued to employ RED writers, (even the "Hollywood Ten") **under fictitious names** . . . they secretly financed pictures made in Europe by banished American REDS . . . other RED Stars were "taken care of" in Broadway plays . . . then, as it grew in stature and importance, TELEVISION became their greatest sanctuary!

And, tragically, the people **did** begin to "forget". And, gradually, the Marches, the Robinsons, the Milestones and all the other REDS began to creep back into Hollywood . . .
Screens are showing film
ONE-WORLDISM—DESEG

In short, TODAY the R
stronger and more braz
Charlie Chaplin pictures
and all the honors, **includ**
restored to them . . . **al**
forgotten!

TV AN EVEN G

Today, virtually all f
Hollywood — **by the Hol**
all the Hollywood Lots a
films full of craftily cam
and, **via your TV Set,** they
Living Room—**and are br**
your children right unde

YOU can stop all that!
that show the REDS—by r
of the Sponsors who brin
Room! **You did it once—y**

Don't ever again FOR
patronize a Film made b
STARS and STUDIOS you
Communism . . . Every
come into your Living
you will be helping Mosc
ALISTS to destroy Americ

Among the worst offe
MOTORS (Ed Sullivan S
Foods; General Electric;
. . . among the worst
Studios are Screen Gems,
Brothers; DESILU; Four
Guild, etc. All Sponsors
to produce their TV Show
consciously, bringing RED
. . . **Watch the Producer**
Show you see.

. . and once again our theatre
films that sanctify MARXISM—
EGREGATION!

e REDS are back in Hollywood
razen than ever — **even the**
es are on the Screens again!—
luding the "Oscar", have been
all because the people have

I GREATER MENACE

films for TV are made in
Hollywood Reds! RIGHT NOW
are making **thousands** of TV
amouflaged RED propaganda,
hey are being piped into your
brainwashing and poisoning
nder your very eyes ! ! . . .
atl—by **shunning** the theatres
y refusing to buy the products
ring the REDS into your Living
—you can do it again!

ORGET that every time you
e by RED Producers, Writers,
you are aiding and abetting
ry time you permit REDS to
g Room VIA YOUR TV SET
oscow and the INTERNATION-
erica ! ! !

ffending Sponsors are FORD
Show in particular); Kraft
c; Chrysler; U. S. Steel, etc.
rst offending TV Producing
ms, Inc.; MCA-REVUE; Warner
ur Star Films, Inc.; Theatre
rs who employ such Studios
hows are, consciously or un-
REDS into your Living Rooms
ucer's "Credits" on every TV

Here is How YOU Can Drive Them Out:

Read the following list . . . They are the best known of the REDS and FELLOW-TRAVELERS who made our SCREEN Communism's most effective "Pied Piper". They are now coming into your Living Room night after night VIA YOUR TV SET and Radio. . . . WATCH FOR THEM! . . . Keep this list with you ALWAYS! . . . When one of them appears on your SET send a copy of this Tract to the SPONSOR immediately—and WARN him that if he will bring another RED into your Living Room you will never again buy his products—**and then fulfill your warning!** . . . Give this Tract to your Grocer, your Butcher, to ALL Dealers you patronize — **and warn them** — so they can **warn** the Sponsors — also send copies to your local TV and Radio Stations . . . USE THE SAME METHOD WITH YOUR MOVIE THEATRE!

THAT is the only way we will drive the REDS out of Hollywood — Radio —Television . . . **Hit the pocketbooks of the Sponsor ! ! !** REMEMBER: every time you buy the products of a Sponsor who employs REDS you are hurting YOUR COUNTRY ! ! !

LARRY ADLER
LUTHER ADLER
LAUREN BACALL
LUCILLE BALL
JOAN BENNETT
BETSY BLAIR
MARLON BRANDO
LLOYD BRIDGES
EDDIE CANTOR
MORRIS CARNOVSKY
BENNETT CERF
CHARLIE CHAPLIN
LEE J. COBB
RICHARD CONTE
JOSEPH COTTON
GEORGE COULOURIS
HUME CRONYN
HOWARD DA SILVA
BETTE DAVIS
OLIVE DEERING
OLIVIA DE HAVILLAND
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WILL GEER
JACK GILFORD
PAULETTE GODDARD
LLOYD GOUGH
FARLEY GRANGER
BEN GRAUER
UTA HAGEN
JUNE HAVOC
RITA HAYWORTH
VAN HEFLIN
PAUL HENREID
KATHERINE HEPBURN
ROSE HOBART
JUDY HOLLIDAY
LENA HORNE
MARSHA HUNT
CHET HUNTLEY
JOHN IRELAND
BURL IVES

SAM JAFFE
LEON JANNEY
GEORGE JESSEL
DANNY KAYE
GENE KELLY
ALEXANDER KNOX
BURT LANCASTER
CANADA LEE
GYPSY ROSE LEE
ELLA LOGAN
PETER LORRE
MYRNA LOY
ALINE MacMAHON
FREDERIC MARCH
MARGO
GROUCHO MARX
MYRON McCORMICK
BURGESS MEREDITH
MARVIN MILLER
HENRY MORGAN
ZERO MOSTEL
MEG MUNDY
EDWARD R. MURROW
LARRY PARKS
GREGORY PECK
SIDNEY POITIER
VINCENT PRICE
ALAN REED
ANNE REVERE
QUENTIN REYNOLDS
EARL ROBINSON
EDWARD G. ROBINSON
SELENA ROYLE
ROBERT RYAN
HAZEL SCOTT
PETE SEEGER
SYLVIA SIDNEY
FRANK SINATRA
GALE SONDERGAARD
LIONEL STANDER
JAN STERLING
HELEN TAMIRIS
JESSICA TANDY
FRANCHOT TONE
ORSON WELLS
SHELLEY WINTERS
JANE WYATT
KEENAN WYNN

WRITERS, DIRECTORS, PRODUCERS, COMPOSERS

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ELMER RICE
JEROME ROBBINS
HAROLD ROME
ROBERT ROSSON
DORE SCHARY
BUDD SCHULBERG
ARTHUR SCHWARTZ
ADRIAN SCOTT
IRWIN SHAW
HERMAN SHUMLIN
DONALD OGDEN STEWART
JAMES THURBER
SHEPARD TRAUBE
DALTON TRUMBO
PETER VIERTEL
JERRY WALD
WALTER WANGER
JOHN WEXLEY
BILLY WILDER
WILLIAM WYLER
NEDRICK YOUNG

Here you have the names of 200 of the most rabid REDS and Fellow-Travellers. There are MANY more, but lack of space prevents the naming of all. However, those in this list are the most important and flagrant—drive **them** out and it will smash the entire RED Conspiracy in Hollywood and in TELEVISION.

NOTE: A more complete list, with their **documented** backgrounds, their techniques, their RED FRONTS, and other invaluable information can be found in "DOCUMENTATION OF THE RED STARS", by Myron C. Fagan. You can get a copy of this **sensational** book by sending $1.00 to "Cinema Educational Guild, Inc."

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For more information

April 22, 1960

Mr. Eduard R. Murrow
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow;

I am a six grade teacher in the Portland system and one of my students brought the inclosed article to class for current events. Needless to say the class was very disturbed when they saw what they considered their favorite actors and actresses on the list. I was very much surprised when I saw your name and also that of Chet Huntley.
Todays school children are very much aware of what Communism is and have very definate feelings concerning it. When they see names like Danny Kaye and others on such a list what are they to believe?
I would like to reassure these children and know that others who read these pamphlets know the truth.

Any information I receive from you will be read to the children. I am sure you realize that no answer at all would indicate to these children, and to others who read the pamphlet, that the information it contains is true. I sincerely hope you can restore some of the shattered faith these children have for their necessary heros. We all anxiously await your reply.

Sincerely,
G Robert Stockmann

G. Robert Stockmann
3424 S.E. Caruthers
Portland 14, Oregon

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Communism

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7 January 1955

SUBJECT: Special Study - HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST

1. The attached special study on HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST is transmitted for information and guidance.

2. This study, and those to follow, compiled by First Army, will be passed on to the employees of Watertown Arsenal, as a means of information and general background material on a question of vital concern to every American, particularly to government employees.

Incl: a/s

ROBERT C. PERRON
Major (MI) Inf
OIC, Plant Protection

Address all communications to the "Commanding Officer".

Special Study

HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST

CONTENTS

1. Introduction
2. The "Communist Language"
3. The "Communist Religion"
4. The "Communist Logic"
5. The Communist's approach to others
6. The Communist's affiliations
7. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

Events of recent years have made it obvious that there is no foolproof way of detecting a Communist. The Communist individual is no longer a "type" exemplified by the bearded and coarse revolutionary with time bomb in briefcase. U.S. Communists come from all walks of life, profess all faiths and exercise all trades and professions. In addition, the Communist Party, USA, has made concerted efforts to go underground for the purpose of infiltration.

If there is no foolproof system in spotting a Communist, there are, fortunately, indications that may give him away. These indications are often subtle but always present, for the Communist, by reason of his "faith" must act and talk along certain lines.

The following chapters contain some of these indications which may help in recognizing as such the individual who belongs to the Communist Party as well as the sympathizer and fellow-traveler of all shades.

2. THE "COMMUNIST LANGUAGE"

In LENIN's writings, there are repeated references to the "Aesopian Language" which he assertedly used to evade arrest and punishment as a revolutionary under the tsarist regime. The term is derived from AESOP, famed fabulist of ancient Greece, who attempted to hide the contemporary significance of his fables by satirizing animals rather than human beings. In LENIN's case, the term described the method of "writing in hints" in order to fool the censors. Ever since 1917, Communists in all countries have taken up and practiced the art of "Aesopian Language" and, wherever possible, have refined it.

Through this process of refinement, Communists in the United States have developed what might be called a "Communist Language." It is not defined in dictionaries or taught in schools but can be of considerable help in identifying a Communist. The two distinguishing marks of this language are sentence structure and vocabulary.

The Communist's eternal preoccupation with Marxist theory appears to prod him to constant imitation of Marxist style at its most involved. This imitation is not limited to purely political discussions or writings and finds its way into the Communist's private life. Here are some sample sentences taken at random from Communist publications:

"The American go-getters counted on getting these resources into their clutches and exploiting them in the grand colonial manner, by taking advantage of the weakness of the tsarist government and the venality of the tsarist officials."

"If we stand at the brink of destruction, we also stand at the brink of something else, at the brink of a new dawn, in which the human race, in all of its complex and fascinating difference, will come to the conclusion that it must live in a peaceful brotherhood that will include this multitude of difference."

"It is rejection of finality, rejection of the idea of knowing the truth, rather than seeking it; it is the elasticity and experimentalism that come with this which, ..., is at the heart of the finest American tradition, is the essence of true radicalism."

While a certain heaviness of style and preference for long sentences is common to most Communist writings, a distinct vocabulary provides the second and more easily recognized feature of the "Communist Language."

Even a superficial reading of an article written by a Communist or a conversation with one will probably reveal the use of some of the following expressions:

integrative thinking	hoolinganism
vanguard	ruling class
comrade	demagogy
hootenanny	dialectical
chauvinism	witch-hunt
book-burning	reactionary
syncretistic faith	exploitation
bourgeois-nationalism	oppressive
jingoism	materialist
colonialism	progressive

This list, selected at random, could be extended almost indefinitely. While all of the above expressions are part of the English language, their use by Communists is infinitely more frequent than by the general public.

In speaking of a "Communist Language" it must be clearly understood that the use of certain terms and structures can never constitute proof of a charge as serious as subversion. Nevertheless, since the distinguishing marks of that language are in fact part of the American Communist's life, they might well be considered as a danger signal.

3. THE "COMMUNIST RELIGION"

The proverbial devotion to the "cause" found in most hard-core Communists and many sympathizers is more than merely an intellectual response to an idea. The case of the ROSENBERG atom spies and the appearance of numerous Communists before Federal and State Committees show that most of these men will sacrifice their careers and families and some their lives if required by Party discipline.

While it is generally believed that Communists are atheists as a result of their political indoctrination, it appears likely that many find in Marxist philosophy a substitute for religion in which they had previously lost faith. William R. KINTNER writes in his book "The Front is Everywhere:"

> "Communism has become a faith to warlike men cut adrift from certainty in an unbelieving world. The faith appeal of Communism has important implications. It should lead us to reject the notion that all Communists are crackpots, although many of them may be."

Once the Communist has accepted his new faith, he rejects all others as a rule, and his attitude toward organized religion becomes one of hostility. Nevertheless, when speaking or writing for the public, he will usually pretend to be indifferent rather than hostile. William Z. FOSTER, National Chairman of the CP, USA, recently wrote in a Communist publication:

> "I find that the dialectical materialist viewpoint fully satisfies me in meeting the everyday problems of life, as well as in confronting the perspective of eventual natural dissolution by death. In my outlook on life there is no place for religion."

The tell-tale signs of this "Communist Religion" are not easy to detect. There is, above all, a rigidity in views insofar as they pertain to the Communist doctrine. This is not to say that the Communist lacks persuasiveness or variety of expression. It does mean, however, that he will stubbornly cling to the "line" even when proven wrong in debate. The Communist has implicit faith in Marxist philosophy and in the truth of the "line" as transmitted from Moscow. Because of this faith, he cannot and will not give ground when challenged on basic Marxist issues or political pronouncements made by his leaders. The possibility of compromising on these issues is utterly beyond his comprehension.

Frequently, the Communist's slavish adherence to Moscow edicts becomes absurd. A classic illustration is the "Daily Worker" edition of 23 August 1939. On this day, when the USSR concluded a non-aggression pact with Nazi-Germany, the Communist newspaper's columns were filled with denunciations of "Hitlerian barbarism." On the very next day, after receiving the news of the pact, the "Daily Worker" spoke glowingly of Hitler's "peaceful intentions" and sharply condemned those "imperialistic jackals," Great Britain and France. There is no indication in this and many other cases that the frequent changes in the "line" evoke any doubt or even wonder in the minds of U.S. Communists.

His "religion," then, can give away the Communist. His naive and unquestioning acceptance of the "line," his refusal to accept criticisms are excellent indications. Last but not least, the Communist feels a strong compulsion to spread his "faith" and can frequently be spotted by his never-ceasing attempts at conversion of others.

4. THE COMMUNIST'S LOGIC

The Communist's logic is a natural product of his "religion" which has been discussed in the preceding chapter. His peculiar logic is based on a rigid mind which serves merely as a storehouse for pre-conceived and pre-digested ideas.

This logic is diametrically opposed to our own. Thus, the Communist refers to the iron curtain police states as "democracies", and any defensive move on the part of the Western powers is condemned as "aggression." The Communist thus builds for himself a topsy-turvy world with a completely distorted set of values. For this reason, it is practically impossible to win an argument with a hard-core Communist. For one thing, he is trained to accept unquestioningly the ready-made views disseminated through the national party organization. In addition, the Communist mind cannot and will not engage in a detached examination of ideas. Talking to a Communist about his own ideas, then, is like listening to a phonograph record. His answers will invariably follow a definite pattern because he can never admit, even hypothetically, that the basis for his ideas may not be sound. This attitude is typical not only for the individual but also on a national scale. Western protests against incidents provoked by Communist nations invariably meet with the same stereotype answer asserting that the complainants are completely wrong while they, the Communists, are just as completely right. This answer is final and no arguments are permitted so far as the Communists are concerned.

The Communist, then, is not really "logical." The finality of his arguments and the completeness of his condemnation marks him clearly, whether as a speaker, a writer or a conversation partner.

5. THE COMMUNIST'S APPROACH TO OTHERS

The fact that the Communist has a very rigid set of values has a profound influence on his approach to others, whether as an individual or as a member of a group. For this reason, it is possible to some extent to predict and generalize Communist techniques.

In general, two aspects of Communist tactics are plainly distinguishable. Excessive condemnation is one. The Communist, when criticizing, goes all out in condemning a situation, an idea, or an individual. He will not admit to a single good aspect of anything which has been selected as a target by virtue of the "line." This procedure is in sharp contrast to non-Communist critics who frequently realize that admission of "good" points only increases the weight of their arguments against others. The hard-core Communist, then, denounces ALL of the U.S.' foreign policy, ALL of a piece of legislation or ALL members of an organization which he dislikes.

Another general Communist principle is the customary procedure of seizing on any, even the most insignificant occurence or issue to create uncertainty and unrest. Thus, the arrest of a Negro (for perfectly legitimate reasons) has given rise to an organization against "police brutality," and a case of a suspended college professor (for lawful reasons) has provoked well organized propaganda campaigns, charging "suppression of academic freedom."

In addition to these very general principles common to Communist tactics, a number of specific issues have been part of the Communist arsenal for a long period of time. These issues are raised not only by Communist appeals to the public but also by the individual Party member or sympathizer who is a product of his Communist environment. They include:

"McCarthyism"
Violation of Civil Rights
Racial or religious discrimination
Immigration laws
Anti-subversive legislation
Any legislation concerning labor unions
The military budget
"Peace"

While showing standard opposition to certain standard issues, the U.S. Communist has traditionally identified himself with certain activities in the hope of furthering his ultimate purposes. Such hobbies as "folk dancing" and "folk music" have been traditionally allied with the Communist movement in the United States. Groups of Communists and sympathizers have been formed for the express purpose of following these hobbies. The reason for their choice is not altogether an attempt to hide political activities. The Communist's fondness for everything that comes from "the people" is not an entirely theoretical preference and has found expression in his everyday life. Most Communists are likely to show preference for group activities rather than such bourgeois forms of recreation as ballroom dancing.

In discussing the Communist's tactics, a mention of outright Communist propaganda is indicated. The Communist knows well that a direct approach would most likely meet with hostility among a population alert to the Communist danger. Consequently, the direct approach has largely been abandoned in favor of bringing up issues which have no direct bearing on Communist philosophy. The Communist correctly assumes that this procedure makes it extremely difficult to differentiate between Communist and non-Communist inspired arguments.

6. THE COMMUNIST'S AFFILIATIONS

Communism as a social philosophy becomes meaningful only when practiced in groups. The individual Communist, "security-conscious" as he may be, will at one time or another engage in group activities. The nature of the groups with which he affiliates can then serve as a good indication of his own convictions.

The Communist Party itself has largely gone underground. Meetings therefore have definite characteristics. Only a very few members, sometimes not more than three or four, assemble at one time. Meeting places are street corners, automobiles, private homes and even public places such as restaurants, department stores and railroad terminals. In all cases secrecy to avoid detection by law enforcement agencies is the primary concern of all who attend the meetings.

Both CP members and sympathizers who are not Party members frequently belong to one or more organizations referred to as "Communist Fronts"." Some of these have been declared subversive by the U.S. Attorney General under Executive Order 10450 or cited by Congressional Committees. Many others carry on their work of disseminating the CP line without that stigma. Generally speaking, it is well to be wary of those organizations which stand for wholesale condemnation of the U.S. Government, a legitimate political party, or groups of individuals. Communist fronts have consistently shown preference for such issues as "Civil Rights," anti-subversive legislation and restrictions on immigration. In addition, these groups frequently seize on any controversial subject from fluoridation of drinking water to "police brutality" in order to promote their nefarious schemes.

Membership in one or more of such organizations is another danger signal. It is to be noted that many of these groups spring up spontaneously and go out of business after a comparatively short time only to make room for others.

7. CONCLUSION

A study such as this can lead to only one certain conclusion: There is no sure-fire way of spotting a Communist. Certain criteria, some of which were discussed above, provide clues in determining an individual's political leanings. They never provide proof.

It is obvious, then, that the job of "spotting a Communist" is a highly responsible one. The principal difficulty involved is the distinction between the person who merely dissents in the good old American tradition and the one who condemns for the purpose of abolishing that tradition.

In attempting to find the answer to the question: "Is this man a Communist?" a checklist such as this can prove helpful, although in itself it cannot provide the answer:

Does the individual use unusual language? ("Communist Language")

Does he stubbornly cling to Marxist ideals without being willing to question them?

Does he condemn our American institutions and praise those of Communist countries?

Does he pick on any, even the most insignificant occurences in this country for his criticism?

Is he secretive about certain of his contacts?

Does he belong to groups exploiting controversial subjects?

Above all, the approach to the problem of discovering Communists must be detached and completely free from prejudice. Using some of the clues mentioned in this study in connection with a factual approach provides the best system at present of spotting a Communist.

PETR ZENKL
2651 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
TELEPHONE: CO 5-5169

January 17,1955

Mr.Ed.R.Murrow
CBS
New York City.

Dear Ed:

,,Half Century of Struggle Against Marxism,,is offered you as a contribution toward our common struggle against Communism.

As Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party,I am sending you this copy,hoping that it may be of some interest to you.

Cordialy

Petr

Half Century of Struggle Against Marxism

Who are the Czechoslovak National Socialists?

Half Century of Struggle Against Marxism

WHO ARE THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL SOCIALISTS?

Published by the Executive Committee
of the
Czechoslovak National Socialist Party

NEITHER MARXIST NOR NAZI.

Czechoslovak National Socialists have nothing in common with either Nazism or Marxism. The party was founded in 1897 under the name of the National Labor Party. In 1898 the name was changed to the National Social Party and again in 1920 to the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party.

It was Hitler who used the same name and abused it. The Czechoslovak National Socialists always fought Hitler.

Nor have they anything in common with those who, under the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, are collaborating with the Communists in Czechoslovakia at the present time.

True adherents of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party are steadfast in their underground struggle against the Communists and their stooges, and have already made great sacrifices in property, liberty, and life in the cause of democracy.

Those Czechoslovak National Socialists who managed to escape from captive Czechoslovakia can and do fight freely and openly for the resurrection of freedom and democracy in Czechoslovakia.

Ceaseless attacks on the representatives of these Czechoslovak National Socialists in exile by the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia best serve to prove that this fight is effective.

WHO ARE
THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL SOCIALISTS?

When an American asks a Czechoslovak political exile to explain the program of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, the exile can give several realistic illustrations.

He can tell, for instance, how Hitler cried to the world in 1938 "Entweder Herr Beneš oder Ich" (Either Beneš or I). Eduard Beneš, then President of Czechoslovakia, had been Vice-President of the Czechoslovak National Socialists until 1936, and was co-author of the party program. When Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia in 1938, previous membership in the "Beneš-Partei" was sufficient reason for arrest by the Gestapo. In fact, the Nazis found the National Socialist program obnoxious enough to execute 2,400 party members and to place 10,000 others in concentration camps.

Or the exile can relate how the Communists seized the office and printing shops of the Czechoslovak National Socialists three days before the February 1948 putsch. All along the Communists had tried to weaken the party's influence by depriving thousands of National Socialists of their jobs and offices. Loyalty to the party program has cost many members their lives. Even before the death of Jan Masaryk, the miner Herod, a National Socialist, fell or was pushed from a window of the Ostrava police station and was killed. Another National Socialist, a member of the Cabinet, Minister of Justice Prokop Drtina, was seriously injured by a fall from his window in an attempt to commit suicide.

On the list of National Socialist heroes belong the names of Milada Horáková, a national martyr, who was

executed by the Communists; Member of Parliament Jaroš and trainman Zajíček. Nor is possible to forget the martyrdom of František Loubal and that of many others now in Communist uranium mines, concentration camps and prisons.

The National Socialist Party continues to be a nuisance and threat to all Czech and Slovak fascists, to these "pathological dregs," as President Masaryk so aptly called them in 1927—a threat, too, to the various separatists and to the Nazis among the transferred Germans. Because the party is a source of threat to these people, Peter Zenkl, Chairman of the Party, Hubert Ripka, former member of the Government, and other National Socialists are continually denounced before the American authorities. This goes on in spite of the fact that, ever since 1945, Zenkl is considered enemy No. 1 by the Communists who attack him and his party ceaselessly in the Czechoslovak press and radio.

This brochure is addressed to those interested in the history of the party and in the National Socialist program.

FOR A CZECH STATE AGAINST MARXISM

The National Socialist Party was founded in 1897 by Czech workingmen, who stated in the very first sentence of their program: "We want to live in freedom both as members of the working class and as a nation." Another sentence was directed against the national and political oppression of the Hapsburg monarchy: "We want the Czech nation to live as an independent and equal member among the European nations, not as a downtrodden nation languishing in bondage."

The party was founded in opposition to the Marxist policy of the Czech Social Democrats, who were dependent, ideologically and politically, on the German Social Democrats of Austria. The Czechs living in Austria-Hungary could never forget that they had once had an in-

dependent state. Since the nineteenth century they had struggled, first against Hapsburg centralism and then against Austro-Hungarian dualism, to assert their state rights. The Czech Social Democratic Party, until 1897 the sole representative of the Czech working class, was ruled by the Viennese Central Committee of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party. It fell under the influence of the Austro-German party members and gave up the program for state rights. The National Socialist Party was founded in protest to this situation. The National Socialist workingmen even then realized that the Hapsburg monarchy, and Austria-Hungary as well, had forsaken the cause for which they had come into being and that the Czech nation must look to safeguarding its existence outside the confines of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The first program of the Czechoslovak National Socialists of 1898 was an expression of certain aims rather than of a dogma. It showed the feeling and ideas of the Czech workingmen in that it was clearly anti-Marxist and national. It has remained so to this day. It is absurd if the reactionary and especially the fascist groups, in an attempt to hide a pro-Nazi past behind a false and chauvinistic front, point out the "socialist" character of the National Socialist Party. The genuine patriotism of the National Socialists has always stood in the way of these groups. Even more paradoxical are certain Social Demcrats who, taking advantage of uninformed Americans, pose as mild social reformers and proclaim that the National Socialists are radically opposed to private ownership.

THE IDEALS OF THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN REVOLUTION AGAINST FEUDALISM

Ever since its new form in 1902, the National Socialist program has stood clearly for national self-determination. The National Socialists were proud and grateful to the United States of America when at the close of World War I, largely due to President Woodrow Wilson, self- deter-

mination of nations became the spiritual heritage of civilized man.

The National Socialist program had as its aim the resurrection of the Czech State with full legislative powers. As early as 1905, Františka Zeminová, Vice-Chairman of the Party, spoke publicly of an independent Czechoslovak Republic. (Later, in the days of the Republic, she was elected to Parliament as a National Socialist; recently she has been condemned to prison by the Communists).

Prior to World War I, the antimilitarism of the National Socialist Party weakened considerably the war machine of the Hapsburg monarchy and consequently the Prussian military potential. In this way it contributed to the victory of the Western democracies; moreover, thousands of party members fought in the foreign legions, alongside the Allies, in France, Italy and Siberia.

As mentioned earlier, opposition to the Marxist theory of inevitable class warfare has always been the main tenet of the National Socialist Party since its beginnings in 1897. In its early life, the party checked the disruptive anti-national and anti-humanitarian tendencies of Marxism in the Czech working class by establishing, in 1903, its own trade union headquarters — the Czechoslovak Workingmen's Trade Union—whose basic principles were very similar to the corresponding American. The National Socialist Union headquarters was suppressed by Hitler in 1939. After the war, the Communists with the left-wing of the Social Democrats prevented the re-establishment of this trade union.

The Czech National Socialists have worked for over fifty years in organizing and educating the citizens of Czechoslovakia, especially the working class. It is no exaggeration to say that this party is in large part responsible for the failure of Nazism in Czechoslovakia, and likewise for the failure of Communism to this day. Moreover, Communism can never take permanent possession of Czechoslovakia. The National Socialists have kept alive in the hearts of the common people the tradi-

tion of humanitarian democracy and the ideals of the French and American revolutions.

FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AGAINST RADICALISM

In reviewing the work and achievements of the National Socialist Party in the years 1918 to 1938, it can be seen that the party, formerly a radical opposition party, committed itself wholly to the constructive state policies of Presidents T. G. Masaryk and Eduard Beneš. In the interest of peace in Europe and that of cooperation within the League of Nations, it never permitted itself to be provoked by other parties to national radicalism.

Until the coming of Hitler, the Czechoslovak Republic had no serious conflict with the Weimar Republic of Germany. The National Socialist Party was responsible in no small measure for a policy of peace. It supported President Masaryk when, in view of national, chiefly German minorities, he wisely recommended that the Czech and Slovak language be considered the official, but not the state language.

It was the chairman of the formerly anti-militaristic National Socialist Party who, nevertheless, became the Republic's first Minister of National Defense; the army organized by him, together with the Sokol volunteers, drove back Béla Kun's Communist invasion of Slovakia and thereby checked the expansion of postwar communism in Central Europe. This formerly radical party willingly served T. G. Masaryk's humanitarian ideals and worked toward religious tolerance. With the support of this political party Eduard Beneš, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, negotiated in 1928 a modus vivendi with the Vatican, despite the fact that only a few years earlier "Away from Rome" had been the party's revolutionary motto expressing the program of the first Czechoslovak Government viz., to separate the church from the state.

The party rejected radical nationalism and likewise refused to follow the social radicalism spread by the Com-

munists. When the Communist Party was established in 1920 following the split in the Social Democratic Party, the National Socialists might have profited from this split. They directed their efforts, however, toward consolidating the disorganized Social Democratic Party. As a consequence, they suffered a loss in the elections. For the National Socialists, the welfare of the state, not party aggrandizement, was the prime consideration, and in support of its ideals the party sacrificed its own interests to stem the growth of the Communist Party.

FOR FREEDOM AGAINST HITLER

During the occupation the Czechoslovak National Socialists were foremost in the struggle against the Nazis. The present chairman of the party, Peter Zenkl, was one of the first to be arrested; like thousands of other members of his party, he was held prisoner for six years in Nazi concentration camps, until liberated by the American Army. Abroad, in the London Government in exile and in the State Council, members of the party played an important part; Hubert Ripka directed the entire propaganda and participated in every diplomatic negotiation of importance. Thousands of rank and file members voluntarily joined the Czechoslovak Foreign Army and the Allied Armies to fight in the Middle East and in France. At home, the National Socialists were strongly represented in the non-Communist underground, in which Vladimír Krajina played an important part. For instance, their regular secret information service, transmitted by radio, was given full recognition by Winston Churchill and Lord Vansittart for its importance to the Allied Supreme Command.

The toll of Czechoslovak National Socialists in the struggle against Nazism was heavy. More than 10,000 party members were held prisoner in Nazi prisons and concentration camps; 2,400 members were executed, among them Member of Parliament Františka Plamínko-

vá, one of the co-founders of the International Council of Women. Of the twelve members of the Board of Directors only three survived, two of whom had spent the entire war in concentration camp. Of the ten women members of party headquarters, four were executed. When the Prague uprising took place in 1945, Otakar Machotka, a National Socialist, was the Vice-President of the National Council of the Revolution leading the uprising.

The Communists made it practically impossible after 1945 to evaluate the part played by non-Communists in the national struggle against Nazism. It is clear, nevertheless, that the Czechoslovak National Socialists have always stood in the front ranks in the liberation of their country. Proof of this is the fact that as soon as they were free of the Nazi oppressor, they took on the struggle for the preservation of democracy against Communist dictatorship. This explains why there are more National Socialists among the political exiles than members of any other party and why the National Socialists at home are subjected to a most cruel Communist persecution.

FOR DEMOCRACY AGAINST STALIN

The roots of Czechoslovak postwar difficulties go back to the period of Munich in 1938, to Teheran in 1943, and to Yalta in 1945. Another factor was that Prague had been "liberated" by the Red Army, with the American forces standing nearby. In May 1945, President Beneš and his London Government returned from London to Prague via Moscow, not via Paris, and as a result, the so-called Košice Government and the Košice Program were forced upon Czechoslovakia by Moscow.

From the beginning of the struggle, the National Socialists stood clearly on the side of freedom. Minister Jaroslav Stránský, a National Socialist, resisted the Moscow dictate to the Czechoslovak Government until the very end of the negotiations. As early as May 28, 1945, with the Red Army still in the land, National Socialist

Youth, 100,000 strong, manifested their will at a public demonstration in Prague. This anti-Communist demonstration gave new courage to the citizens, frightened by the atrocities of the Red Army. It was a signal to arms in the battle against the Communists.

The political situation being what it was, there was nothing left for the National Socialist Party but to join the National Front formed in Moscow. Since the working and lower middle classes asked that all Socialists stand together, the party entered the so-called Socialistic bloc. The life of this political bloc, however, lasted for one meeting only, as the National Socialists were quick to see through the Communist ruse and by their abstention made its further existence impossible. It should be pointed out, moreover, that Peter Zenkl and Hubert Ripka, who are now attacked with particular vehemence, were not present at the negotiations of the Košice Program, either in Moscow or in Košice.

The results of the 1946 elections, in which the Communists polled 38% of the votes, were in no way the fault of the National Socialists. In fact, these results came as a very disagreeable surprise, especially in the villages. Despite terrorization and the concerted attack of the Communists, the National Socialist Party received 18.02% of the total vote, that is, 1,290,000, becoming thereby the strongest anti-Communist party in Czechoslovakia.

How the Communists felt about the National Socialists is best illustrated by the plot framed in September 1947 by Alexej Čepička, the present Communist Minister of National Defense. Besides Jan Masaryk, he singled out two other victims for assassination, two National Socialists—Peter Zenkl and Minister Prokop Drtina. The chairman of the Communist Party, Klement Gottwald, best described the course of action of the National Socialists between 1945 and 1948 when he said in November 1947: "The leaders of the National Socialists actually ask to be judged by their fellow members not only by what they have accomplished in the government but by what they

have prevented. In other words, they are blocking us deliberately."

Communist Minister Vlado Clementis expressed his party's feelings even more pointedly in 1949: "The non-Communists accepted the Košice program with reluctance. They could not oppose the program openly unless they knowingly were willing to commit suicide. What they could not do openly, however, they did secretly; they weakened and loosened our bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and bound us by political and economic agreements to the West, which, to them, was their real ally. Their representatives in the government made use of every opportunity to worsen our relations with the Soviet Union."

For this policy the National Socialists are now being attacked by those whose only contribution to the struggle at the time was silence. The National Socialist Party never gave up the idea of alliance with the West, to which Czechoslovakia has always been bound culturally and politically. The party did its best to promote close ties with both East and West, in the spirit of the public declarations of American and British statesmen at that time.

The National Socialists never did reconcile themselves to communism; on the contrary, they repudiated communism completely. It was the National Socialist Party which impeded Communist forces and undermined Communist positions, until the day the enemy finally took complete control under the shadow of Soviet bayonets in February 1948.

At the jubilee party convention in 1947, the chairman, outlining its program, stressed that the party would pursue a democratic course in the Czechoslovak tradition, according to the teachings of Thomas Masaryk.

Although years have elapsed and new situations have arisen since the 1947 party convention, there are not many principles requiring change. Obviously in the international field, policies are formed on the basis of existing conditions; yet, throughout, the policies of the National Socialist Party have been—and are—in accord

with those of the Western powers. The present fate of all states behind the Iron Curtain raises the question as to whether there were any other means of saving democracy. Each of the states tried its own way and each succumbed.

The program adopted at the party's jubilee convention of 1947 was the program of a democracy, not of pseudo-socialistic totalitarianism. From the ideas of the French Revolution the party stressed the word "fraternité" in contrast to the communist motto of class warfare. It was a program of evolution, not a dogmatic program of force. It was, above all, a program which placed the national idea and the pluralistic economic system first. Both ideas were planned to serve humanitarian democracy.

FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE NATION AGAINST COMMUNISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

Two days before the Communist putsch in 1948, the chairman of the Communist Party Gottwald declared, "On the basis of bitter experience I cannot trust—and here I shall name one person—Zenkl; I cannot be with him in the Cabinet. And logically, I cannot be in the Cabinet with anyone whom Zenkl would trust."

To this day the Czechoslovak National Socialists in exile are the chief target of Communist assaults, while the National Socialists at home are the victims of the worst kind of Communist terror. Plain figures tell the cruel story:

In the last election in 1947, there were twenty-six members on the Board of Directors. One of these members died and one has failed the party by collaborating with the Communists. Of the remaining twenty-four members eight were or still are, in prison; eleven are in exile (Political Secretary Julius Firt, Ivan Herben, Ota Hora, Secretary General Vladimír Krajina, Deputy Chairman Alois Lysý, Otakar Machotka, Růžena Pelantová, Hubert Ripka, Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Stránský, Peter Zenkl, Jarmila Batková-Žáčková). Nothing has

been heard of the last five members. This means that at least 80 percent of the Board members have been persecuted by the Communists.

Of the fifty-five National Socialists who were Members of Parliament, one died, eighteen are in exile, and nineteen are in prison. Two members of Parliament, Milada Horáková and Alois Jaroš, were executed. Thus of the fifty-five Members of Parliament thirty-nine, or 75 percent are victims of Communist persecution. As of today, fifty-five Members of Parliament from all non-Communist parties have escaped from the country. Of these, eighteen, the largest number from any party, are National Socialists.

It is not possible to ascertain exactly how many National Socialists have escaped from Czechoslovakia. According to the questionnaire of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia in 1951, Czechoslovak exiles in the area surveyed were divided among the different political parties as follows:

Czechoslovak National Socialists	62.3%
Czechoslovak Social Democrats	13.3%
Czechoslovak People's (Catholic) Party	13.7%
Czechoslovak Agrarians	1.7%
Czechoslovak National Democrats	1.0%
Czechoslovak Businessmen's Party	1.2%
Slovak Democrats	4.1%

From these figures it is apparent that the Czechoslovak National Socialists are numerically the strongest component of the exile. They do not, however, ask for privileges or advantages on the strength of this numerical preponderance though they are fully aware of the responsibility devolving from the fact. Nonetheless, the party members would be justified if they were to complain of the undeserved and unfair criticism and the denunciations heaped upon them.

In the spirit of our tradition, outlined here in brief, the Czechoslovak National Socialists in exile wish no better than to perform faithfully their duties in the struggle against Communism and to work for the early and **complete liberation of the people of Czechoslovakia.**

REDS CALL ANNIE LEE MOSS A RED

'Victim' of McCarthy Is Still Employed by The Pentagon

By EDWARD J. MOWERY
(In the Newark, N. J. "Star Ledger")

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, who denied under oath at the tempestuous 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings that she was a Communist, was revealed last week to have been exactly that—a dues-paying Communist Party member, then entrusted with classified messages in the sensitive Pentagon coderoom.

This revelation was contained in a Sept. 19 report of the Subversive Activities control Board and made available to Alice Widener, publisher of the weekly "U.S.A." magazine.

The report, based upon a rehearing of the Moss case on orders of the U. S. Court of Appeals (to examine pertinent F.B.I. files), disclosed that testimony before the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee by Mrs. Mary Markward (who put the finger on Mrs. Moss) has been completely substantiated.

No Plans to Fire Her

A Pentagon spokesman said that Mrs. Moss will remain on duty in her clerical accounting job in the Chief of Finance office and there are no plans to remove her.

Mrs. Markward, a veteran undercover F.B.I. agent who joined the Communist Party, traced Mrs. Moss' Communist activity back to 1944. Mrs. Moss, after the hearings, was hailed as a victim of Congressional witch-hunters and featured in articles and one C.B.S. telecast as a kind of martyr.

The Subversive Activities Control Board's rehearing and findings are a direct result of a Supreme Court decision to make F.B.I. confidential files available to an accused subversive.

The Communist Party has been fighting efforts of the Attorney General to require it to register as a subversive organization for years and has carried the case to the Supreme Court three times. In the Moss case the Communist Party appeared in the role of respondent, attacking testimony of Mrs. Markward against Mrs. Moss as perjurious.

However, when the F.B.I. records confirmed Mrs. Markward, the ruse backfired and Mrs. Moss was tagged as a Red by the Communist Party's own records.

In its belated report the board said those records gave the lie to Mrs. Moss who repeatedly denied she belonged to the Red conspiracy.

Reds Charged Perjury

"Mrs. Markward's F.B.I. reports being 12 in number," the report declared, "corroborate (her) testimony in the Moss security hearing. The situation that has resulted . . . is that the party's own records and the authenticity of which it (Communist Party) does not dispute . . . show that Annie Lee Moss, 72 R St., S.W., Washington, was a party member.

"Yet the Communist Party on several occasions charged that witness Markward committed perjury . . ."

Immediate repercussions of the board's report, which was issued as a "recommended decision" of member Francis A. Cherry, are certain to bring into new light the Army's screening policies for security risks and the possibility of a perjury indictment against Mrs. Moss.

Testimony in the Moss case during the '54 Senate hearings disclosed that Mrs. Moss' Communist background was known (via F.B.I. reports) to the Civil Service Commission, the Army and various "loyalty" boards long before she was identified as a Red in open Senate hearings.

In her testimony on March 31, 1954, Mrs. Markward said she became a key official of the Communist Party in Washington, knew all the Communists in that area and, as membership director of the party, knew the name of Annie Lee Moss as a dues-paying member.

Her reports to the F.B.I. continuously revealed the activities, names and addresses of party members. And to dispel any doubt that there was more than one Annie Lee Moss involved, Roy M. Cohn, subcommittee chief council, told the Senators: "There is only one Annie Lee Moss F.B.I. file, and only one Annie Lee Moss Department of Justice file."

Cleared in 1948

Despite the available background on Mrs. Moss, the testimony showed she was "cleared" by the loyalty board in '48, her case was post-audited by the Loyalty Review Board in '49, and she was transferred to the office of the Signal Corps' chief signal officer on Dec. 15, 1950.

On Jan. 21, 1951, at a new "loyalty" hearing, she was rated "eligible" for the sensitive Pentagon post of receiving and transmitting coded or cleared text messages "from stations all over the world."

The messages "originated overseas" or came from the State Department, Army Security Agency, Central Intelligence Agency, General Staff, etc. And it was developed that the coding involved classified material.

F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, whose warnings concerned Mrs. Moss were ignored by the various security agencies, needled them consistently to take action. Mr. Cohn told the subcommittee:

"Our information is that on Sept. 11, 1951, J. Edgar Hoover sent a memorandum to the Army and Civil Service.

The message said, "We have been advised that you have found this Annie Lee Moss to be loyal and are allowing her to continue on this job. We wish to call your attention to the fact that Mrs. Markward . . . is now available to come forward and testify."

Loyalty Board, Army Indifferent

An F.B.I. report to the commission was formally submitted 16 days later. The commission merely referred the vital report to the Army on Nov. 24, 1951.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.), a subcommittee member, remarked:

"The loyalty board did not review it (the F.B.I. material) or take any further action, but merely referred it to the Army, which took no action. And she is still in the service."

Mrs. Markward, her testimony disclosed, was ready to document her allegations against Mrs. Moss in formal testimony at any loyalty hearings. They ignored her. She testified only before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

At another point in the subcommittee hearings, Sen. McClellan commented:

"Any of these persons (Moss, etc.) whom Mrs. Markward named today as members of the Communist Party, have been known to the F.B.I. . . . to the head of any agency who now have such a person in their employ. They did know it and were warned of their Communist connections."

In lengthy testimony, Mrs. Moss denied:

She was ever a Communist Party member, ever seeing a Communist Party card, ever attending a Communist Party meeting or paying dues, or ever talking to a Communist. She never heard of Karl Marx.

Symington Stand

Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Miss.), a committee member and former secretary of the Air Force, accepted the Moss testimony. He said:

"Mrs. Moss . . . I may be sticking by neck out and I may be wrong . . . but I have been listening to you testify the truth. If you are not taken back into the Army (employment), you come around and see me, and I'm going to see that you get a job."

Mrs. Moss, suspended by the Army on Feb. 25, 1954, was reinstated March 29, again suspended on Aug. 4 and rehired by the Army in the Fall of '55 for a "non-sensitive" job.

She is STILL on the Army payroll.

"Dear" Ed,

What do you have to say about this your phony b—?

After you read the enclosed article, if you do, please forward it to Sanctimonious Stu Symington, as I my sense he'd be embarrassed

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CAPITOL REPORT . . . . . By FULTON LEWIS, JR.

TO EDW. R. MURROW

McCarthy Was Correct

WASHINGTON — Another chapter in that period of American history characterized by liberal historians as the "Reign of Terror" has come to a close. And once again it ends with the conclusion that the late Senator Joe McCarthy was correct, and those who screamed "witch-hunt" and "smear" were wrong.

In February and March of 1954, Senator McCarthy's investigating committee, headed by chief counsel Roy Cohn, conducted hearings in Washington and Fort Monmouth, N. J., on subversion in the Army Signal Corps. It was a sensational investigation, complete with the Fifth Amendment witnesses who clammed up when asked whether or not they were committing espionage for the Soviet Union.

J. E. HOOVER

In Washington, the committee questioned a frail Negro woman by the name of Annie Lee Moss. She was a Pentagon employe, decoding and transmitting classified messages from the State Department, the CIA, the Army Security Agency and the General Staff regularly.

When Senate investigators began checking Mrs. Moss' background they noticed she had had more than her share of loyalty screenings and hearings. And she had passed all her "screen tests" before Truman loyalty boards with flying colors.

Mrs. Moss had passed her loyalty checks, however, despite numerous warnings from FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. He told the security agencies in question that a former FBI undercover agent, Mrs. Helen Markward, knew Annie Lee Moss to be a card-carrying Communist while Mrs. Markward was a high-ranking Party official in Washington. None of the agencies heeded Mr. Hoover's warnings. None called Mrs. Markward for testimony about Annie Lee Moss.

McCARTHY'S COMMITTEE did call Mrs. Markward. In a dramatic open session she named Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, under oath, as a dues-paying Communist.

And when Mrs. Moss denied that she was a Red, that was enough for America's liberals. Obviously, they declared, she wasn't a Communist. That she had denied, and that was enough proof for them.

The liberals had been hunting for a martyr for a long time. There had been other Reds exposed by McCarthy, and the hysterical carrying-on about McCarthy's "threats to the American way of life" hadn't impressed the people. Annie Lee Moss became their martyr.

MRS. MOSS WAS A WOMAN, "persecuted" by a powerful U. S. Senator. She claimed she was innocent, which necessarily made her so. And she was a Negro, although nobody could possibly have called Joe McCarthy anti-Negro.

Edward R. Murrow did his share by devoting a whole TV show to Annie Lee Moss, proving that she was a simple woman being "destroyed by McCarthyism." The New York Post jumped into the fray by running a feature story on McCarthy's "latest victim," depicting her as a very religious woman with Bibles all over her home and a "God Bless Our Home" sign on the wall.

The Daily Worker picked up the ball by denouncing Mrs. Markward as a "perjurer" and a "paid informer." To the Worker and to the liberal press there was never a chance that it was Mrs. Moss who was the perjurer.

BUT McCARTHY HAS NOW been vindicated. Based on official Communist Party membership rolls, the Subversive Activities Control Board has issued a report which declares that Annie Lee Moss was a card-carrying dues-paying member of the Communist conspiracy.

In March of 1954 Wayne Morse and Stuart Symington and Hubert Humphrey ranted and raved in unison about McCarthyism and Annie Lee Moss. But following the Subversive Activities Control Board's report they are strangely silent.

They all refuse comment.

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P.S. THIS IS THE TRUE AMERICAN YOU HELPED CRUCIFY! MAY GOD FORGIVE YOU!

tical Arena

Oppenheimer Record Speaks for Itself

By Fulton Lewis Jr.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.

THE wail of the anti-anti-Communist propagandists about the urgency of restoring their hero, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, to scientific sainthood, so he can mastermind the outer-space program, has its noxious moments.

The cliches about "Mr. Atom" are becoming threadbare. And when Max Ascoli, in the Christmas edition of his Reporter magazine, says that Oppenheimer is to be compared with Jesus Christ, reason seems to be a little out of hand.

FULTON LEWIS JR.

Fortunately, President Eisenhower is not impressed. So far as he is concerned, he says, the Oppenheimer case is settled and an issue of the past. There is not the slightest move to bring him back into government service.

Chairman Lewis Strauss says the Atomic Energy Commission will consider any new evidence that may be developed, but so far he has heard of none.

In the light of the martyr propaganda, it seems appropriate to review and catalog some of the evidence already on hand on the little doctor. For those who seek to deify him, I present some of the incontrovertible facts from the sworn record:

For many years, he contributed money to the Communist Party.

His ties with Communists continued AFTER the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Soviet attack on Finland.

Communist Links

His wife and younger brother and later his mistress were all Communists.

Virtually all of his close friends of record—friends of his own choice—were Communists.

Except for professional affiliations, all of the organizations of record to which he belonged were Communist organizations.

Most of the people he recruited for service in the wartime atomic energy project in Berkeley were Communists.

Most of the people he later recruited for service at the Los Alamos atomic bomb plant in New Mexico, were Communists.

Outside of the activities of the atomic project, he was instrumental in recruiting members for the Communist cause.

Over a period of many years, he was in frequent contact with Soviet espionage agents.

He repeatedly gave false information to Gen. Leslie Groves, the overall head of the wartime atomic operation, known as the Manhattan Project.

During the same period he repeatedly gave false information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

His Stand on H-Bomb

He was a vigorous supporter of the hydrogen bomb program up until the day the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima (August 6, 1945) at which time he personally urged all senior scientists in the field to refuse to do any further H-bomb development.

He was active in persuading military development and research authorities and the Atomic Energy Commission to suspend H-bomb developments beginning mid-1946, and to keep them in suspension until it was discovered that the Russians were ahead in the same field.

Yet, says his fawning claque, this is the same man who must be inducted into the competitive contest with Russia for outer space.

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(Listen to Fulton Lewis Jr. daily at 4 p.m. and 7 p.m., KHJ Don Lee.)

nc

Mr, Morrow,

How can you expect any of us to have anything but contempt and disgust for you when all you have in your heart for this Commie Oppenheimer is love and admiration?. How doyyour justify your attitude for the Pinko' and all the Unamericans?. Why don't you clarify this issue some night and hold a Person to Person broadcast with yourselfon both ends. Answer these pertinent questions. The Communist Chinese have killed 15 000 000 subjects. So stated Mr. Lodge in the U N. The Russian Commies slaughtered 3 000 honorable men in the Katyn Forest in Poland. Vorisholov murdered 1100 Loyal Officers during the revolution after they laid down their arms at his guarantee to return these men to the their famalies and homes. You are considered a Pinko, How can you born of Christian parents hold anything but revulsion and hatred for these Atheiests?.

An American

Who Promoted Moss?

In one of his principal battles against the Communist enemy entrenched in our official and public life, Senator McCarthy vainly sought to determine who promoted Fifth-Amendment Communist Irving Peress. His search was not one of recrimination against the soldier but because he suspected the promotion was another instance of what a Senate committee called the interlocking subversion going on behind-the-scenes in our government. It has been disclosed that hidden Reds and left-wingers promoted one another, vouched for one another, recommended one another for important assignments and endorsed each other's work.

Another target of the late Senator's investigations, on similar grounds, was Annie Lee Moss, identified Communist. When he had her before his Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Sen. McCarthy asserted, "I do not think this witness herself is of any great importance, but the thing that is important to us far beyond this witness is this: who in the military, knowing that this lady was a Communist, promoted her from a waitress to a code clerk." He said that while he could understand how she might join the Communist Party, thinking she was doing the right thing, "infinitely more important to the issue would be who kept her on and promoted her."

As told on another page in this issue Mrs. Moss became a martyr in the eyes of liberals and do-gooders who sprang to her defense. Senator Symington, proving himself a good judge of his own actions, said that while he "may be sticking his neck out" the identified Communist could have a job with him if she was fired by the Army. Edward R. Murrow Saw That Now was the time to interview this forlorn object of McCarthy's ravings and devoted thousands of dollars of TV time to make her out as an innocent victim of Red-baiting. The rest of the liberal coterie joined the pack already baying at the Senator's heels.

Now we find that besides the two witnesses who called her a Communist before the Committee the Party's own records carry Mrs. Moss as a member. It is also disclosed that she is still working for the Army, though in a "non-sensitive" position, following the thinking of the Supreme Court that a civil servant in a non-classified job is ipso facto no security risk. J. Edgar Hoover, the Nation's top Red hunter, feels quite differently about the matter. In "Masters of Deceit," he warns that "The United States is strategic spy target number one for the Soviets. Every effort is being made to penetrate our defenses. The Soviets are interested in literally everything. Any person who believes that espionage means securing only military information is unacquainted with the nature of 20th-Century spying."

The folly of the situation is that while General Arthur Trudeau, Army chief of missile research and development, declares much Soviet progress in the scientific field is due to espionage, that "we are a Country that is highly penetrated" by spies, the same Pentagon that agrees with him still carries on its payroll a person whom the Reds admit is a Party member.

Who promoted Moss?

Mr Edw Murrow
Cps CBS
485 Madison Ave
New York NY

Dear Sir

I am enclosing a clipping from a recent News editorial which may enlighten you somewhat.

Some time ago you went all out for Mrs Moss in your "See it Now" program. You had your nose so hard you should have put up the person's record which was available at the time. Now, when you fellow Fuzzies and Egg shell heads are going to understand what these people are. They are tied to you and to the Congressional Committee and you actually or at least pretended to believe that she was victimized. You would do far better if you would leave the Cause of Americanism and the Cause of Communism

America now needs and will need in the future good men to fight her Cause, but I doubt if you would be of any value then you had Communism and then its adherents would out and leave you holding the bag. Hitler does then get you.

If you were half as true to the Cause of America as you are to the Cause of Communism you would not be out on a Bond at present

Truly

Charles Lane

791 E 17th St

Hialeah Fla

Enclosure

MR. MURROW'S SECRETS

Palatine, Jan. 20—Edward R. Murrow says he will go to jail rather than give the names of the lawbreakers who gave him his sex story.

Isn't this the same Ed Murrow who was so horrified when Wisconsin's Sen. McCarthy refused to give the name of an informant?

Of course the senator's informant was an anti-Communist. Murrow's are purveyors of sex. It seems to make a difference.

J. W. M.

If you aren't a Communist, you are certainly being used by the Communist party.

WHO GETS DIRTIED?

The propriety and good taste of a radio "report" called "The Business of Sex" have occasioned some comment. This was offered last Monday night over facilities of the Columbia Broadcasting system with Mr. Edward R. Murrow supplying the continuity. It was rebroadcast the following evening.

The unpleasant purpose of this program was to suggest that prostitutes play an important role in the world of business. Interviews with a series of anonymous voices purporting to speak for call girls, madams, and business men implanted the idea that feminine companionship is often provided by companies to help sell merchandise.

Murrow stated that prostitutes who were interviewed said that they were often kept on retainers running to thousands of dollars, that their incomes might range up to $25,000 a year, paid by big corporations, and that their assignments brought them "in contact with the highest levels of business."

All this was dressed up as a social and economic documentary "recommended for adult listening only" and with a clergyman to offer appropriate observations.

While it might seem that the obvious purpose of a program of this nature was to capitalize on pruriency, a question or two about the ultimate intention may be in order. Specifically, who was hurt? Prostitutes and their purveyors obviously have no reputation to lose, especially when they are cloaked in anonymity and presented as disembodied voices.

But business, and especially big business, which was singled out by particular reference, stands to suffer damage as an economic entity. It is somewhat curious that a smear of this kind should materialize at a time when Sen. Kefauver and various other New Dealers are busy trying to work up a case against big business.

Nor is there any opportunity to offer a defense. No big corporation is going to buy time on the air to say, "None of our executives operate in this way, either providing or accepting opportunities of immorality." When the deputy police commissioner of New York called upon Mr. Murrow for information which might serve to clean up the conditions the broadcast purported to disclose, the commentator took refuge in the contention that he had pledged anonymity to his informants. Not long ago the United Nations summarily dismissed a headquarters officer who adopted that same position for the laudable purpose of protecting the families of Hungarian refugees who had testified to communist atrocities in the suppression of the revolt in Hungary.

Mr. Murrow does not choose to put up or shut up. He is satisfied with promoting an indiscriminate smear against the business community and offering nothing to support it. Would he consider equal time to show that the same sort of sex bribery might influence union bosses or politicians? Somehow we doubt it.

Mr. Murrow is a "liberal" of the left, of a type admired by Americans for Democratic Action. Some of his more conspicuous television shows were dedicated to defaming the late Sen. McCarthy for his anti-communist activities, defending Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer after he had been denied loyalty clearance by the Atomic Energy commission, attacking the McCarran-Walter immigration act, and defending Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a government worker, who was portrayed as a "victim" of McCarthy. Just a couple of months ago federal loyalty review authorities conceded that Mrs. Moss had been, as McCarthy said, a Communist, but Mr. Murrow did not correct the allegations he had made four years earlier.

We doubt if the Murrow show was intended as a contribution to sociological understanding. Until some proof is offered to support its representations, we shall regard it as political propaganda.

Board Proves McCarthy Right in Probe Charge

By Fulton Lewis Jr.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12.

ANOTHER chapter in that period of American history characterized by liberal historians as the "Reign of Terror" has come to a close. And once again it ends with the conclusion that the late Senator Joe McCarthy was correct, and those who screamed "witch-hunt" and "smear" were wrong.

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FULTON LEWIS JR.

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McCarthy's Committee called Mrs. Markward, and she named Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, under oath, as a dues-paying Communist.

Liberals Open Fire

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Vindication in Report

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(Listen to Fulton Lewis Jr. daily at 4 p. m. and 7 p. m. on KHJ Don Lee.)

11/14/58

Why don't you devote one of your programs to recanting, Mrs. Murrow?

Zenkl, Petr.

HELP Inc.

6 November 1953

October 30, 1953

Dear Ward:

I should like to make a contribution of $2500, check enclosed, to Help, Inc.

If the directors of Help, Inc. share my view that a study detailing how the communists took over Czechoslovakia has merit, I would like to suggest that a preliminary grant in the amount of $2500 be made to Dr. Petr Zenkl, formerly Lord Mayor of Prague and Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia at the time the communists took over that country. Should the directors of Help require details regarding this project, I should be glad to supply them.

You will appreciate that this contribution is in no way contingent upon the directors' decision to make a grant to Dr. Zenkl. His address is 2651 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Sincerely yours,

Ward

Mr. Edward R Murrow

Mr. Ward Wheelock
Lincoln-Liberty Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

dm

Zenkl. Pets.

HELP, Inc.

LINCOLN-LIBERTY BLDG.,
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

6 November 1953

Dear Ed

Thanks for your contribution of $2500 to Help Inc.

The Directors meet next week - and I will put before them your suggestion for a grant to help fight Communism. I do know their sympathy to the idea - and I will tell them of your opinion that this project is a practical help at a cost within our means.

I'll advise you of the results.

Wm

Mr Edward R Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York N Y

WW:C

HELP *Inc.*, is incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania as a charitable organization

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 553C

To Mr. William S. Paley cc: Mr. Davidson Taylor

From Edward R. Murrow

Station

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

Consultation

September 29, 1948

Subject: Communism

I have been greatly impressed in the last couple of weeks with the number of officials, both military and civilian, in Washington and in Europe, who are studying the classical literature of Communism. They are doing so in an effort to assess both Russian policy and Russian motivation. They have concluded (belatedly) that there is no better way of informing themselves as to the real wellsprings from which Communist propaganda, policy and action flow.

American radio has made only sporadic and rather superficial efforts to explain what Communist doctrine is—the nature of the basic philosophy. Most of those efforts (the one by NBC about a year ago and the recent documentary by ABC) have been second-hand and synthetic and dealt with what others have said, written or thought on the subject.

I would like to suggest that we give serious consideration to a series on Communism which would be confined primarily to an examination of the works of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, supplemented by excerpts from current Russian text-books and periodicals. I am persuaded that somehow such a series could be done without producing unfavorable listener reaction, and that if done with great care based upon impeccable research, (which could be done without difficulty) would render a real public service in the field of adult education and would be recognized as such.

E.R.M.

FOR REFERENCE:

Michael Dennis Murray, SEE IT NOW VS McCARTHYISM: DIMENSIONS OF DOCUMENTARY PERSUASION, Ph.D. Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Missouri--Columbia, May 1974.

(On Bookshelf)

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF:

THE CASE OF LIEUTENANT MILO RADULOVICH

ARGUMENT IN INDIANAPOLIS

✓ A REPORT ON SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

ANNIE LEE MOSS BEFORE THE McCARTHY COMMITTEE

SENATOR McCARTHY'S REPLY

5 C-10 Mr. Thomas

SEE IT NOW with EDWARD R. MURROW - MARCH 9,1954

MURROW: Good evening. Tonight SEE IT NOW devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy told mainly in his own words and pictures. But first ALCOA would like you to meet a man who has been with them for 50 years.

(COMMERCIAL)

MURROW: Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by definition controversial we want to say exactly what we mean to say and I request your permission to read from the script whatever remarks Murrow and Friendly may make. If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program. Our working thesis tonight is this question.

"If this fight against Communism is made a fight between ~~against~~ America's two great political parties the American people know that one of these parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system."

We applaud that statement and we think Senator McCarthy ought to. He said it, 17 months ago in Milwaukee.

MC CARTHY: The American people realize this cannot be made a fight between America's two great political parties. If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties the American people know that one of those parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system.

MURROW: Thus on February 4th,1954, Senator Mc Carthy spoke of one party's treason. This was at Charleston, West Virginia where there were no cameras running. It was recorded on tape.

MC CARTHY: The issue between the Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of 20 years of treason. The hard fact is - the hard fact is that those who wear the label, those who wear the label Democrat wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal.

MURROW: 17 months ago Candidate Eisenhower met Senator McCarthy in Green Bay, Wisconsin and he laid down the ground rules on how he would meet Communism if elected.

EISENHOWER: This is a pledge I make. If I am charged by you people to be the responsible head of the Executive Department it will be my initial responsibility to see that subversion, disloyalty, is kept out of the Executive Department. We will always appreciate and welcome Congressional investigation but the responsibility will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Executive and I hold that there are ample powers in the government to get rid of these people if the Executive Department is really concerned in doing it. We can do it with absolute assurance.

(APPLAUSE)

This is America's principle; Trial by jury, of the innocent until proved guilty, and I expect to stand to do it.

MURROW: That same night in Milwaukee, Senator McCarthy stated what he would do if the General was elected.

MC CARTHY: I spent about a half hour with the General last night. While I can't -- while I can't report that we agreed entirely on everything -- I can report that when I left that meeting with the General, I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is that he is a great American, and will make a great President, an outstanding President. But I want to tell you tonight, tell the American people as long as I represent you and the rest of the American people in the Senate, I shall continue to call them as I see them regardless of who happens to be President.

MURROW: November 24th, 1953.

MC CARTHY: A few days ago I read that President Eisenhower expressed the hope that by election time in 1954 the subject of Communism would be a dead and forgotten issue. The raw, harsh unpleasant fact is that Communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954.

MURROW: On one thing the Senator has been consistent... Often operating as a one-man committee, he has traveled far, interviewed many, terrorized some, accused civilian and military leaders of the past administration of a great conspiracy to turn the country over to Communism, investigated and substantially demoralized the present State Department, made varying charges, of espionage at Fort Monmouth. (The Army says it has been unable to find anything relating to espionage there.) He has interrogated a varied assortment of what he calls "Fifth Amendment Communists." Republican Senator Flanders of Vermont said of McCarthy today;

"He dons war paint; he goes into his war dance; he emits his war whoops; he goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist."

Other critics have accused the Senator of using the bull whip and smear. There was a time two years ago when the Senator and his friends said he had been smeared and bull whipped.

MR. KEEFE: You would sometimes think to hear the quartet that call themselves "Operation Truth" damning Joe McCarthy and resorting to the vilest smears I have ever heard. Well, this is the answer, and if I could express it in what is in my heart right now, I would do it in terms of the poet who once said:

Ah 'tis but a dainty flower I bring you,
Yes, 'tis but a violet, glistening with dew,
But still in its heart there lies beauties concealed
So in our heart our love for you lies unrevealed.

MC CARTHY: You know, I used to pride myself on the idea that I was a bit tough, especially over the past 18 or 19 months when we have been kicked around and bull whipped and damned. I didn't think that I could be touched very deeply. But tonight, frankly, my cup and my heart is so full I can't talk to you.

MURROW: But in Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1954, his heart was so full he could talk. He reviewed some of the General Zwicker testimony and proved he hadn't abused him.

MCCARTHY: Nothing is more serious than a traitor to this country in the Communist conspiracy. Question: Do you think stealing $50 is more serious than being a traitor to the country and a part of the Communist conspiracy?
Answer: That, sir, was not my decision.

Shall we go on to that for a while? I hate to impose on your time. I just got two pages. This is the abuse which is... the real meat of abuse, this is the Official reporter's record of the hearing. After he said he wouldn't remove that General from the Army who cleared Communists, I said: "Then General, you should be removed from any Command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General, and who says,'I will protect another general who protects Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General."

(APPLAUSE)

"I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army to have to bring these facts before the public but I intend to give it to the public, General, I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said so that you can know that and be back here to hear it, General."

And wait 'til you hear the bleeding hearts scream and cry about our methods of trying to drag the truth from those who know, or should know, who covered up a Fifth Amendment Communist Major. But they say, 'Oh, it's all right to uncover them but don't get rough doing it, McCarthy.'

MURROW: But two days later, Secretary Stevens and the Senator had lunch, agreed on a memorandum of understanding, disagreed on what the small type said.

STEVENS: I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstance including committee hearings. I shall not accede to them being brow beaten or humiliated. In the light of those assurances although I did not propose cancellation of the hearing, I acceded to it. If it had not been for these assurances, I would never have entered into any agreement whatsoever.

MURROW: Then President Eisenhower issued a statement that his advisers thought censored the Senator, but the Senator saw it as another victory, called the entire Zwicker case "a tempest in a teapot."

MC CARTHY: If a stupid, arrogant or witless man in a position of power appears before our Committee and is found aiding the Communist Party, he will be exposed. The fact that he might be a General places him in no special class as far as I am concerned. Apparently --apparently, the President and I now agree on the necessity of getting rid of Communists. We apparently disagree only on how we should handle those who protect Communists. When the shouting and the tumult dies the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud slinging against the Committee by the extreme left wing elements of press and radio were caused solely because another Fifth Amendment Communist was finally dug out of the dark recesses and exposed to the public view.

MURROW: Senator McCarthy claims that only the left wing press criticized him on the Zwicker case. Of the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country, these are the left wing papers that criticized. These are the ones which supported him. The ratio is about three to one against the Senator. Now let us look at some of these left wing papers that criticized the Senator.

The Chicago Tribune; McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel.

The New York Times; The unwarranted interference of a demagogue - a domestic Munich.

The Times Herald, Washington: Senator McCarthy's behavior towards Zwicker is not justified.

Then Herald Tribune of New York: McCarthyism involves assault on Republican assets.

Milwaukee Journal: The line must be drawn and defended or McCarthy will become the government.

The Evening Star of Washington: It was a bad day for everyone who resents and detests the bully boy tactics which Senator McCarthy often employs.

The New York World Telegram: Bamboozling, bludgeoning, distorting.

St. Louis Post Dispatch: Unscroupulous bullying. What tragic irony - the President's advisers keep him from doing what ever decent instinct must command him to do.

That is the ratio from three to one of the left wing press.

There was one other interesting quote on the Zwicker controversy, and it came from the Senator himself.

MCCARTHY: May I say that I was extremely shocked when I heard that Secretary Stevens told two Army officers they had to take part in the cover up of those who promoted and coddled Communists. As I read his statement, I thought of that quotation "On what meat doth this, our Caesar, feed?"

MURROW: And upon what meat does Sen. McCarthy feed? Two of the staples of his diet are the investigations (protected by immunity) and the half truth. We herewith sumbit samples of both. First, the half truth. This was an attack on Adlai Stevenson at the end of the '52 campaign. President Eisenhower, it must be said, had no prior knowledge of it.

MCCARTHY: I perform this unpleasant task because the American people are entitled to have the coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But Strangely, Alger--I mean Adlai...but let's move on to another part of the jigsaw puzzle. While you may think that there can be no connection between the debonair Democrat candidate and a dilapidated Massachusetts barn, I want to show you a picture of this barn and explain the connection. Here is the outside of the barn. Give me the picture of the inside of the barn. Here is the outside of the barn at Lee, Mass. It looks as though it couldn't house a farmer's cow or goat. Here's the inside. (Showing picture) A beautiful, panelled conference room with maps of the Soviet Union. What way does Stevenson tie up with that?

My -my investigators went out and took pictures of the barn after we had been tipped off what was in it. Tipped off that there was in this barn all the missing documents from the Communist front-IPR. The IPR which was named by the McCarran Committee- named before the McCarran Committee as a coverup for Communist espionage. Let's take a look at the photostat of the document taken from the Massachusetts barn. One of those documents which was never supposed to see the light of day. Rather interesting it is. This is a document which shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson to the Mount Tremblant Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing foreign policy--post-war policy in Asia. As you know, Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor, Frank Coe is a man who has been named under oath before the Congressional Committee seven times as a member of the Communist Party. Why, why Hiss and Coe find that Adlai Stevenson is the man they want representing them at this conference? I don't know. Perhaps Adlai knows.

MURROW: But Sen. McCarthy didn't permit his audience to hear the entire paragraph. This is the official record of the McCarran hearings and anyone could have bought it for two dollars. Quote: "Another possibility for the Mount Tremblant Conferences on Asia is someone from Knox' office or Stimson's office." (Frank Knox was our wartime Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson our Secretary of the Army, both distinguished Republicans) Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson, one of Knox' special assistants and Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State under Hoover, and now assistant to Stimson because of their jobs.

We read from this documented record not in defense of Mr. Stevenson, but in defense of truth. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson's identification with that red barn was no more, no less than that of Knox, Stimson, or Bundy. It should be stated that Mr. Stevenson was once a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations. But so were such other loyal Americans as Sen. Ferguson, John Foster Dulles, Paul Hoffman, Henry Luce, and Herbert F. Hoover. Their association carries with it no guilt, and that barn has nothing to do with any of them.

Now a sample investigation. The witness was Reed Harris, for many years a civil servant in the State Department directing the information service. Harris was accused of helping the Communistic cause by curtailing some broadcasts to Israel. Sen. McCarthy summoned him and questioned him about a book he had written in 1932.

MCCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris, your name is Reed Harris? ANSWER: That's right.

MCCARTHY: You wrote a book in '32, is that correct? ANSWER: Yes, I wrote a book and as I testified in executive session --

MCCARTHY: At the time you wrote the book--pardon me, go ahead, I'm sorry, proceed.

ANSWER: --at the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly affected by the great depression then in existence, the attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment, and for one thing there certainly was no awareness to the degree that there is today of the way the Communist Party works.

MCCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties, is that right.

ANSWER: I did, Mr. Chairman.

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MC CARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?
Answer: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MC CARTHY: And you were expelled from Columbia?
Answer: I was suspended. from classes on April 1, 1932. I was later reinstated and I resigned from the University.

MC CARTHY: You resigned from the University. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?
Answer: I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

MC CARTHY: The question is did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?
Answer: They did supply an attorney.

MC CARTHY The answer is yes?
Answer: The answer is yes.

MC CARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: Mr. Chairman this was 1932.

MC CARTHY I know it was 1932, Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?
Answer: I do not know that they have been listed so, sir.

MC CARTHY You don't know they have been listed?
Answer: I have heard that mentioned or read that mentioned.

MC CARTHY You wrote a book in 1932. I'm going to ask you again at the time you wrote this book did you feel that professors should be given the right to teach sophomores that marriage "should be cast off of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena?" Was that your feeling at that time?
Answer: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any subject whatever they were, sir.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to ask you this question again. ANSWER: That includes that quotation, they should have the right to teach anything that came to their mind as being a proper thing to teach.

MCCARTHY: I'm going to make you answer this. ANSWER: I'll answer yes, but you put an implication on it and you feature this particular point out of the book which of course is quite out of context, does not give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of even that book bad as it is, from what you are quoting from it.

MCCARTHY: Then let's continue to read your own writings. ANSWER: 21 years ago again.

MCCARTHY: Yes, we shall try and bring you down to date if we can.

ANSWER: Mr. Chairman, two weeks ago Sen. Taft took the position that I taught 21 years ago, that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens nowadays I don't agree with Sen. Taft as far as Communist teachers in the schools is concerned because I think Communists are in effect a plainclothes auxiliary of the Red Army, the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

MCCARTHY: I don't recall Sen. Taft ever having any of the background that you have got. ANSWER: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my neck, my public neck that you are I think very skillfully trying to wring, but I say it because there are thousands of able and loyal employees in the Federal government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies as I was, unless the new regime says no. I was before.

QUESTION: Do you think this book you wrote then did considerable harm? Its publication might have had adverse influence on the public by an expression of views contained in it?

ANSWER: The sale of that book was so abysmally small, it was so unsuccessful that a question of its influence, really you can go back to the publisher, you'll see it was one of the most unsuccessful books he ever put out. He's still sorry about it just as I am.

QUESTION: Well I think that's a compliment to American intelligence I will say that.

MURROW: Sen. McCarthy succeeded only in proving that Reed Harris had once written a bad book which the American people had proved 22 years ago by not buying it, which is what they eventually do with all bad ideas. As for Reed Harris, his resignation was accepted a month later with a letter of commendation. McCarthy claimed it was a victory. The Reed Harris hearing demonstrates one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the AGLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman, and Gen. MacArthur.

Now let us try to bring the McCarthy story a little more up to date. Two years ago Sen. Benton of Conn. accused McCarthy of apparent perjury, unethical practice and perpetrating a hoax on the Senate. McCarthy sued for two million dollars. Last week he dropped the case saying no one could be found who believed Benton's story. Several volunteers have come forward saying they believe it in its entirety.

Today Sen. McCarthy says he's going to get a lawyer and force the networks to give him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech. Earlier, the Senator asked, "upon what meat does this our Caesar feed." Had he looked three lines earlier in Shakespeare's Caesar he would have found this line, which is not altogether inappropriate: "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars but in ourselves."

No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and the external threat of Communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were for the moment unpopular.

MURROW: This is no time for men who oppose Sen.McCarthy's methods to keep silent, or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities. As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, the defenders of freedon, what's left of it, but we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it and rather successfully. Cassius was right, "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

Good night, and good luck.

SEE IT NOW ... MARCH 9, 1954

LIVE ... MURROW: Good evening. Tonight "See It Now devotes its entire half hour to a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, most of it told in his voice and pictures ... Before we begin, the Aluminum Company of America would like you to meet a man who has been with them for fifty years ...

TAPE ...
COMMERCIAL

HOLDER: The production of Aluminum demands ...

... as the nation's first and leading producer of a vital metal ... Aluminum, by Alcoa, Aluminum Company of America.

LIVE ... MURROW: Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by its very nature controversial, we want to say exactly what we mean to say, and I request your permission to read from script whatever remarks Murrow and Friendly may make ... If the Senator feels that we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program. Our working thesis tonight is this quotation:

"If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties, the American people know that one of these parties will be destroyed, and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one-party system."

We applaud that statement, and we think Senator McCarthy ought to ... He said it 17 months ago in Milwaukee ...

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LIVE ... MURROW: But on February 4, 1954, Senator McCarthy spoke of one party's treason ... This was Charleston, West Virginia, where there were no cameras running - it was recorded on tape ...

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MURROW: 17 months ago, Candidate Eisenhower met Senator McCarthy in Green Bay, Wisconsin - and he laid down some ground rules on how he would fight Communism if elected.

P 8

March 9, 1945

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER ON TRAIN - GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN:

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Now, this is the pledge that I make. If I am charged by you people to be the responsible head of the Executive Department, it will be my initial responsibility to see that subversion, and disloayalty is kept out of the Executive Department. We will always appreciate and welcome Congressional investigation. The responsibility will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Executive, and I hold that there are ample powers in the government to get rid of these people if the Executive Department is really concerned with doing it. We can do it with absolute assurance. That American -- that American principles of trial by jury of the innocence until proved guilty are all observed, and I expect to do it.

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TAPE ...

MURROW: That same night in Milwaukee, Senator McCarthy stated what he would do if the General was elected.

TAPE ...
MCCARTHY IN MILWAUKEE

MCCARTHY:

10A

TAPE ...

MURROW: November 24, 1953

TAPE ...
MCCARTHY ON COMMUNISM
IN 1954

MCCARTHY:

10B

10A

March 9, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

I spent -- I spent about half an hour with the General last night. While I can't -- while I can't report that we agreed entirely on everything....

MCCARTHY LAUGHS

APPLAUSE SHOUTING

I can -- I can report that when I left that meeting with the General, I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is, that he is a great American, will make a great President -- outstanding President. But I want to tell you tonight - tell the American people that as long as I represent you and the rest of the American people in the Senate, I shall continue to call them as I see them regardless of who happens to be President.

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10B

March 9, 1954

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TAPE ...
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TAPE CON'T ...

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12

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TAPE ...
MCCARTHY
ON ZWICKER

MCCARTHY:

13B

March 9, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY - WASHINGTON, D.C.

MCCARTHY INTERROGATING GENERAL RALPH ZWICKER:

Q. Let us say he went out and stole fifty dollars the night before?

A. He would not have been honorably discharged.

CHAIRMAN: Do you think stealing fifty dollars is more serious than being a traitor to the country as part of the Communist conspiracy?

MCCARTHY: Are you enjoying this abuse of the General?

MCCARTHY: QUESTION: Do you think stealing fifty dollars is more serious than being a traitor to the country as part of the Communist conspiracy?
ANSWER: That, sir, was not my decision.

SENATOR MCCARTHY:

Shall we go on with that for a while? I hate to impose on your time. I just got two pages. This is the abuse which is the real meat of the abuse. This is the Official Reporter's record of the hearing. After he said he wouldn't remove that General from the Army who cleared a Communist, I said: "Then General, you should be removed from any Command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General, and who says: "I will protect another General who protects Communists is not fit to wear that uniform, General.

APPLAUSE

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148

March 9, 1954

[redacted]

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March 9, 1954

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Chicago Tribune ...

New York Times ...

Washington Times Herald ...

New York Herald Tribune ...

reads from each of these

Milwaukee Journal ...

Washington Star ...

New York World Telegram ...

St. Louis Post-Dispatch ...

Kansas City Star
Chicago Daily News
Detroit News
Pittsburgh Post Gazette
Des Moines Register
New York Post
Toledo Blade

Bolert

LIVE ...

MURROW: There was one other interesting quote on the Zwicker controversy, and it came from the Senator himself.

TAPE ...
MCCARTHY
ON CAESAR

MCCARTHY:

17B

March 9, 1954

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P 19

March 9, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS:

I perform this unpleasant task because the American people are entitled to have the coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But strangely, Alger -- I mean Adlai -- but let's move on to another part of the jigsaw puzzle. While you may think that there can be no connection between the debonair, democrat candidate and a dilapidated Massachusetts barn, I want to show you a picture of this barn and explain the connection. Here is the outside of the barn. Give me the picture of the inside of the barn. Here is the outside of the barn in Lee, Massachusetts. It looks as though it couldn't house a farmer's cow or goat. Here is the inside - a beautiful, paneled conference room with maps of the Soviet Union. What way does Stevenson tie up with that? My - my investigators went out and took pictures of the barn after we had been tipped off what was in it. Tipped off that there was in this barn all the missing documents from the Communist front - IPR (right here.) The IPR which was named by the McCarran Committee - named before the McCarran Committee the cover shop for Communist espionage. Now, let's take a look at the photostat of the document taken from that Massachusetts barn. One of those documents which was never supposed to see the light of day. (rather not) This is a document which shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson to the Mount Tremblant Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing foreign policy -- post-war policy in Asia.

Now, as you know, Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor. Frank Coe is a man who has been named under oath before the Congressional Committee seven (7) times as a member of the Communist Party. Why -- why do Hiss and Coe find that Adlai Stevenson is the man they want representing them at this conference, I don't know. Perhaps Adlai knows.

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LIVE ... MURROW: But Senator McCarthy didn't permit his audience to hear the entire paragraph. This is the official record of the McCarran hearings and anyone could have bought it for two dollars.

Quote: Another possibility for the Mr. Trumbland conferences on Asia is someone from Knox's office or Stimson's office." (Frank Knox was our war-time Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson, our Secretary of the Army, both distinguished Republicans.) It goes on: "Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson, one of Knox's special assistants, and Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State (under Hoover) and now assistant to Stimson because of their jobs." We read from this documented record not in defense of the truth. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson's identification with that Red Barn was no more nor less than that of Knox, Stimson or Bundy. It should be stated that Mr. Stevenson was once a member of the Institute

of Pacific Relations ... but so were such other loyal Americans as Senator Ferguson, John Foster Dulles, Paul Hoffman, Henry Luce and Herbert Clark Hoover. Their association carries with it ... no guilt, and that barn had nothing to do with any of them.

LIVE ...

MURROW:Now a sample of our investigation ... the witness was Reed Harris ... for many years a civil servant in the State Department directing the Voice of America broadcasts ... Harris was accused of helping the Communistic cause by curtailing some broadcasts to Israel ... Senator McCarthy summoned him and questioned him about a book he had written in 1932 ...

March 9, 1954

?

SENATOR MCCARTHY INTERROGATING REED HARRIS:

MCCARTHY: Mr. Reed Harris. Your name is Reed Harris?

HARRIS: That's correct.

MCCARTHY: You wrote a book in 1932. Is that correct?

HARRIS: Yes. I wrote a book and as I testified in Executive session...

MCCARTHY: AT the time you wrote the book --- pardon me. Go ahead. I am sorry.

HARRIS: At the time I wrote the book the atmosphere in the universities of the United States was greatly effected by the great depression then in existence. The attitudes of students, the attitudes of the general public were considerably different than they are at this moment. And for one thing, there certainly was no awareness to the degree that there is today of the way the Communist Party works.

MCCARTHY: You attended Columbia University in the early thirties. Is that right?

HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MCCARTHY: Will you speak a little louder, sir?

HARRIS: I did, Mr. Chairman.

MCCARTHY: And were you expelled from Columbia?

HARRIS: I was suspended from classes on April 1st, 1932. I was later reinstated and I resigned from the university.

MCCARTHY: And you resigned from the university.

Did a Civil - Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at that time?

HARRIS: I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union.

MCCARTHY: The question was -- did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?

HARRIS: They did supply an attorney.

MCCARTHY: THE answer is yes.

HARRIS: The answer is yes.

MCCARTHY: You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for the Communist Party?

HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, this was 1932.

MCCARTHY: I know it was 1932. Do you know they since have been listed as a front for the Communist Party?

HARRIS: I do not know they have been listed, sir. I have heard that mentioned and read that.

MCCARTHY: Now, you wrote a book in 1932. I am going to ask you if you feel that professors should be given the right to teach Sophomores that marriage let me quote --- should be cast out of our civilization as antiquated and stupid religious phenomena. Was that your feeling at that time?

HARRIS: My feeling was that professors should have the right to express their considered opinions on any subject whatever they were, sir.

MCCARTHY: Wait a minute. I am going to ask you this question again.

HARRIS: That includes that quotation - they should have the right to teach anything that came to their mind as being the proper thing to teach.

MCCARTHY: I am going to make you answer this.

HARRIS: My answer is yes but you put an implication on it . It is quite out of context - does not give a proper impression of the book as a whole. The American public doesn't get an honest impression of even that book bad as it is from what you are quoting about it.

MCCARTHY: Let's continue to read your own writings.

HARRIS: 21 years ago, again.

MCCARTHY: We will try to bring you down to date if we can.

HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, 2 weeks ago Senator Taft took the position that I took 21 years ago that Communists and Socialists should be allowed to teach in the schools. It so happens that nowadays I don't agree with Senator Taft as far as Communist teaching in the schools are concerned because I feel think that Communists are in effect a plain clothes auxiliary of the Red Army - the Soviet Red Army, and I don't want to see them in any of our schools teaching.

MCCARTHY: I don't recall Senator Taft having any of the background that you do,sir.

HARRIS: I resent the tone of this inquiry very much, Mr. Chairman. I resent it not only because it is my neck - my public neck that you are I think very skillfully trying to ring. But I say it because there are thousands of able and loyal employees in the Federal Government of the United States who have been properly cleared according to the laws and the security practices of their agencies as I was unless the new regime says no. I was before.

MCCLELLAN: Do you think that this book that you wrote then did considerable harm? Its publication might have had adverse influence on the public by an expression of views contained in it.

HARRIS: The sale of that book was so abysmally small it was so unsuccessful that a question of its influence -- really, you can go back to the publisher. You will see it was one of the most unsuccessful books ever put out. He is still sorry about it - just as I am.

MCCLELLAN: Well, I think that's a compliment to American intelligence. I will say that.

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succeeded in proving

MERROW: Senator McCarthy proved only that Reed Harris had once written a bad book, which the American people had proved 22 years ago by not buying it ... which is what they eventually do with all bad ideas. (As for Reed Harris, his resignation was accepted a month later with a letter of commendation.) McCarthy claimed it as a victory. The Reed Harris hearing demonstrated one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive, nor does the FBI or any other Federal Government Agency ... and The ACLU holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General MacArthur ...

LIVE ... MURROW: To bring the McCarthy story briefly up to day: Two years ago, Senator Benton of Connecticut accused McCarthy of apparent perjury, unethical practice and perpetrating a hoax on the Senate. McCarthy sued for two million dollars; last week he dropped the case, saying no one could be found who believed Benton's story. Several volunteers have come forward, saying they believe it in its entirety entirely. Today, Senator McCarthy says he's going to get a lawyer and force the networks to give him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech.

(THEN MURROW SUMUP)

Earlier the Senator asked: "Upon what meat does this our Caesar feed?" Had he looked three lines earlier in Shakespeare's Caesar he would have found this line ... which is not altogether inappropriate: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves ..." No one familiar with the history of his country can deny that congressional committees are useful ... It is necessary to investigate before legislating .... but the line between investigating and persecuting is thin... and the record shows that the junior senator from Wisconsin has crossed that line many times ... His primary success has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and external threats of communism ... We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty ... We must remember always that accusation is not proof ... and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law ... We will not walk in fear ... one of another ... we will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason ... if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine ... and remember that we are not descended from fearful men ... not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate, to defend virtues, which for the moment were unpopular ... This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent ... or for those who approve ... We can deny our heritage and our history ... but we cannot escape responsibility for the result ... There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities ... As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at an early age ... We proclaim ourselves ... as indeed we are ... the

defenders of the free world ... what's left of it ... but we cannot defend freedom abroad, by deserting it at home ... The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad, and given comfort to our enemies ... And whose fault is that ... not really his ... he didn't create the situation of fear ... he merely exploited it ... and rather successfully skillfully ... Cassius was right ... "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

April 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
1 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We want you to knowthat as a result of your talk on McCarthy you stupidly offered him free time to answer you.

As you must realize now, it gave him the opportunity to open the Dr. Oppenheimer case.

The party is fed up with your bungling.

Very truly yours,

William Foster

WILLIAM FOSTER

D R A F T

STRAIGHT WIRE

APRIL 1, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR TELEGRAM TO MR. PALEY, ALL OF OUR SO-CALLED HALF-HOUR PROGRAMS ACTUALLY USE 29 MINUTES AND 25 SECONDS, THE BALANCE OF 35 SECONDS BEING SET ASIDE FOR LOCAL STATION PURPOSES. ON MARCH 9, 3 MINUTES AND 42 SECONDS WERE USED FOR THE OPENING, CLOSING AND COMMERCIALS LEAVING 25 MINUTES AND 43 SECONDS WHICH IS THE EXACT AMOUNT OF TIME USED BY MR. MURROW IN HIS MARCH 9 REPORT ON SENATOR MCCARTHY. THE SAME AMOUNT OF TIME, 25 MINUTES AND 43 SECONDS, WILL BE AVAILABLE TO YOU. MR. MURROW WILL OPEN AND CLOSE THE APRIL 6 BROADCAST IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS MARCH 13 TELEGRAM TO YOU.

Class of Service
This is a full rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

(48)

1954 MAR 15 PM 1 49

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA095 GOVT PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 15 1249PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

AS YOU KNOW IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE OF MARCH 13TH OFFERING TO MAKE AVAILABLE ONE HALF HOURS TIME TO REPLY TO YOUR ATTACKS ON ME I DESIGNATED MR WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AUTHOR OF "GOD AND MAN AT YALE" AND CO-AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK, "MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES," TO PRESENT A DOCUMENTED ANSWER TO YOU. MR BUCKLEY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION. I TODAY RECEIVED YOUR WIRE DATED MARCH 14TH TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TIME WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF I SELECT SOMEONE TO ANSWER BUT THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE IF I PERSONALLY ANSWER YOU. NORMALLY I WOULD NOT WASTE THE TIME TO MERELY PROVE THAT A RADIO AND TV COMMENTATOR WHO ATTACKS ME IS LYING. HOWEVER, IF I AM CORRECT IN MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE THEN IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOUR LISTENERS TO HAVE THE CLEAR CUT DOCUMENTED FACTS SO THEY CAN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE AS TRUTHFUL AS YOU ATTEMPT TO MAKE OUT OR DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTING THE FACTS. THEREFORE I SHALL ACCEPT YOUR OFFER OF TIME. IF POSSIBLE I WOULD PREFER THE TIME TWO WEEKS LATER THAN MARCH 23RD, NAMELY APRIL 6TH.

¶ THE REASON FOR THE REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IS THREE FOLD. NO 1: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT YOUR SPONSORSHIP OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS CO-SPONSORED BY VOKS WHICH

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram, or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA095/2=

WAS A RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DATES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PUT TOGETHER ALL THE PERTINENT FACTS IN YOUR RECORD. NO 2: I SHALL BE OUT OF TOWN FROM WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK THROUGH SUNDAY, DURING WHICH TIME AMONG OTHER THINGS I SHALL ANSWER FROM MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN THE ATTACKS MADE UPON BE BY ADLAI STEVENSON. NO 3: I HAVE BEEN SPENDING EVERY AVAILABLE MINUTE OF PREPARING A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE AGRICULTURE PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS BEING CREATED FOR OUR DAIRY FARMERS. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THIS WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY BEFORE MARCH 23RD AND DISLIKE TAKING TIME OFF FROM THAT IMPORTANT TASK TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS. HOWEVER, IF MARCH 23RD IS THE ONLY DATE BEING OFFERED THAT DATE WILL BE ACCEPTED.

¶ IN VIEW OF THE FACT I DID NOT HEAR YOUR BROADCAST I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A TRANSCRIPT THEREOF AS WELL AS A TRANSCRIPT OF ANY OTHER ATTACKS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE UPON ME OR UPON THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN=

JOE MCCARTHY USS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COPY

March 22, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

WOULD APPRECIATE GETTING COPY OF ANY RADIO OR TV PROGRAM MADE BY YOU SUBSEQUENT TO MARCH 9 IN WHICH YOU DISCUSS ME OR MY WORK. FILM AND RECORDING NOT NECESSARY. TYPEWRITTEN TRANSCRIPT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IF THERE IS ANY COST INVOLVED WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE CARE OF IT.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

- - - - - -

March 22, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
U.S.SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I AM DISPATCHING ALL RADIO AND TELEVISION SCRIPTS SINCE MARCH NINE ACCORDING TO YOUR REQUEST.

E.R.MURROW

MARCH 15, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR SUGGESTION OF APRIL SIXTH AS THE TIME FOR YOUR REPLY TO MY RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM IS ACCEPTABLE. TRANSCRIPT AND KINESCOPE OF LAST TUESDAY'S PROGRAM BEING MAILED TO YOU. REGARDING YOUR STATEMENT THAT I HAVE QUOTE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE UNQUOTE I DENY IT UTTERLY. THE RECORD WHEN IT IS FINISHED WILL SHOW WHO HAS SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE YOU OR I.

EDWARD R. MURROW

FOR REFERENCE:

Michael Dennis Murray, SEE IT NOW VS McCARTHYISM: DIMENSIONS OF DOCUMENTARY PERSUASION, Ph.D. Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Missouri--Columbia, May 1974.

(On Bookshelf)

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF:

THE CASE OF LIEUTENANT MILO RADULOVICH

ARGUMENT IN INDIANAPOLIS

A REPORT ON SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

ANNIE LEE MOSS BEFORE THE McCARTHY COMMITTEE

✓ SENATOR McCARTHY'S REPLY

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

May 17, 1954

CBS REIMBURSES SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY FOR EXPENSES INCURRED IN PREPARATION OF FILMED REPLY TO MURROW'S REPORT

The Columbia Broadcasting System Saturday, May 15, reimbursed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for expenses incurred by him in connection with the preparation of his filmed television appearance on "See It Now" April 6, 1954. This appearance was in response to Edward R. Murrow's invitation on "See It Now" March 9, 1954, to Senator McCarthy to reply to Mr. Murrow's report on Senator McCarthy. Senator McCarthy's request for payment was received by CBS on May 10, 1954. In reimbursing Senator McCarthy, the Columbia Broadcasting System issued the following statement:

Pursuant to its long-established policy of fairness and balance in the treatment of controversial issues, the CBS Radio and Television networks provide facilities and technical assistance reasonably needed by those who are invited by CBS to reply to positions taken in programs produced and controlled by CBS.

If the original CBS broadcast to which reply is made involved a speech or statements by a spokesman not connected with CBS, the CBS policy is to limit the reply to the same type of broadcast as the original, using the same general method of presentation and the production facilities of CBS. An example of this type of broadcast is "Man of the Week," a program series produced and controlled by CBS in which a panel of news experts interviews an outstanding person from the field of public affairs.

(More)

Where, however, as in the "See It Now" program, the original broadcast was by a member of the staff of CBS, a person who is invited to reply is afforded his choice of method of presentation and of using either the production facilities of CBS or outside facilities. If, as occurred in the present case, film prepared through outside facilities is chosen, CBS believes that its policy of fairness and balance compels it to reimburse the individual for reasonable and necessary costs. Normally CBS would insist that where outside facilities, and hence financial reimbursement by CBS, are involved, there must be prior discussion with CBS in order that there be advance agreement concerning the type of presentation for reply and the costs involved. In the case of Senator McCarthy, there was no such prior discussion or agreement and CBS was not informed until shortly before his broadcast that Senator McCarthy intended to film his broadcast through outside facilities. However, since the policy of prior agreement in these circumstances had not yet been enunciated by CBS, CBS believes it would not be proper to refuse to reimburse Senator McCarthy on this ground.

Special time is frequently provided by CBS to outside individuals or organizations for the purpose of futhering a point of view in a controversial area. These cases are distinct from programs produced and controlled by CBS. In these special broadcasts, CBS will supply such camera and production facilities as may be reasonably necessary for a live broadcast. Any props or other visual materials, or any film which may be used during the broadcast, must be paid for by those using the special time period. The same conditions will apply to those who are invited to answer such special broadcasts.

CBS believes these applications of its policy of fairness and balance are in keeping with the American tradition of fair play.

* * *

Draft of letter for
Dr. Stanton's signature
to

May 10, 1954

The Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy
United States Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 6 enclosing an invoice received from Movietonews, Inc., together with copy of your letter to Aluminum Company of America dated April 28 and a copy of that company's letter to you of May 4.

Please be advised that in the circumstances involved, CBS does not propose to pay the invoice in the amount of $4,436.99 or the "further expenses" not yet itemized of $1,900.00. In normal circumstances, we would most seriously consider bearing the burden of paying the costs incurred by someone to whom we grant the right of reply to an attack made by a representative of CBS over its facilities. But I am sure you can well understand that we cannot give carte blanche and then be faced with a bill long after the event and without any prior consultation. In Mr. Murrow's wire to you dated March 13, formally confirming that time was being granted on SEE IT NOW for your reply, Mr. Murrow expressly stated that Elmer Lower of CBS Television in Washington was available to meet with you or your representative at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of making the customary arrangements. Nevertheless, we had no word from you or your staff on what your plans or desires were.

We had no opportunity at all to advise with you or to discuss with you from where you chose to broadcast or by what means. Very shortly before your scheduled appearance on April 6, we learned from reports in the press that you planned to make your reply on film. We had no idea whether this was for your personal convenience in order to permit you to take a vacation or whether you felt that this was the most effective means which you could use for reply. On April 5 Mr. Mickelson, Director of News and Public Affairs of CBS Television, wired you stating our understanding that you would appear on film and asking you to submit two copies of the film not later than 10:30 AM on the day of your broadcast.

The film was not delivered until many hours afterwards. Immediately after the broadcast, one of your representatives took back the film thus indicating to us that you regarded that it belonged to you.

The procedures which you chose to follow, without any prior contact or discussion with any of our representatives, impel us to conclude that it would set an extremely dangerous and expensive precedent for us now to honor your bill. We do not say that in more normal circumstances, we would not contribute to the costs of anyone who wishes to use our facilities to reply to an attack made by a CBS representative over our facilities, but to protect ourselves we feel that it is necessary to insist on some sort of advance arrangements. Any other course would lay us open to unreasonable charges in

circumstances where prior consultation may well limit these charges. Obviously, if you had chosen to use our facilities, whether live or film, we would have borne that cost. Obviously, too, had you informed us that you did not choose to use our facilities for good and sufficient reasons, we might have come to mutually acceptable arrangements in advance.

You chose none of these courses, however, and hence we feel it necessary to inform you that we will not pay your bill.

(In order, however, that there be no question of our profiting through saving expenses which we ordinarily would have incurred and which we were willing to incur, we have decided that we will contribute the amount of your bill to the Crusade for Freedom.)

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY, WIS., CHAIRMAN
KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE
HENRY C. DWORSHAK, IDAHO
EVERETT MC KINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, MD.
CHARLES E. POTTER, MICH.
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, MASS.
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.
ALTON A. LENNON, N.C
RICHARD J. O'MELIA, GENERAL COUNSEL
WALTER L. REYNOLDS, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

May 6, 1954

Accept Regret
Appropriate action
Background
FYI File JOH
Note & return
Phone PS
Reply direct
Return to sender
Statement
Submit reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to PS
URGENT PS

Mr. Frank Stanton, President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Stanton:

I am enclosing herewith an invoice received from the Movietonews, Inc., together with copy of my letter to the Aluminum Company of America under date of April 28 and a copy of Alcoa's letter to me of May 4 which are self-explanatory.

Would you please inform me at your earliest convenience whether or not you propose to pay the cost of the filming, etc. of my answer to Edward R. Murrow's attack.

Sincerely yours,

Joe McCarthy

JOE McCARTHY

By R.K.

JMc:dmg

Form FH150-600 Sets 25 Sets of 4 to a Pad

Printed in U.S.A.

IN ACCOUNT WITH

MOVIETONEWS, Inc.

PRODUCERS OF

MOVIETONE NEWS

460 WEST 54TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE
COLUMBUS 5-2320

YOUR ORDER NO. _____

DATE April 19, 1954

№ 23115

Senator Joseph McCarthy
U.S.Senate
Washington,D.C.

TERMS—NET CASH

DESCRIPTION		AMOUNT
McCarthy TV Talk #51		
Special 25 min film for Ed Murrow broadcast by Senator McCarthy.		
Raw stock - exposed (sound & picture) developing same, printing same	1710.00	
Payroll - cameraman, Asst. cameraman, electrician, prop, grip	407.11	
Soundmen, projectionists, make-up man, messenger	473.11	
Film editor, asst. editor, editorial supervision, other clerical work	909.14	
Misc. expenses - hotel, meals, telephone calls, etc	190.60	
Equipment rental - camera, tape recording unit, studio room, screening room time	243.92	
Laboratory overtime charges	99.75	
	$4033.63	
Overhead and administration charge	403.36	
		$4,436.99

C O P Y

April 28, 1954

Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh
Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

Enclosed herewith is a bill which I have today received from Movietonews, Inc. in the amount of $4,436.99 covering the cost of preparing the film for my answer to the attack which Edward R. Murrow made upon me on your program.

In view of the fact that you used my answer for the purpose of advertising your product and in view of the fact that your company paid for the cost of Murrow's attack, the thought occurs to me that you might feel obligated to take care of this bill. In any event, I would appreciate your advising me your attitude in this matter. Incidentally, in addition to the enclosed bill, further expenses in the amount of $1900.00 were incurred in connection with my answer to Murrow's attack.

If your position is that you will pay the bill, naturally we will send you an itemized statement of the total.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joe McCarthy

JOE McCARTHY

By R.K.

McC:db

COPY

Aluminum Company of America

Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
May 4, 1954

The Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy
United States Senate
Committee on Government Operations
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator McCarthy:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 28 to which was attached an invoice received by you from Movietonews, Incorporated.

As we have already indicated to you in our telegrams of April 1 and April 5, we do not feel we could justify paying the preparation cost of your April 6 presentation on "SEE IT NOW" since we are responsible only for the production of the commercial portions of the programs.

We have no prior knowledge of the editorial content of the shows, including Mr. Murrow's March 9 program about you and your April 6 program about Mr. Murrow. For both of these programs Alcoa paid the Columbia Broadcasting System a fixed sum, as provided for in our contract. This has been the procedure since the start of the program in 1951. We have no responsibility for the manner of production of any program or the specific expenses involved in its preparation.

In view of the foregoing, we are returning to you herewith the invoice from Movietonews, Incorporated, and again refer you to Columbia Broadcasting System.

Sincerely,

I. W. Wilson /s
I. W. Wilson
President

IWW:meg
Attachment
CC: Mr. Frank Stanton
Columbia Broadcasting System

A139 ERNA Sron 7.7

(220)

FIRST LEAD MCCARTHY-ALCOA

NEW YORK, APRIL 23 (AP)-SEN.JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS) SAID TODAY HE'LL HAND THE ALUMINUM CO. OF AMERICA THE BILL FOR HIS FILMED TELEVISION REBUTTAL TO CBS COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW.

ALCOA SPONSORS MURROW'S PROGRAM.

"I'LL SUBMIT THE BILL TO ALCOA," MCCARTHY SAID IN WASHINGTON. "THEY PAID MORE FOR MURROW'S ATTACK ON ME THAN THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO, AND THEY SHOULD PAY IT."

COST OF THE 25-MINUTE FILM HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT $6,000 TO $7,500.

MCCARTHY SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH THE BILL WAS BUT SAID HE WILL SEE THAT THE FOX FILM STUDIO GETS ITS MONEY.

"I'M RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BILL IN THE FIRST INSTANCE," THE SENATOR SAID, BUT ADDED HE BELIEVED IT ONLY FAIR THAT ALCOA DEFRAY THE COST.

"WHETHER I WOULD SUE THEM OR NOT, I DON'T KNOW, BECAUSE OF THE COST AND TIME A SUIT WOULD REQUIRE," MCCARTHY ADDED.

MURROW HAD CRITICIZED THE SENATOR'S METHODS ON HIS CBS-TV PROGRAM, "SEE IT NOW." HE INVITED THE SENATOR TO MAKE A REPLY, AND MCCARTHY DID SO IN A FILM MADE AT FOX MOVIETONE STUDIOS HERE.

SUBSEQUENTLY THERE AROSE THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD PAY FOR THE FILM.

ALCOA SAID CBS RECEIVED A FIXED FEE FOR THE PROGRAM EACH WEEK AND PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WERE UP TO IT. CBS SAID, IN TURN, IT HAD NOT BEEN ASKED TO PAY, AND MURROW ASSERTED HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT FOOT THE BILL.

YESTERDAY A FOX FILM SPOKESMAN SAID THE BILL HAD BEEN SENT TO MCCARTHY AT THE REQUEST OF ROY COHN, CHIEF COUNSEL TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE HEADED BY MCCARTHY.

(NO PICKUP)

SF314PAES

3rd draft
Final

APRIL 2, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON DC

MR. PALEY HAS REFERRED TO ME YOUR WIRE REQUESTING INFORMATION REGARDING THE EXACT TIMING OF NEXT TUESDAY NIGHT'S TELEVISION PROGRAM STOP THE NORMAL OVERALL TIME OF THE PROGRAM IS TWENTY NINE MINUTES TWENTY SECONDS STOP YOU WILL HAVE THE SAME TIME AS USED BY MURROW STOP THE OPENING IDENTIFICATION WILL BE TWENTY SECONDS. THIS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE OPENING ALCOA COMMERCIAL OF TWO MINUTES FORTY SEVEN SECONDS NEXT MURROW'S INTRODUCTION OF YOU WHICH WILL BE ONE MINUTE FIFTEEN SECONDS AND WILL CONSIST OF A RECAPITULATION OF MURROW'S PUBLIC OFFER OF TIME TO YOU AND A SUMMARY OF TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED BETWEEN YOU AND MURROW STOP MURROW'S CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL RUN FIFTEEN SECONDS STOP THIS MEANS YOUR TOTAL TIME WILL BE TWENTY FIVE MINUTES WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION STOP IN ORDER THAT WE MAY MAKE NECESSARY TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE ORIGINATING FROM NEW YORK OR WASHINGTON.

SIG MICKELSON

2nd draft

APRIL 2, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R McCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON DC

MR. PALEY HAS REFERRED TO ME YOUR WIRE REQUESTING INFORMATION REGARDING THE EXACT TIMING OF NEXT TUESDAY NIGHTS TELEVISION PROGRAM STOP THE NORMAL OVERALL TIME OF THE PROGRAM IS TWENTYNINE MINUTES TWENTY SECONDS ~~STOP~~ * THE NORMAL OPENING IDENTIFICATION ANDMUSIC WILL BE ONEMINUTE FIFTEEN check SECONDS STOP THIS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE OPENING ALCOA COMMERCIAL OF TWO MINUTES FORTYSEVEN SECONDS COMMA NEXT MY INTRODUCTION OF YOU WHICH WILL BE ONE MINUTE FIFTEEN SECONDS AND WILL CONSIST OF A RECAPITULATION OF MY PUBLIC OFFER OF TIME TO YOU AND A SUMMARY OF TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED BETWEEN US STOP MY CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL RUN THIRTY SECONDS AND THE CONCLUDING ALCOA COMMERCIAL AND CREDITS WILL BE ONE MINUTE THIRTY SECONDS STOP THIS MEANS YOUR TOTAL TIME WILL BE TWENTY TWO MINUTES WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION STOP (IN ORDER THAT WE MAY MAKE NECESSARY TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE ORIGINATING FROM NEW YORK OR WASHINGTON)

EDWARD R. MURROW

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Mr. Paley

from: Mr. Murrow

April 2, 1954

This timing leaves us with only one minute thirty seconds for my opening and close and it involves eliminating the end commercial and opening in exactly the same fashion as on March 9th.

1137

From F.F.

April 1, 1954

Since I have been offered the opportunity to reply to attack made on me by Edward R. Murrow under your sponsorship and since I understand the cost of the preparation and production of his attack was financed by you I wonder whether in the interests of having my reply on an equal basis you intend making similar arrangements for the preparation and production costs of my answer to this attack. Please advise me.

Joe McCarthy, USS

Cairo
Tues
22/24

25:20

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 31 PM 7:37
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

Accept
Appropriate action
Background
FYI
Note & return
Phone WSP
Reply
Return to sender
Suggest reply
Comment
Information
Comments
URGENT

WU 046 GOVT PD

SN WASHINGTON DC MAR 31 543PME

WM S PALEY PRESIDENT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

WITH REFERENCE TO MY ANSWER TO EDWARD R MURROW ON APRIL 6 I WOULD LIKE CLARIFICATION OF WHETHER I AM BEING GIVEN EXACT SAME AMOUNT OF TIME AS MR MURROW HAD ON MARCH 9. I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE USUAL TIME FOR COMMERCIALS. PLEASE ADVISE ME OF EXACT NUMBER OF MINUTES COMMERCIAL WIL TAKE AND THE NUMBER OF MINUTES I WILL HAVE FOR THE ANSWER

JOE MCCARTHY USS.

723P..

McCarthy File

Allen, Charles R.

March 26, 1954

Dear Mr. Allen:

Mr. Murrow has asked me to acknowledge your kind letter of March 14th and the material you enclosed. As you are now aware, Mr. Murrow refused to accept the suggested substitution of William F. Buckley, Jr. and it will be Senator McCarthy himself on the program of April 6th.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Kay Campbell
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Mr. Charles R. Allen, Jr.
1410 Riverside Drive
Trenton, New Jersey

rh

1410 Riverside Drive
Trenton, New Jersey
March 14,1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I've just learned that Senator Joseph McCarthy has accepted your typically fair-minded offer for equal radio-TV time by way "of (his) friend William Buckley."

Patently, you make the decision regarding what is on the face of it a gratuitous sneer from the Senator. Beyond that, however, lies the substitution of Mr. Buckley for Mr. McCarthy.

I enclose an article which I wrote a couple of years ago containing some pertinent information regarding Mr. Buckley. There is of course much more material in a similar vein concerning him. I should also like to remind you that the publishing house of Henry Regnery&Co. (Chicago) just happens to be publishing a very favorable book called McCarthy and His Enemies and one of its co-authors just happens to be William F. Buckley, Jr. As you know the Regnery house issues a steady torrent of 'books' slightly to the right of, well, King Louis XIV. It's merely incidental, but yet relevant, that William H. Regnery, president of the firm, is an enthusiastic supporter of the anti-Semite and pro-Franco apologist, Merwin K. Hart to whom Regnery gave $9,585 between June 1,1948 and December 19,1949 (cf.Hearings, House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities, pers. to H.Res.298, Part 4, National Economic Council, page 159).

The writer of this letter is a journalist, a former editor of The Nation, and a contributor to the New Statesman and Nation, The Nation, Atlantic, etc. and an avid fan of Edward R. Murrow.

I just don't think his viewers should be treated to the obvious spectacle of an ersatz second-stringer out for some cheap publicity trying to carry the ball for Joe. We want the genuine article, if he has the guts enough to stand up, man-to-man and without benefit of senatorial immunity.

Best wishes,

Charles R. Allen Jr.

Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Hate Crowd Flutters Adoringly Round Its New Hero, Buckley

Campus 6-52

By CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

Harvard has contributed to the Fascist thinking in America in the person of Lawrence Dennis; Princeton has given Homer Loomis, Jr., leader of the now-defunct Columbians. At last—though somewhat belatedly—Yale rounds out the ivied contribution with its recent graduate, William Frank Buckley, Jr., whose top-selling "God and Man at Yale" has stirred up considerable controversy in educational circles.

For "God and Man at Yale" may become to the educational world what "Red Channels'" has become for the entertainment world: a touchstone for heretic hunters.

With a hauteur that makes even the most tolerant reader shift with embarrassment, and a brand of specious reasoning one-ply thick, Buckley contends that the faculty at New Haven is shot through with alleged "collectivists" and "expansive atheists" who daily indoctrinate the undergraduate innocents with the teachings of Marx and Engels.

The educational conspiracy to advocate the doctrines of "materialistic communism" is not, as such, Buckley philosophically ponders, cause for alarm; the trouble comes from the fact that such crafty machinations are taking place at a school like Yale, a citadel of free private enterprise and individualism. This is the hook which has sent college presidents and university public relations directors to their boards of trustees, their alumni and the public to proclaim assurance that their institution "is not now nor has it ever been . . ."

Borrowing unashamedly and without due credit from his nearest—in point of time—intellectual inspiration, Adam Smith, Buckley likens education to a market place. The author's alma mater is the market, the alumnus is the customer; the product is the curricula.

This somewhat limited concept of the workings of higher education is bolstered by the author's self-appointed probe of a handful of textbooks used by the Yale faculty. In addition to burning some books, Buckley roasts some of his former tutors. He devotes considerable space to an abusive personal attack on one teacher, Raymond Kennedy, who cannot answer the charges. Kennedy died before the book was written.

Perhaps the most interesting exception to both "God and Man At Yale" and its author has come from the Rev. George C. Higgins, assistant director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, D. C., long recognized as the official voice of the Roman Catholic church on social issues. Warning that "Buckley's social philosophy is not that of the Roman Catholic Church," Father Higgins has cautioned Catholic readers who might have been tempted to exaggerate the merits of a book which, in many respects, is tragically superficial from the Catholic point of view."

Brushing aside Buckley's attempts at economic analysis as "completely inadequate," the NCWC official went on to score Buckley's contention that free enterprise is an inherent part of Roman Catholic theory. Father Higgins remarked, "[That is] a dead giveaway as to his own total and complete unfamiliarity with Catholic social teaching."

Intimating that Buckley is "less than honest," he concluded, "No wonder the Catholic press, however reluctantly, has felt it necessary to warn the American public that Buckley's social philosophy has little if anything in common with official Catholic teaching.

"In a word," says a recent editorial in America [a Catholic journal of political and social opinion], 'Mr. Buckley's own social philosophy is almost as obnoxious to a well-instructed Catholic as the assaults on religion which he rightly condemns.'"

But the distaste of the National Catholic Welfare Council is not shared by the pro-Fascists of America. Plaudits have been accorded the book and its author by such figures as Gerald L. K. Smith, Allen A. Zoll and Merwin K. Hart. Writing in the January, 1952, issue of the lurid Cross and the Flag, Smith — one-time Silver Shirter and now head of the Nationalist Christian Crusade — announced that Buckley's book "has captured the attention of America's leading patriots." Smith noted that "it will serve a great purpose in this critical hour."

Allen Alderson Zoll, whose patriotism last year grossed him over $50,000 as director of the "pro-American" National Council for American Education, is old hat among the crackpots of anti-Semitism. Recently, in a "confidential" mailing to "special" members of the National Council —"special" in that they pay higher membership rates—Zoll described Buckley as "brilliant . . . an intense libertarian." He went on to advise, **"God and Man At Yale** should be read by every American interested in saving the schools and colleges . . . it is a MUST for Council members."

A lesser figure in the galaxy of pro-Fascist fringists is Frederick Kister, former aide to Gerald L. K. Smith, who runs the pro-Nazi American Renaissance Book Club.

Immediately after the appearance of Buckley's book, Kister wrote, "We emphatically recommend this stimulating and forthright book written by a young, thinking, and fighting American!"

And in the weekly newspaper The Broom—a curious creation which combines sun-worshipping with anti-Semitism — there is another plug for Buckley.

Buckley's failure to disavow such support is eloquent.

Another "source" which Buckley employs as an "educational authority" is a relatively little-known but effective quarterly called The Educational Reviewer, which does four times a year what Buckley did in a single book: "review" school and collegiate texts for traces of "collectivism." The 1950 Congressional Select Committee on Lobbying branded The Reviewer as "unreliable" and went on to state that it "smacks too much of the book-burning orgies of Nuremberg to be accepted by any thoughtful Americans without foreboding and alarm."

Perhaps no one has more succinctly summed up the meaning of William F. Buckley, Jr. in America today than Prof. Theodore M. Greene, teacher of philosophy at Yale. Writing in the student journal The Yale Daily News, he commented: "Mr. Buckley has done Yale a great service, and he may well do the cause of liberal education in America an even greater service, by stating the Fascist alternative to liberalism so clearly that we can see it for what it is and realize what could happen to us were it to prevail in Yale and other colleges and universities."

Buckley himself has revealed at least one motivation for a great deal of his crusade to save "individualism." One night when he was a guest on the Barry Gray radio show, Gray asked:

"Just what do you want to do most, Mr. Buckley?"

There was a slight pause. Then the guest snapped, "Make money."

C O P Y

MARCH 15, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

AS YOU KNOW IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE OF MARCH 13TH OFFERING TO MAKE AVAILABLE ONE HALF HOURS TIME TO REPLY TO YOUR ATTACKS ON ME I DESIGNATED MR. WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AUTHOR OF "GOD AND MAN AT YALE" AND CO-AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK, "MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES," TO PRESENT A DOCUMENTED ANSWER TO YOU. MR. BUCKLEY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION. I TODAY RECEIVED YOUR WIRE DATED MARCH 14TH TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TIME WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF I SELECT SOMEONE TO ANSWER BUT THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE IF I PERSONALLY ANSWER YOU. NORMALLY I WOULD NOT WASTE THE TIME TO MERELY PROVE THAT A RADIO AND TV COMMENTATOR WHO ATTACKS ME IS LYING. HOWEVER, IF I AM CORRECT IN MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE THEN IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOUR LISTENERS TO HAVE THE CLEAR CUT DOCUMENTED FACTS SO THEY CAN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE AS TRUTHFUL AS YOU ATTEMPT TO MAKE OUT OR DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTING THE FACTS. THEREFORE, I SHALL ACCEPT YOUR OFFER OF TIME. IF POSSIBLE I WOULD PREFER THE TIME TWO WEEKS LATER THAN MARCH 23RD, NAMELY APRIL 6TH.

THE REASON FOR THE REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IS THREE FOLD. NO 1: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT YOUR SPONSORSHIP OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS CO-SPONSORED BY VOKS WHICH WAS A RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DATES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PUT TOGETHER ALL THE PERTINENT FACTS IN YOUR RECORD. NO. 2: I SHALL BE OUT OF TOWN FROM WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK THROUGH SUNDAY, DURING WHICH TIME AMONG OTHER THINGS I SHALL ANSWER FROM MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN THE ATTACKS MADE UPON ME BY ADLAI STEVENSON. NO. 3: I HAVE BEEN SPENDING EVERY AVAILABLE MINUTE OF PREPARING A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE AGRICULTURE PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON

THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS BEING CREATED FOR OUR DAIRY FARMERS. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THIS WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY BEFORE MARCH 23RD AND DISLIKE TAKING TIME OFF FROM THAT IMPORTANT TASK TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS. HOWEVER, IF MARCH 23RD IS THE ONLY DATE BEING OFFERED THAT DATE WILL BE ACCEPTED. IN VIEW OF THE FACT I DID NOT HEAR YOUR BROADCAST I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A TRANSCRIPT THEREOF AS WELL AS A TRANSCRIPT OF ANY OTHER ATTACKS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE UPON ME OR UPON THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

F. 295-11/53

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by **REGULAR OR AIR MAIL** would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via **REGULAR MAIL** addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, via **AIR MAIL** to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for **WBBM** and **KNX** are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than **NOON LOCAL TIME** on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" **ONLY** if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE March 14, 1954 19

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. | | | |
Div. Dept.

STRAIGHT WIRE

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I UNDERSTAND FROM PRESS AND BROADCASTING REPORTS THAT YOU ARE UNABLE TO APPEAR ON SEE IT NOW THIS COMING TUESDAY NIGHT. IF THIS IS CORRECT, TIME WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU ON THE SAME PROGRAM THE FOLLOWING TUESDAY, MARCH 23, UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AS OUTLINED TO YOU IN MY PREVIOUS TELEGRAM. THE INVITATION TO APPEAR, I MUST POINT OUT, IS TO YOU PERSONALLY AND IS NOT SUBJECT TO TRANSFER TO ANYONE ELSE. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL XXXXXXXXXX APPEAR ON THE PROGRAM EITHER THIS COMING TUESDAY, MARCH 16, OR TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

EDWARD R. MURROW

On March 9th Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Educational Director of the Col. Broad. Co, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman. Over the past four years he has made repeated attacks on me and those fighting Communist infiltration of this nation. Neither Joe McCarthy nor Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties. The Senate Investigating Committee has forced out of government and out of critical defense plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy. The visiousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct proportion to our success in digging out Communists.

Ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand, to answer Murrow. However, in this case, I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is the symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jaeckle pack which is always found at the throats of anyone who dares to expose individualm Communists and traitors.

I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow as far back as 21 years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. The Inst. of Internat. Educa. of which he was an ass't

director and acting director, was chosen to act as representative by a Soviet agency to do the work which would normally be done by the Russian secret police. Mr. M sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. and in the selection of American teachers and students who were to attend, Mr. Murro's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as VOKS.

Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. B.E. Blaisdell joined the Commie party after attending the Murrow sponsored school.

Julia Older was fired from the United Nations in 1952 as a Fifth Amend. Communist after she had bee n exposed by Roy Cohn's grand jury investigating Commie's in the U.N.

Here's a picture of the typicaly student selected to attend the Comm. school in Moscow by Mr. M.'s organizagion.

Mr. Murrow by his own admission was a member of the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World---a terrorist organization cited as subversive by the Attorney Gen. of the U.S. who stated that it was an organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means". Other government committees have had

before them actors, screen writers, motion picture producers and others who admitted Communist affilitation, but pleaded youth or ignorance.

On March 9th of this year Mr. M., a trained reporter who had travelled all overthe world, the Educational director of CBS, followed implicitly the Commie line as laid down within the last six months not only by the Commie Daily Worker, but by the Commie magazine "Political Affairs", bythe National Conference of the Communist Party of America and by William Z. Foster, the former head of the Comm. party in the U.S.

Why is it important to you, the peple of America to know why theEducational dir. and vice Pres. of CBS so closely follows the Comm. Party line? To answer that we must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system----Communism. Under their system the indifidual was nothing, the familywas nothing, God did not even exist. Their theory was that an all-powerful state should have the power of live and death over its citizens without even a trial. That everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state even including the unborn child. They openly wrote that in their efforts to gain power any means

would be justified by the end...deceit, lies, terror, murder, treason, BLACKMAIL were elevated into virtues. If a convert to Communism could be pursuaded that he was a citizen of the world it would be easier to make him a traitor to his own country.

For seventy years the Communists made little progress.

Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the first World War in 1918 before the Russian revolution. You see THEN there was not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control ofthe Commies. Bear in mind that this was ohly 36 years ago.

In 1918 we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and DEFENSE OF American liberty.

The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both the eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war the Russian people overthrew their Czarist master and set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky, Kerensky's government instantly pledged continued loyalty of Russia to the allies.

At this instant, the imperial German government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven Commie exiles who had been forced to flee

the country. These men were Nikolai Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Carl Ruddek---

Once in Russia by the very methods which the Communists are employing in America today they underminded the army, the navy, the civilian heads of governmmnt, and in 100 days they were literally the masters of Russia.

Now with all the wealth of the nation at their command they proceeded to organize Communist parties in every country of the world. They sent to these countries trained propagandists and spies, and in every country they found men like Ed.R.M. who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow exactly as Murrow did. They trained Communists in every country in the world whose sole purpose was to infiltrate the government and once themselves in government, employed others.

Now let's look at a map of the world as of tonight. This sixth day of April, 1954 and compare it with the map of 36 years ago, then not even a red speck on the map of the whole wide world.

11 years ago one country with 180 million people in Commie chains. Tonight, on the sixth day of April 1954, over one third of the earth's area

is under Commie control and 8 hundred million in chains.

How much of this was achieved by military force and how much by the traitors and propagandists in our own governmtn and the other free governments.?

Let's start in Europe. They took by military force a little piece of Finland; and in the same way they took three small Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. When they precipitated the second World World they took half of Poland the same way. They acquired the rest of Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in our own governmts. We gave American dollars and American support tothe Communists in Poland.

They took over Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary without firing a shot. by the infiltration of Russian Communists and domestic Communists in these governments.

How did they get Yugoslavia?..who were the Communists traitors in our government when we repudiated Mihailovitch who had fought with us throughout the war? Who are the Communists in our government who induced our support of Communist Tito.?

The Commie's took over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. They did this by infiltration of Communists into the Czech governmnt.

Listen to what a high official in the anti-Communist government of Czech. said:

"In my country the pattern was identical with what it is here. If anyone, before the Communists took over, dared to attack us, those Communists who were preparing and shaping the policy of my government, to betray my people, he was promptly attacked and destroyed by a combination of Communist fellow-travelers and those unthinking people who thought they were serving the cause of liberalism and progress, but who actually were actually serving the cause of the most reactionary credo of all times, Communism.

How about this vast land area and the teeming masses of China. Were 400 million captured by force of arms? Certainly not. They were delivered to Commie slave masters by the jackle pack of Commie line propagandists who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformists and our ally, the Republic of China, represented everything that was evil and wicked.

If there were no communists in our government would we have consented to turn over half of Germany and one half of Austria to the Russians?

If there was no Communists in our governemtn, who was Governor Winant when negotiating for the Corridor in Berlin advised by the State Department to try to get the Corridor, but don't irritate the Russians.

This decision has already cost the lives of 35 or 40 American boys and hundreds of millions of dollars.

If there were no Commies in our governemtn would we have given Russia 11 billion of Lend Lease even when they refuse to permit even a siggle American military observer to enter Russia.? If there were no Commies in our government the very time we were saving the Russians from German army, would we have acceded in their refusal to permit a single American aviator to land in Russian.?

The Germans were getting their oil from the Polesti oil fields of Rumania. We were bombing those oil fields from our bases in Africa. Three thousand American fliers were shot down and interned for the duration of the war in enemy prison camps in Rumania because our Russian allies would not permit them to land in Russia.

Now let us move to the East again. For (BLANK) months we were engaged in a live and death struggle in a war with Japan. During all of that time we were supporting Russian armies in Europe with men and

armaments. Nevertheless, the Russians absolutely refused to lie a finger to aid us in the Japanese War.

After we had dropped the atomic bomb on Japan the Russian hastened to register dive day ? participation in the war.

If there had been no Commie influense in our governemtn would we have rewarded them all of Manahuria, half of the Kurile Island, and one half of Korea. How many Americans have died and will die because of this No one will every know.

If there were no Commie influence in our governemtn why did Sec. of State D. Acheson invite the Korean War by telling the Russians that we had no interest in Korea.

When we abandoned 400 million Chinese to Commie slavery masters, the principle adviser on foreign policy was Owen Lattimore. He has since been named by a Democrat controlled Sen. Committee "a conscious, articulate insturment of Communist conspiracy". He has been indicted by a Fed. grand jury. On page _____ of his book, he signles out and expresses gratitude for Murrow's ardent support.

If there were no commie in our government why did we delay for 18 months research on the hydrogen bomb even though our intelligence agencie

were reporting that THE Russian were feverishly ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ pushing the development of the H-bomb.

There is a saying that A GOOD LAWYER always advises a defendant that time and confusion work in his favor. Communist line propagandists are already ~~xx~~ ready to vilify and smear those who expose traitors and having done a deadly job of creating delays and confusions. Thanks to their efforts we have squandered hundreds of billions of dollars; we have engaged in an abhortive war, and we have lost a third of the world.

It is often said that it is sufficient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but Communism is not an American domestic issue. But the record is that the damage has already been done by ~~carefully~~ CLEVERLY calculated subversion at home. IT IS THE PROBLEM OF SUBVERSION ~~That is the problem~~ our committee faces.

Let us quickly glance at some of the work our Committee has done in slightly over a year's time. 238 witnesses were examined in public session. 367 witnesses were examined in executive session. 84 witnesses refused to tesitfy as to Communist activities or espionage on the ~~gg~~ grounds that thruthful testimony might send them to jail. 24 witnesses with Communist background wer ~~xxxxxxx~~ discharged or resigned because of their Communist activities which were exposed before our committee. Of course

you cannot measure the success of the Committee by a box score based on the number of Communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect of our government's day by day plotting and exposure of communists.

For example, exposure of one Fifth Amendment Communist in the government printing office, having access to secret material from almost every government agency would result in undisclosed numbers of suspensions, and removal of the printing office loyalty board and a revamping of the loyalty rules. Disclosure of Communists in the military and radar laboratories result in the abolition of the Pentagon board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who have for years been handling government secrets.

Army orders have been issued to prevent a recurrence of the Perris scandal which was exposed by the committee.

To ATTEMPT TO evaluate the effective work of an investigation committee would be as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the effects of well-trained watchdogs upon the activities of potential burglars.

We Americans live in a free world--a world where we can stand as individuals; where we can go to the church of our choice and worship god each in our own fashion; where we can freely speak our opinions on any subject. OR ANY MAN.

Whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now We will soon know whether we are going to go on living this kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800-million slave slaves live under Communist domination. The issue is simple-- life or death for our civilization.

If you think I've been rough with Mr. Murrow --and there are those who complain my methods in attacking Communists--Mr. Murrow said on this program and I quote "The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to our enemies."

That is the language of our statute on treason.

If I am giving comfort to our enemies I ought not to be in the Senate of the United States. If Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

This is a question which IT is not too difficult to resolve. What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow?

One of us is on the side of American freedom and one is on the side of Communism and ~~mm~~ slavery.

The Communists have three official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications but they have been officially determined TO BE transmission belts from which the Communists in America, instructors of the party line the positions to be taken by the American communist writers, playwrights, broadcasters and hidden communists in the govt.

THE first of these is a booklet which I show you. The name of it "The main report delivered at the national conference of the Commie party USA"..published in New York in October 1953.

The very first page OF THE STATES THE ~~reports~~ situation created by the new Soviet peace initiatives "enhances the possibility of broadening the struggle against McCarthyism." On page 32 the report states;" A struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines...struggle against witch-hunting investigations , the McCarthy-McCarran type of ~~investigating~~ CONGRESSIONAL committees; defense of the victims ~~of~~

of McCarthyism such as Lattimore, Hiss etc; .... in addition there is the direct attack ON McCarthy himself..... In this report the Commies do not hesitate to instruct the comrades that [redacted] their fight on McCarthy is only the means to a larger end.

Again I quote: page 33.... "Our main task is to mobilize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower Administration and the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself.... The strrugggle against McCarthyism CONTRIBUTES TO THIS [redacted] general objective..."

One more quotation. On page 31 "since the elections McCarthyism has emerged as a menaceof major proportions..." You know what they mean. ... a menace to the Communist effort to overthrow the government by traitors from within.

Just for the momentwhat other aims do the communists set forth. They advocate the overthrow of the present government of western Europe... the abandonment of NATO...zsecuring the recognition of Red China in the United Nations...stopping our preparations for defense, keeping Communist teachers in our schools.

Now let us look a little further to see who is giving comfort to our enemies.

Here's the Communist Daily Worker of March 9th. containing 7 articles and a principle editorial attacking Mc. The same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program attacking me as one of "tonight's best bets on tv."

Here's the issue of March 10th..the day after Mr. Murrow made his attack on me. This single 8 page issue contains 11 seperate articles and the principle editorial attacking Mc.

Here's the issue of March 17th. Its principle front page article is an attack on Mc and its three other articles attack Mc. Its has a special article by Wm Z. Foster, former chief Commie party of America, now under indictment on charge of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article attacks Mc and praises Mr. E RM.

Here's the issue of March 26 it has two articles attacking witch hunting, three articles attacking Mc, a cartoon of Mc, and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

Now I show you the Commie house organ "Political affairs". The lede article is a report dated Nov 21, 1953 of the national committee of the Commie party of the US attacking Mc .

Now you know who is fighting Mc. Who is fighting Murrow.

Owen Lattimore who has been named "a conscious articulate

instrument ofthe Commie conspiracy" by the Sen. Internal Security Comm. He is now under criminal indictment for perjur~~ymmmmmmx~~ in regard to his testimony with respect to Commie activities. In his book, "Ordeal by Slander" he says I owe a very special debt to men I8ve never met. I must mention at lease E.R.M.".

Here is a book by Harold J. Lasky admittedly the greatest propagandist of our time in England, and a man who ewas expelled by the British Labor Party for Communist activites. This book is dedicated, and I quote "To my friends, ERM and Lionel Tichner, with affection".

I am perfectly willing to let the people of America decide who is giving comfort to the enemies".

SEE IT NOW

g.c.-11 Mr. Murrow

McCarthy's Reply

APRIL 6th, 1954

MR. MURROW

Good Evening! This is See It Now, presented each week at this time by Alcoa, the Aluminum Company of America.

Tonight's report consists entirely of certain remarks by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and in order to present those remarks without interruption, we ask you now to look with us at this report from Alcoa.

(COMMERCIAL)

MR. MURROW

One month ago tonight, we presented a report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. We labeled it as controversial. Most of that report consisted of words and pictures of the Senator. At that time we said, if the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures, if he desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program.

The Senator sought the opportunity, asked for a delay of three weeks because he said he was very busy and he wished adequate time to prepare his reply.

(MORE)

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MR. MURROW (CTD)

We agreed. We supplied the Senator with a kinescope of that program of March 9 and with such scripts and recordings as he requested. We placed no restrictions upon the manner or method of the presentation of his reply and we suggested that we would not take time to comment on this particular program.

The Senator chose to make his reply on film. Here now is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, junior Senator from Wisconsin!

SENATOR MC CARTHY

Good evening.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, educational director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman, and over the past four years he had made repeated attacks upon me and those fighting Communists.

Of course, neither Joe McCarthy nor Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties.

The Senate Investigating Committee has forced out of government and out of important defense plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy.

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You know it's interesting to note that the viciousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct ratio to our success in digging out Communists.

Now, ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow. However, in this case I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual Communists and traitors.

I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow, as far back as twenty years ago, was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. For example, the Institute of International Education, of which he was the acting director, was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police.

Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. In the selection of American students and teachers who were to attend, Mr. Murrow's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as Voks. V-O-K-S. Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. Murrow's organization selected such notorious Communists as Isadore Bugin, David Zablodowsky (sp). Incidentally, Zablodowsky was forced out of the United Nations, when my chief counsel presented his case to the grand jury and gave a picture of his Communist activities.

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Now, Mr. Murrow, by his own admission, was a member of the IWW - that's the Industrial Workers of the World - a terrorist organization cited as subversive by an attorney general of the United States, who stated that it was an organization which seeks (and I quote) "to alter the Government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Now, other government committees have had before them actors, screen writers, motion picture producers, and others who admitted Communist affiliations but pleaded youth or ignorance. Now, Mr. Murrow can hardly make the same plea. On March 9 of this year, Mr. Murrow, a trained reporter, who had traveled all over the world, who was the educational director of CBS, followed implicitly the Communist line as laid down in the last six months, laid down not only by the Communist Daily Worker, but by the Communist magazine Political Affairs and by the National Conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Now, the question: why is it important to you, the people of America, to know why the Educational Director and the Vice President of CBS so closely follows the Communist Party line? To answer that question we must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system, to Communism.

(MORE)

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SENATOR MC CARTHY (CTD)

Under their system, the individual is nothing, the family was nothing. God did not even exist. Their theory was that an all-powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial, that everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state. They openly wrote - nothing secret about it - that in their efforts to gain power, they would be justified in doing anything. They would be justified in following the trail of deceit, lies, terror, murder, treason, blackmail. All these things were elevated to virtues in the Communist rule book.

If a convert to communism could be persuaded that he was a citizen of the world, it, of course would be much easier to make him a traitor to his own country.

Now, for 70 years the communist made little progress. Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the First World War, 1917, before the Russian Revolution. You will see that there was not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control of the Communists, and bear in mind that this was only 36 years ago. In 1917, we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and in defense of American liberty.

(MORE)

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The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both the eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war, the Russian people overthrew their Czarist master and they set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. Now, Kerensky's government instantly pledged all-out support to the Allies. At this instant the Imperial German Government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven Communist exiles, led by Nicolai Lenin, exiles that had been forced to flee the country, a rather important event in the history of the world.

Now, once in Russia, by the same methods which the Communists are employing in the United States today, they undermined the army, they undermined the navy, the civilian heads of the government, and in 100 days, those seven communists were literally the masters of Russia.

Now, with all of the wealth of the nation at their command, they proceeded to finance Communist parties in every country of the world.

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They sent to those countries trained propagandists and spies. In every country they, of course, had to find glib, clever men like Edward R. Murrow who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow, exactly as Murrow has done.

They trained Communists in every country in the world. Their sole purpose was to infiltrate the government, and once Communists were in government, they in turn brought others in.

Now, let us look at the map of the world as it was twenty years ago. At that time there was one country with 180 million people in Communist chains. Now, let us look at a map of the world as of tonight, this 6th day of April 1954: Over one-third of the earth's area under Communist control and 800 million people in Communist chains, in addition to the 800 million Communist chains in Europe and Asia.

Finally, the Communists have gained a foothold and a potential military base here in our half of the world, in Guatemala, with the Communists seeping down in to Honduras. My good friends, how much of this was achieved by military force and how much was achieved by traitors and Communist-line propagandists in our own government and in other free governments? Let us start in Europe, if we may?

(MORE)

fad

They took by military force a little piece of Finland; in the same way they took three small Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

They took half of Poland in the same way. They acquired the rest of Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in our own government, who gave American dollars and American support to the Communists in Poland. They took over Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, without firing a single shot. They did this by the infiltration of Communists in the key spots in the governments. The Communists took over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. This they did by the infiltration of Communists into the Czechoslovakian Government also.

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fad (MORE)

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Now, shifting to another area of the world, to the East, how about this vast land area and the teaming masses of China? Let's just take a look at that map, if you please. Keep in mind that a few short years ago China was a free nation, friendly to the United States.

Now, let's take a look at that map. Were those 400 million Chinese captured by force of arms? Certainly not. They were delivered, delivered to Communist slave masters by the jackal pack of Communist-line propagandists, including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow, who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers and that our ally, the Republic of China, represented everything that was evil and wicked.

Now, my good friends, if there were no Communists in our government, would we have consented to and connived to turn over all of our Chinese friends to the Russians? Now, my good friends, if there had been no Communists in our government, would we have rewarded them with all of Manchuria, half of the Kurile Islands and one-half of Korea?

Now, how many Americans, how many Americans have died and will die because of this sellout to Communist Russia, God only knows.

(MORE)

fad

SEN. MC CARTHY:

If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H Bomb? And may I say to America tonight that our nation may well die, our nation may well die because of that 18 months' deliberate delay. And I ask you, who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?

It is often said by the Left Wing that it is sufficient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but that Communism is not a domestic American issue. But the record, my good friends, is that the damage has been done by cleverly calculated subversion at home, and not from abroad. It is this problem of subversion that our Committee faces.

Let us very quickly glance at some of the work of our committee, some of the work that has been done in slightly over a year's time: for example, 238 witnesses were examined in public session: 367 witnesses examined in executive session: 84 witnesses refused to testify as to Communist activities on the ground that if they told the truth they might go to jail: 24 wintesses of Communist backgrounds have been discharged from jobs in which they were handling secret, top-secret confidential material--individuals who were exposed before our committee.

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY:

Of course, you can't measure the success of a committee by a box score, based on the number of Communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect on our government of the day-to-day plodding exposure of communists--and that is, of course, why the Murrow's bleed.

For example, the exposure of only one Fifth Amendment Communist in the government Printing Office, an office having access to secret material from almost every government agency, resulted in an undisclosed number of suspensions. It resulted in the removal of the loyalty board and the revamping of all the loyalty rules so that we do have apparently a good, tight loyalty setup in the Printing Office at this time.

Also, a disclosure of Communists in the military and the radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board, which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets.

Also, as a result of those hearings, Army orders have been issued to prevent the recurrence of the Major Peress scandal which was exposed by the committee.

Now, to attempt to evaluate the effect of the work on an investigating committee would be about as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the effect of well-trained watch dogs upon the activities of potential burglars.

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY:

We Americans live in a free world, a world where we can stand as individuals, where we can go to the church of our own choice and worship God as we please, each in his own fashion, where we can freely speak our opinions on any subject or on any man.

Now, whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now. We will soon know whether we are going to go on living that kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800-million slaves live under Communist domination.

The issue is simple: it is the issue of life or death for our civilization.

Now, Mr. Murrow said on this program--(and I quote)- He said: "The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to the enemy." That's the language of our statute of treason, rather strong language.

If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate.

SEN. MC CARTHY

If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty. What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow? One of us is on the side of the Communists: the other is against the Communists, against Communist slavery.

The Communists have 3 official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications. They have been officially determined to be the transmission belts through which Communists in America are instructed as to the party line, or the position which Communists writers and playwrights must take. Also, of course, telecasters, broadcasters. The first of these is a booklet which I would like to show you, if I may. It's entitled "The Main Report Delivered at the National Conference of the Communist Party of the USA," published in New York in October 1953. The report states: (QUOTE) "the struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines." Keep in mind this is the Communist publication giving instructions to the members of the Party on the following main lines: Struggle against witch-hunting, struggle against investigations of the McCarthy-McCarran type, and defense of the victims of McCarthyism, such as Owen Lattimore, etc. In addition there is the direct attack on McCarthy."

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY:

May I ask you, does that sound somewhat like the program of Edward R. Murrow on March 9, over this same station?

In this report the Communists do not hesitate to instruct, to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only a means to a larger end. Again let me quote from the insturctions from the Communist Party to its membership, from page 33. (I quote:) "Our main task is to mobilize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower Administration and for the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself. The struggle against McCarthyism contributes to this general objective."

There's one more quotation, if I may, from page 31 of these instructions from the Communist Party to its members (I quote:) "Since the elections, McCarthyism has emerged as a menace of major proportions." I think maybe we know what the Communist Party means by a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions to the Communist party.

Now let's take 30 seconds or so, if we may, to look a little further to see who is giving comfort to our enemies. Here is a Communist Daily Worker of March 9, containing 7 articles and a principal editorial, all attacking McCarthy, and the same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program as -- listen to this -- "one of tonight's best bets on TV."

mr

SEN. MC CARTHY

And then just one more. Here's the issue of March 17. Its principal front-page article is an attack on McCarthy. It has 3 other articles attacking McCarthy. It is a special article by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist Party in America, and now under indictment on charges of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article by Foster, praising Edward R. Murrow.

Just one more, if I may impose on your time, the issue of March 26. This issue has 2 articles attacking witch-hunting. 3 articles attacking McCarthy, a cartoon of McCarthy, and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

And now I would like to also show you the Communist political organ, entitled Political Affairs. The lead article is a report dated November 21, 1953 of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, attacking McCarthy and telling how the loyal members of the Communist Party can serve their cause by getting rid of this awful McCarthy.

Now, as you know, Owen Lattimore has been named as a conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy. He has been so named by the Senate Internal Security Committee. He is now under criminal indictment for perjury. With respect to testimony in regard to his Communist activities, in his book "Ordeal by Slander", he says -- and I think I can quote him verbatim -- he says: "I owe a very special debt to men I have never met. I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow."

mr

SENATOR MC CARTHY

Then there is the book by Harold Laski, admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England. In his book, "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times," he dedicates the book "To my friends, E. R. Murrow and Lanham Tichener, with affection."

I am perfectly willing to let the American people decide who is giving comfort to our enemies. Much of the documentation which we have here on the table tonight will not be available to the American people by way of television. However, this will all be made available to you within the next two weeks.

In conclusion, may I say that under the shadow of the most horrible and destructive weapons that man has ever devised, we fight to save our country, our homes, our churches, our children. To this cause, ladies and gentlemen, I have dedicated and will continue to dedicate all that I have and all that I am, and I want to assure you that I will not be deterred by the attacks of the Murrows, the Lattimores, the Fosters, the Daily Worker, or the Communist Party itself.

Now, I make no claim to leadership. In complete humility, I do ask you and every American who loves this country to join with me.

MR. MURROW:

That was a film of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, presented at our invitation. It was in response to a program we presented on March 9th. This reporter undertook to make no comment at this time, but naturally reserved his right to do so subsequently. Good night, and Good Luck!

mr

SEE IT NOW

APRIL 6th, 1954

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The Senator chose to make his reply on film. Here now is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, junior Senator from Wisconsin!

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Good evening.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, educational director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman, and over the past four years he had made repeated attacks upon me and those fighting Communists.

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I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow, as far back as twenty years ago, was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. For example, the Institute of International Education, of which he was the acting director, was chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police.

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Under their system, the individual is nothing, the family was nothing, God did not even exist. Their theory was that an all-powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial, that everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state. They openly wrote - nothing secret about it - that in their efforts to gain power, they would be justified in doing anything. They would be justified in following the trail of deceit, lies, terror, murder, treason, blackmail. All these things were elevated to virtues in the Communist rule book.

If a convert to communism could be persuaded that he was a citizen of the world, it, of course would be much easier to make him a traitor to his own country.

Now, for 70 years the communist made little progress. Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the First World War, 1917, before the Russian Revolution. You will see that there was not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control of the Communists, and bear in mindthat this was only 36 years ago. In 1917, we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and in defense of American liberty.

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Now, once in Russia, by the same methods which the Communists are employing in the United States today, they undermined the army, they undermined the navy, the civilian heads of the government, and in 100 days, those seven communists were literally the masters of Russia.

Now, with all of the wealth of the nation at their command, they proceded to finance Communist parties in every country of the world.

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-MORE-

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SEN. MC CARTHY:(Cont'd)

They took by military force a little piece of Finland; in the same way they took three small Baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

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Now, shifting to another area of the world, to the East, how about this vast land area and the teaming masses of China? Let's just take a look at that map, if you please. Keep in mind that a few short years ago China was a free nation, friendly to the United States.

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If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H Bomb? And may I say to America tonight that our nation may well die, our nation may well die because of that 18 months' deliberate delay. And I ask you, who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?

It is often said by the Left Wing that it is sufficient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but that Communism is not a domestic American issue. But the record, my good friends, is that the damage has been done by cleverly calculated subversion at home, and not from abroad. It is this problem of subversion that our Committee faces.

Let us very quickly glance at some of the work of our committee, some of the work that has been done in slightly over a year's time; for example, 238 witness were examined in public session; 367 witnesses examined in executive session; 84 witnesses refused to testify as to Communist activities on the ground that if they told the truth they might go to jail; 24 witnesses of Communist backgrounds have been discharged from jobs in which they were handling secret, top-secret confidential material--individuals who were exposed before our committee.

G

SEN. MC CARTHY:

Of course, you can't measure the success of a committee by a box score, based on the number of Communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect on our government of the day-to-day plodding exposure of communists--and that is, of course, why the Murrow's bleed.

For example, the exposure of only one Fifth Amendment Communist in the government Printing Office, an office having access to secret material from almost every government agency, resulted in an undisclosed number of suspensions. It resulted in the removal of the loyalty board and the revamping of all the loyalty rules so that we do have apparently a good, tight loyalty setup in the Printing Office at this time.

Also, a disclosure of Communists in the military and the radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board, which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets.

Also, as a result of those hearings, Army orders have been issued to prevent the recurrence of the Major Peress scandal which was exposed by the committee.

Now, to attempt to evaluate the effect of the work of an investigating committee would be about as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the effect of well-trained watch dogs upon the activities of potential burglars.

G

SEN. MC CARTHY:

We Americans live in a free world, a world where we can stand as individuals, where we can go to the church of our own choice and worship God as we please, each in his own fashion, where we can freely speak our opinions on any subject or on any man.

Now, whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now. We will soon know whether we are going to go on living that kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800-million slaves live under Communist domination.

The issue is simple: it is the issue of life or death for our civilization.

Now, Mr. Murrow said on this program--(and I quote)-He said: "The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to the enemy." That's the language of our statute of treason, rather strong language.

If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate.

G

SENATOR MC CARTHY:

If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty. What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow? One of us is on the side of the Communists; the other is against the Communists, against Communist slavery.

The Communists have 3 official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications. They have been officially determined to be the transmission belts through which Communists in America are instructed as to the party line, or the position which Communist writers and playwrights must take. Also, of course, telecasters, broadcasters. The first of these is a booklet which I would like to show you, if I may. It's entitled "The Main Report Delivered at the National Conference of the Communist Party of the USA," published in New York in October 1953. The report states: (QUOTE) "the struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines." Keep in mind this is the Communist publication giving instructions to the members of the Party on the following main lines: Struggle against witch-hunting, struggle against investigations of the McCarthy-McCarran type, and defense of the victims of McCarthyism, such as Owen Lattimore, etc. In addition there is the direct attack on McCarthy."

-more-

jn

SENATOR MC CARTHY: (CONT)

May I ask you, does that sound somewhat like the program of Edward R. Murrow on March 9 over this same station?

In this report the Communists do not hesitate to instruct, to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only a means to a larger end. Again let me quote from the instructions from the Communist Party to its membership, from page 33, (I quote): "Our main task is to mobilize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower Administration and for the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself. The struggle against McCarthyism contributes to this general objective."

There's one more quotation, if I may, from page 31 of these instructions from the Communist Party to its members (I quote): "Since the elections, McCarthyism has emerged as a menace of major proportions." I think maybe we know what the Communist Party means by a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions to the Communist Party.

Now let's take 30 seconds or so, if we may, to look a little further to see who is giving comfort to our enemies. Here is a Communist Daily Worker of March 9, containing 7 articles and a principal editorial, all attacking McCarthy, and the same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program as -- listen to this-- "one of tonight's best bets on TV."

-more- jn

And then just one more. Here's the issue of March 17. Its principal front-page article is an attack on McCarthy. It has 3 other articles attacking McCarthy. It is a special article by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist party in America, and now under indictment on charges of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article by Foster, praising Edward R. Murrow.

Just one more, if I may impose on your time, the issue of March 26. This issue has 2 articles attacking witch-hunting, 3 articles attacking McCarthy, a cartoon of McCarthy, and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

And now I would like to also show you the Communist political organ, entitled Political Affairs. The lead article is a report dated November 21, 1953 of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, attacking McCarthy and telling how the loyal members of the Communist Party can serve their cause by getting rid of this awful McCarthy.

Now, as you know, Owen Lattimore has been named as a conscious, articulate instrument of the Communist conspiracy. He has been so named by the Senate Internal Security Committee. He is now under criminal indictment for perjury. With respect to testimony in regard to his Communist activities, in his book "Ordeal by Slander", he says -- and I think I can quote him verbatim -- he says: "I owe a very special debt to men I have never met. I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow."

SENATOR MC CARTHY: (CONT)

Then there is the book by Harold Laski, admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England. In his book, "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Times," he dedicates the book "To my friends, E. R. Murrow and Lanham Tichener, with affection."

I am perfectly willing to let the American people decide who is giving comfort to our enemies. Much of the documentation which we have here on the table tonight will not be available to the American people by way of television. However, this will all be made available to you within the next two weeks.

In conclusion, may I say that under the shadow of the most horrible and destructive weapons that man has ever devised, we fight to save our country, our homes, our churches, our children. To this cause, ladies and gentlemen, I have dedicated and will continue to dedicate all that I have and all that I am, and I want to assure you that I will not be deterred by the attacks of the Murrows, the Lattimores, the Fosters, the Daily Worker, or the Communist Party itself.

Now, I make no claim to leadership. In complete humility, I do ask you and every American who loves this country to join with me.

MR. MURROW:

That was a film of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, presented at our invitation. It was in response to a program we presented on March 9th. This reporter undertook to make no comment at this time, but naturally reserved his right to do so subsequently. Good night and Good Luck!

jn

Good evening. Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System devoted his program to an attack on the United States Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman. Over the past 4 years he has made repeated attacks on me and those fighting Communism. And of course neither Joe McCarthy and Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties. The Senate Investigating Committee has forced out of government and out of important defence plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy. And now its interesting to note that the viciousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct ratio to our success in digging out Communists. Now ordinarily, ordinarily, I would not take time out from the important work at hand to answer Murrow; however in this case I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is a symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual communists and traitors. I am compelled by the fact to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow as far back as 20 years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, for example, the Institute of International Education of which he was the acting Director was chosen to act as a representative by Soviet Agency to do a job which would normally be done bythe Russian secret police. Mr. Murrow sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. Inasuch that American students and teachers were to attend Mr. Murrow's organization, acting as a Russian espionage and propaganda organization, none as VOKS V-O-K-S. Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. World's organizations selected such notorious communists as John Bovington who was fired by the US government after his Communist activities were concerned, others such as Bakley Johnson Isidore Bigun (sp?) David Sabadowsky (sp?) Sab .... was forcred out of the United Nations when my Chief Counsel presented his case to the Grand Jury and gave a picture of his Communist activities. Now Mr. Murrow by his own admission was a

of the IWW, that's the Industrial Workers of the World, a terrorist organisatiion cited as subversive by an Attorney General of the United States who stated that it was an organisation which seeks, and I quote, "to alter the government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Now other government committees have had before them actors, screen ~~mix~~ writers, motion picture producers and others who have admitted communist affiliations, but pleaded youth or ignorance. Now Mr. Murrow can hardly make the same statement. On March 9th of this year, Mr. Murrow, Mr. Murrow, a trained reporter who had travelled all over the world, who was the Educational Director of CBS, FOLLOwed implicitly the Communist lines as laid down in the last six months, laid down not only by the Communist Daily Worker, but by the Communist magazine ~~Daily~~ Political Affairs and by the National Conference of the Communist Party of the United States of America. Now the questions ~~in~~ What is important to you people of America to know where the Educational Director and the Vice President of CBS so closely follows the Communist Party lines ... to answer that question one must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago, a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system .. the Communists. Under their system the individual is nothing, the family is nothing, God does not even exist ... their theory was ~~the~~ that an all powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial. That everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state. They openly wrote ... nothing secret about it ... that in their efforts to gain power they would be justified in doing anything ... justified in following the trail of deciet lies, terror, murder, treason, blackmail ... all these things were elevated to virtues in the communist ~~xxxxxx~~ rulebook. If a convert to Communism could be persuaded he was a citizen of the world, it of course would be much easier to make him a traitor to his own country. Now for 70 years, the Communist

made it a practice. Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the first world war, 1917, before the Russian revolution. You will see that there is not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control of Communists, and bear in mind that this was only thrity six years ago. In 1917 we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and in defense of American liberties. The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war, the Russian people overthrew their Czarist masters and they set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. Now Kerensky's government instantly pledged all our support to the Allies. Now at this instant, the Imperial German government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven communists exiles led by Nicolia Lenin ... exiles who had been forced to flee the country. A rather important event in the history of the world. Now once in Russia, by the same methods which the Communists are employing in the United States today, they undermine the Army, theyundermine the Navy and the civilian heads of the Government. And in 100 days, those 7 communists were literally the masters of Russia. Now with all the wealth of the nations at their command, they prodeeded to finance Communist parties in every country of the world. They sent to those countries trained propagandists and spies. In every country, they, of course had to find glib, clever men like Edward R. Murrow who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrinations schools in Moscow. Exactly as Murrow has done. They trained communists in every country in the world ... their sole purpose was to infiltrate the government, and once communists were in government, they in turn brought others in. Now lets us look at the map of the world as it was 20 years ago. At that time there was one country with 180 million peopel in communist chains. Now let us look at a map of the world as it is tonight, this sixth day of April 1954. Over one third of the earth's area is under communist control and 800 million people in communists chains. In addition to the 800 million in communist chains in

Europe and Asia, finally the communists have gained a foothold and the potential military base herein our half of the world, in Guatamala, with the communists seeping down into the Honduras.

Real two:

My good friends how much of this was achieved by military force and how much was achieved by traitors and by communist lying propagandists in our own government and in other free governments. Let's start in Europe if we may, they took the military force and little piece of Finaland, in the same way they took 3 small baltic states, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They took half of Poland the same way. They acquired the restof Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in our own government who gave American dollars and American support to the Communists in Poland. They took over Romania, Bulgarian Hungary without firing a single shot. They did this by the infiltration of Communists in the key spots of the government. The communists took over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. This they did by the infiltration of Communists into the ~~EX~~ CZE...government also. And listen to what a high official in the anti communist government of Cze... had to say about the communist enslavement in CZE ... here's what he said. He said, "In my country, the pattern was identical to what it is in the United States. If anyone before the communists took over dared to attack those ~~communists~~ communists who were preparing and shaping the policy of my government ... shaping the policy to betray my people, he was promptly attacked and destroyed by a combination of Communists and fellow travelers and those unthinking people who thought they were serving the cause of liberalism and progress but who were actually serving the cause of the most reactionary credo of all times ... communism. Still quoting: "Because of those people night has fallen upon my nation and slavery upon my people." Now ~~shifting~~ shifting to another area of the world .. the East. How about this vast land area ...

and the teeming masses of China. Let's take a look at that map, if your please, keep in mind that a few short years ago China was a free nation, friendly to the United states. Now were they ... let's take a look at that map . were those 400 million Chinese captured by force of arms. Certainly not, they were delivered delivered to communist slave masters by the jackal pack of communist lying propagandists including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murow, who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese communists were agrarian reformers and that our ally, the republic of China represented everything that was evil.and wicked.

Now my good friends, if there were no communists in our government, would we have consented to and connived to turn over all of our chinese friends to the russians? And my good friends, if there hadbeen no communists in our governments would we have rewarded them with all of Manchuria, half of the Kurile islands and one half of Korea? Now how many Americans, how many Americans have died and will die because of this sell out to communist russia? God only knows. If there were no communists in our government why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the russians were feverishly pushing their development of the H bomb. And may I say to American tonight, that our nation may well die, our nation may well die because of that 18 month deliberate delay. And I ask you, who caused it. Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government? It is often said by the left wing that it is sufficient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, that communism is not a domestic american issue. But the record, my good friends is, that the damage has been done by cleverly calculated subversion at home and not from abroad. It is this problem of subversion that our committee faces. MUMBLE ... let us very quickly glance at some of the work of our committee .. some of the work thats done in slightly over a years time, for example 238 witnesses were examined in public session. 367 witnesses examined in executive session. 84 witnesses refused to testify as to communist activity on the ground tht if they told the truth they might go to jail. 24 witnesses with communist background have been discharged from jobs

in which they were handling secret, top secret and confidential material. Individuals who were exposed before our committee ... of course you can't measure the success of the community by box score based on the number of communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect in our government of the day to day plodding exposure of communists. And that is, of course, why the Murrows bleed. For example, the exposure of only one fifth amendment communist in the government printing office, the office having access to secret materail from almost every government agency, resulted in undisclosed number of suspensions ... it resulted in the removal of the loyalty board and the revamping of all the loyalty rules so that we do have apparently a good tight loyalty setup in the Printing Office at this time. Also a disclosure of communists in the military ... in the radar laboratories resulted in the abolition of the Pentagon Board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who had for years been handling government secrets. Also as a result of those hearings Army orders have been issued to prevent a recurrence of the Major Peress scandal which was exposed by the Committee. Now to attempt to evaluate the effect of the work of an investigating commitee would be about as impossible as an attempt to evaluate the affect of well trained watchdogs on the activities of potential burglars. We Americans live in a free world .. a world where we can stand as individuals ... we can go to the church of our own choice and worship God as we please, each in his own fashion ... where we can freely speak our opinions on a subject or on any man. Whether ... whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now ... we shall soon know whether we are going to go on living that kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800 millions slaves live under communist domination. The issue is simple. It is the issue of life or death for our civilization. Now Mr. Murrow said on this program, and I quote: He said the actions of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to

the enemy. " That is the language of our statute of treason ... rather strong language. If I am giving comfort to our enemies, I ought not to be in the Senate. If on the other hand, Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies, he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is a question which can be resolved with very little difficulty.

REEL 3

What does the Communists think of me and what does the Communists think Of Murrow.

April 6, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow. One of us is on the side of the Communists. The other is against the Communists. (~~Youth's Communist Library~~ against Communists slightly) Now, the Communists have 3 official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications. They ~~are~~ have been officially determined to be the transmission belts through which Communists in America are instructed as to the Party line, or the position which Communist writers and playwrights must take. Also, of course, telecasters broadcasting. The first of these is a booklet which I would like to show you, if I may. It's entitled "The Main Report Delivered At The National Conference of the Communist Party of the U.S.A." published in New York in October, 1953. The report states quote the struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines. Keep in mind this is the Communist publication giving instructions to the members of the Party on the following main lines - struggle against witch-hunting; struggle against investigations of the McCarthy-McCarran type, and defense of the victims of McCarthyism such as Owen Lattimore, etcetera. In addition, there is the direct attack on McCarthy. May I ask you, does that sound somewhat like the program of Edward R. Murrow on March nine over this same station? Now, in this report, the Communists do not hesitate to

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

instruct to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only a means to a large (larger) end. Again, let me quote from the instructions from the Communist Party to its membership from page 33. I quote: Our main task is to mobolize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower administration and for the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself. The struggle against McCarthyism contributes to this general objective. There is one more quotation, if I may, from page 31 of these instructions from the Communist Party to its members. I quote: Since the elections McCarthyism has emerged as a menace of major proportions. I think maybe we know what the Communist Party means by a menace of major proportions. They mean a menace of major proportions to the Communist Party. Now, let's take 30 seconds or so if we may look a little further - see who is giving comfort to our enemies. Here is a Communist Daily Worker of March nine containing 7 articles and a principal editorial all attacking McCarthy and the same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program as -- listen to this - one of tonight's best bets on T.V. And then there is one more. Here is issue of March 17. This principal front page article's attack on McCarthy... There's 3 other articles attacking McCarthy - there's is a special article by William Z. Foster, the head of the Communist Party in America and now under indictment on charges of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article by Foster praising Edward R. Murrow. Just one more, if I may impose on your time. Issue of March 26. This issue has two articles attacking witch-hunting -- 3 articles attacking McCarthy. A cartoon of McCarthy and The in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow. And now I would like to also show you a Communist political

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In conclusion, may I say that under the shadow of the most horrible and destructive weapons that man has ever devised, we fight to save our country, our homes, our churches, and our children. To this cause, ladies and gentlemen, I am dedicated and will continue to dedicate all that I have and all that I am. And I want to assure you that I will not be deterred by the attacks of the Murrows, the Lattimores;

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

the Fosters, the Daily Worker, or the Communist Party itself. Now, I make no claim to leadership. In complete humility I do ask you and every American who loves this country to join with me.

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For Release May 15, 1954

The Columbia Broadcasting System today reimbursed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for expenses incurred by him in connection with the preparation of his filmed television appearance on SEE IT NOW April 6, 1954. This appearance was in response to Edward R. Murrow's invitation on SEE IT NOW March 9, 1954 to Senator McCarthy to reply to Mr. Murrow's report on Senator McCarthy. Senator McCarthy's request for payment was received by CBS on May 10, 1954. In reimbursing Senator McCarthy, the Columbia Broadcasting System issued the following statement:

Pursuant to its long-established policy of fairness and balance in the treatment of controversial issues, the CBS Radio and Television networks provide facilities and technical assistance reasonably needed by those who are invited by CBS to reply to positions taken in programs produced and controlled by CBS.

If the original CBS broadcast to which reply is made involved a speech or statements by a spokesman not connected with CBS, the CBS policy is to limit the reply to the same type of broadcast as the original, using the same general method of presentation and the production facilities of CBS. An example of this type of broadcast is MAN OF THE WEEK, a program series produced and controlled by CBS in which a panel of news experts interviews an outstanding person from the field of public affairs.

Where, however, as in the SEE IT NOW program, the original broadcast was by a member of the staff of CBS, a person who is invited to reply is afforded his choice of method of presentation and of using either the pro-

duction facilities of CBS or outside facilities. If, as occurred in the present case, film prepared through outside facilities is chosen, CBS believes that its policy of fairness and balance compels it to reimburse the individual for reasonable and necessary costs. Normally CBS would insist that where outside facilities, and hence financial reimbursement by CBS, are involved, there must be prior discussion with CBS in order that there be advance agreement concerning the type of presentation for reply and the costs involved. In the case of Senator McCarthy, there was no such prior discussion or agreement and CBS was not informed until shortly before his broadcast that Senator McCarthy intended to film his broadcast through outside facilities. However, since the policy of prior agreement in these circumstances had not yet been enunciated by CBS, CBS believes it would not be proper to refuse to reimburse Senator McCarthy on this ground.

Special time is frequently provided by CBS to outside individuals or organizations for the purpose of furthering a point of view in a controversial area. These cases are distinct from programs produced and controlled by CBS. In these special broadcasts, CBS will supply such camera and production facilities as may be reasonably necessary for a live broadcast. Any props or other visual materials, or any film which may be used during the broadcast, must be paid for by those using the special time period. The same conditions will apply to those who are invited to answer such special broadcasts.

CBS believes these applications of its policy of fairness and balance are in keeping with the American tradition of fair play.

March 26, 1954

Dear Mr. Foster:

We appreciate your suggestion, in your letter of March 25, that the March 9 "See It Now" program be repeated, under sponsorship of the Block Drug Company, 10-10:30 on April 6 immediately preceding Senator McCarthy's reply to the March 9 program.

While the idea appears to us at first glance to be attractive, as well as flattering, we have reluctantly concluded that such a network repeat would create a number of important problems. The disadvantages of your proposal, therefore, seem on the whole to outweigh the advantages.

We are very grateful for your offer, but in the circumstances we believe it best that we decline it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Archibald McG. Foster
Cecil & Presbrey Inc.
247 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Copy to Friendly

ERM

Accept Regret
Appropriate action
Background?
FYI File JSM
Note & return
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to PS
URGENT f/u

Draft of letter for signature
by Messrs. Murrow and Friendly
to

March 26, 1954

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Cecil & Presbrey Inc.
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New York 17, N. Y.

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Sincerely yours,

TO DR. STANTON

FROM Mr. Murrow

March 25

I think this should be dealt with promptly.

ERM

Accept Regret
Appropriate action
Background?
FYI File JSM
Note & return
Phone FS
Reply direct
Return to sender
Status?
Suggest reply
To discuss
Comment or recommendation
Copy to FS
URGENT f/u

CECIL & PRESBREY INC.

Advertising

247 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 8-1234

March 25, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Mr. Fred W. Friendly
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly:

We know that Senator McCarthy is scheduled to occupy "See It Now's" time on the CBS-TV network from 10:30 to 11:00 p.m. on Tuesday, April 6th. We understand that this time is being made available to Senator McCarthy specifically to reply to Mr. Murrow's show of March 9th.

Since four weeks will have elapsed between the time of the original telecast and Senator McCarthy's reply to it on April 6th, and since a great many of the viewing public did not see the show of March 9th, the sponsor of the preceding half hour on Tuesday night on CBS-TV believes that an important public service could be rendered by repeating the show of March 9th on April 6th, just preceding Senator McCarthy's reply to it.

The Block Drug Company has authorized me, as their advertising agent, to offer you the time between 10:00 and 10:30 on the CBS-TV network on Tuesday night, April 6th. This is the time in which the Block Drug Company now sponsors "Danger" on behalf of Amm-i-dent Toothpaste.

This offer, of course, depends on the solution of many problems concerning details on costs, commercials, etc. Once we are in agreement that you and the Columbia Broadcasting System believe that this re-programming of the March 9th "See It Now" show into "Danger's" time on April 6th is feasible, I am confident that we can then quickly resolve the details.

We will have to meet very quickly together to discuss this matter and finalize it, if it appears to you that there is likelihood of its becoming a reality.

Sincerely yours,

Archibald McG. Foster

Archibald McG. Foster
bg

COPY

CECIL AND PRESBREY INC.

ADVERTISING

March 25, 1954

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Mr. Fred W. Friendly
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The Block Drug Company has authorized me, as their advertising agent, to offer you the time between 10:00 and 10:30 on the CBS-TV network on Tuesday night, April 6th. This is the time in which the Block Drug Company now sponsors "Danger" on behalf of Amm-i-dent Toothpaste.

This offer, of course, depends on the solution of many problems concerning details on costs, commercials, etc. Once we are in agreement that you and the Columbia Broadcasting System believe that this re-programming of the March 9th "See It Now" show into "Danger's" time on April 6th is feasible, I am confident that we can then quickly resolve the details.

We will have to meet very quickly together to discuss this matter and finalize it, if it appears to you that there is likelihood of its becoming a reality.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Archibald McG. Foster

WSP

DRAFT

I had no doubt that my offer to you of time to reply to my broadcast on SEE IT NOW March 9, which I made at the outset of that program, was well known to you.

In answer to your request, and in accordance with my offer and CBS policies, we will make time available to you on the same program this coming Tuesday, March 16.

You may use all or any part of the thirty minutes occupied by SEE IT NOW, less the time customarily used by me in introducing and closing the program and the time allotted to commercial messages.

You may make your appearance before the cameras in either Washington or New York.

I will make no comment on your statement in the time used by me during the broadcast.

Mr. , (address - phone), is available to meet with you or your appointed representative at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of making the customary arrangements.

Questions: Should the final paragraph have some reference to FCC requirements:

Should we give a deadline for the acceptance of this invitation or the final working out of the arrangements?

To Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Word has reached us through the public print that you propose to have ~~Bill~~ William F. Jr. Buckley respond to our television report of last week. Permit me to remind you of the language used in the original public invitation: "If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures, desires to speak, or answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program." This was a personal invitation. If you are unable or unwilling to appear on the program on March 16th you are hereby invited to appear the following week March 23rd

E.R. Murrow

To Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Word has reached us through the public print that you propose to have Bill Buckley respond to our television report of last week. Permit me to remind you of the language used in the original public invitation: "If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures, desires to speak, or answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program." This was a personal invitation. If you are unable or unwilling to appear on the program on March 16th you are hereby invited to appear the following week March 23rd

E.R. Murrow

Insert: You are of course aware that you may appear either in person or on film, whichever is the more convenient.

MARCH 22, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
U.S.SENATE
WASHINGTON,D.C.

I AM DISPATCHING ALL RADIO AND TELEVISON SCRIPTS SINCE MARCH NINE ACCORDING TO YOUR REQUEST.

E.R.MURROW

1-43-7

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 22 PM 4:53
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 031 GOVT PD

SN WASHINGTON DC MAR 22 355PME

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

WOULD APPRECIATE GETTING COPY OF ANY RADIO OR TV PROGRAM MADE BY YOU SUBSEQUENT TO MARCH 9 IN WHICH YOU DISCUSS ME OR MY WORK. FILM AND RECORDING NOT NECESSARY. TYPE WRITTEN TRANSCRIPT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IF THERE IS ANY COST INVOLVED WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE CARE OF IT

JOE MCCARTHY USS

441P

9...

C O P Y

MARCH 15, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR SUGGESTION OF APRIL SIXTH AS THE TIME FOR YOUR REPLY TO MY RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM IS ACCEPTABLE. TRANSCRIPT AND KINESCOPE OF LAST TUESDAY'S PROGRAM BEING MAILED TO YOU. REGARDING YOUR STATEMENT THAT I HAVE QUOTE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE UNQUOTE I DENY IT UTTERLY. THE RECORD WHEN IT IS FINISHED WILL SHOW WHO HAS SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE YOU OR I.

EDWARD R. MURROW

C O P Y

MARCH 15, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR SUGGESTION OF APRIL SIXTH AS THE TIME FOR YOUR REPLY TO MY RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM IS ACCEPTABLE. TRANSCRIPT AND KINESCOPE OF LAST TUESDAY'S PROGRAM BEING MAILED TO YOU. REGARDING YOUR STATEMENT THAT I HAVE QUOTE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE UNQUOTE I DENY IT UTTERLY. THE RECORD WHEN IT IS FINISHED WILL SHOW WHO HAS SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE YOU OR I.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Research reference only

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fastrate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

(48)

1954 MAR 15 PM 1 49

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA095 GOVT PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 15 1249PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

AS YOU KNOW IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE OF MARCH 13TH OFFERING TO MAKE AVAILABLE ONE HALF HOURS TIME TO REPLY TO YOUR ATTACKS ON ME I DESIGNATED MR WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AUTHOR OF "GOD AND MAN AT YALE" AND CO-AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK, "MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES," TO PRESENT A DOCUMENTED ANSWER TO YOU. MR BUCKLEY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION. I TODAY RECEIVED YOUR WIRE DATED MARCH 14TH TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TIME WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF I SELECT SOMEONE TO ANSWER BUT THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE IF I PERSONALLY ANSWER YOU. NORMALLY I WOULD NOT WASTE THE TIME TO MERELY PROVE THAT A RADIO AND TV COMMENTATOR WHO ATTACKS ME IS LYING. HOWEVER, IF I AM CORRECT IN MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE THEN IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOUR LISTENERS TO HAVE THE CLEAR CUT DOCUMENTED FACTS SO THEY CAN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE AS TRUTHFUL AS YOU ATTEMPT TO MAKE OUT OR DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTING THE FACTS. THEREFORE I SHALL ACCEPT YOUR OFFER OF TIME. IF POSSIBLE I WOULD PREFER THE TIME TWO WEEKS LATER THAN MARCH 23RD, NAMELY APRIL 6TH.

¶ THE REASON FOR THE REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IS THREE FOLD. NO 1: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT YOUR SPONSORSHIP OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS CO-SPONSORED BY VOKS WHICH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Research reference only

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate telegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA095/2=

WAS A RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DATES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PUT TOGETHER ALL THE PERTINENT FACTS IN YOUR RECORD. NO 2: I SHALL BE OUT OF TOWN FROM WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK THROUGH SUNDAY, DURING WHICH TIME AMONG OTHER THINGS I SHALL ANSWER FROM MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN THE ATTACKS MADE UPON BE BY ADLAI STEVENSON. NO 3: I HAVE BEEN SPENDING EVERY AVAILABLE MINUTE OF PREPARING A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE AGRICULTURE PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS BEING CREATED FOR OUR DAIRY FARMERS. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THIS WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY BEFORE MARCH 23RD AND DISLIKE TAKING TIME OFF FROM THAT IMPORTANT TASK TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS. HOWEVER, IF MARCH 23RD IS THE ONLY DATE BEING OFFERED THAT DATE WILL BE ACCEPTED.

¶ IN VIEW OF THE FACT I DID NOT HEAR YOUR BROADCAST I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A TRANSCRIPT THEREOF AS WELL AS A TRANSCRIPT OF ANY OTHER ATTACKS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE UPON ME OR UPON THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN=

JOE MCCARTHY USS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Research reference only

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

May 17, 1954

CBS REIMBURSES SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY FOR EXPENSES INCURRED IN PREPARATION OF FILMED REPLY TO MURROW'S REPORT

The Columbia Broadcasting System Saturday, May 15, reimbursed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for expenses incurred by him in connection with the preparation of his filmed television appearance on "See It Now" April 6, 1954. This appearance was in response to Edward R. Murrow's invitation on "See It Now" March 9, 1954, to Senator McCarthy to reply to Mr. Murrow's report on Senator McCarthy. Senator McCarthy's request for payment was received by CBS on May 10, 1954. In reimbursing Senator McCarthy, the Columbia Broadcasting System issued the following statement:

Pursuant to its long-established policy of fairness and balance in the treatment of controversial issues, the CBS Radio and Television networks provide facilities and technical assistance reasonably needed by those who are invited by CBS to reply to positions taken in programs produced and controlled by CBS.

If the original CBS broadcast to which reply is made involved a speech or statements by a spokesman not connected with CBS, the CBS policy is to limit the reply to the same type of broadcast as the original, using the same general method of presentation and the production facilities of CBS. An example of this type of broadcast is "Man of the Week," a program series produced and controlled by CBS in which a panel of news experts interviews an outstanding person from the field of public affairs.

(More)

Research reference only

Where, however, as in the "See It Now" program, the original broadcast was by a member of the staff of CBS, a person who is invited to reply is afforded his choice of method of presentation and of using either the production facilities of CBS or outside facilities. If, as occurred in the present case, film prepared through outside facilities is chosen, CBS believes that its policy of fairness and balance compels it to reimburse the individual for reasonable and necessary costs. Normally CBS would insist that where outside facilities, and hence financial reimbursement by CBS, are involved, there must be prior discussion with CBS in order that there be advance agreement concerning the type of presentation for reply and the costs involved. In the case of Senator McCarthy, there was no such prior discussion or agreement and CBS was not informed until shortly before his broadcast that Senator McCarthy intended to film his broadcast through outside facilities. However, since the policy of prior agreement in these circumstances had not yet been enunciated by CBS, CBS believes it would not be proper to refuse to reimburse Senator McCarthy on this ground.

Special time is frequently provided by CBS to outside individuals or organizations for the purpose of futhering a point of view in a controversial area. These cases are distinct from programs produced and controlled by CBS. In these special broadcasts, CBS will supply such camera and production facilities as may be reasonably necessary for a live broadcast. Any props or other visual materials, or any film which may be used during the broadcast, must be paid for by those using the special time period. The same conditions will apply to those who are invited to answer such special broadcasts.

CBS believes these applications of its policy of fairness and balance are in keeping with the American tradition of fair play.

* * *

Research reference only

A139

(220)

FIRST LEAD MCCARTHY-ALCOA

NEW YORK, APRIL 23 (AP)-SEN.JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY (R-WIS) SAID TODAY HE'LL HAND THE ALUMINUM CO. OF AMERICA THE BILL FOR HIS FILMED TELEVISION REBUTTAL TO CBS COMMENTATOR EDWARD R. MURROW.

ALCOA SPONSORS MURROW'S PROGRAM.

"I'LL SUBMIT THE BILL TO ALCOA," MCCARTHY SAID IN WASHINGTON. "THEY PAID MORE FOR MURROW'S ATTACK ON ME THAN THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO, AND THEY SHOULD PAY IT."

COST OF THE 25-MINUTE FILM HAS BEEN ESTIMATED AT $6,000 TO $7,500.

MCCARTHY SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW MUCH THE BILL WAS BUT SAID HE WILL SEE THAT THE FOX FILM STUDIO GETS ITS MONEY.

"I'M RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BILL IN THE FIRST INSTANCE," THE SENATOR SAID, BUT ADDED HE BELIEVED IT ONLY FAIR THAT ALCOA DEFRAY THE COST.

"WHETHER I WOULD SUE THEM OR NOT, I DON'T KNOW, BECAUSE OF THE COST AND TIME A SUIT WOULD REQUIRE," MCCARTHY ADDED.

MURROW HAD CRITICIZED THE SENATOR'S METHODS ON HIS CBS-TV PROGRAM, "SEE IT NOW." HE INVITED THE SENATOR TO MAKE A REPLY, AND MCCARTHY DID SO IN A FILM MADE AT FOX MOVIETONE STUDIOS HERE.

SUBSEQUENTLY THERE AROSE THE QUESTION OF WHO WOULD PAY FOR THE FILM.

ALCOA SAID CBS RECEIVED A FIXED FEE FOR THE PROGRAM EACH WEEK AND PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WERE UP TO IT. CBS SAID, IN TURN, IT HAD NOT BEEN ASKED TO PAY, AND MURROW ASSERTED HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT FOOT THE BILL.

YESTERDAY A FOX FILM SPOKESMAN SAID THE BILL HAD BEEN SENT TO MCCARTHY AT THE REQUEST OF ROY COHN, CHIEF COUNSEL TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE HEADED BY MCCARTHY.

(NO PICKUP)

SF1147AES

Research reference only

3rd draft Final

APRIL 2, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MC CARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON DC

MR. PALEY HAS REFERRED TO ME YOUR WIRE REQUESTING INFORMATION REGARDING THE EXACT TIMING OF NEXT TUESDAY NIGHT'S TELEVISION PROGRAM STOP THE NORMAL OVERALL TIME OF THE PROGRAM IS TWENTY NINE MINUTES TWENTY SECONDS STOP YOU WILL HAVE THE SAME TIME AS USED BY MURROW STOP THE OPENING IDENTIFICATION WILL BE TWENTY SECONDS. THIS TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE OPENING ALCOA COMMERCIAL OF TWO MINUTES FORTY SEVEN SECONDS NEXT MURROW'S INTRODUCTION OF YOU WHICH WILL BE ONE MINUTE FIFTEEN SECONDS AND WILL CONSIST OF A RECAPITULATION OF MURROW'S PUBLIC OFFER OF TIME TO YOU AND A SUMMARY OF TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED BETWEEN YOU AND MURROW STOP MURROW'S CLOSING ANNOUNCEMENT WILL RUN FIFTEEN SECONDS STOP THIS MEANS YOUR TOTAL TIME WILL BE TWENTY FIVE MINUTES WHICH WILL BE PRESENTED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION STOP IN ORDER THAT WE MAY MAKE NECESSARY TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE ORIGINATING FROM NEW YORK OR WASHINGTON.

SIG MICKELSON

From F.F. Research reference only -

April 1, 1954

Since I have been offered the opportunity to reply to attack made on me by Edward R. Murrow under your sponsorship and since I understand the cost of the preparation and production of his attack was financed by you I wonder whether in the interests of having my reply on an equal basis you intend making similar arrangements for the preparation and production costs of my answer to this attack. Please advise me.

Joe McCarthy, USS

Research reference only

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 31 PM 7:37
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

Accept
Appropriate action
Background
FYI File
Note & return
Phone WSF
Reply direct
Return to sender
Suggest reply
Urgent

Cairo
Tues
22/24

25:00

WU 046 GOVT PD

SN WASHINGTON DC MAR 31 543PME

WM S PALEY PRESIDENT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

WITH REFERENCE TO MY ANSWER TO EDWARD R MURROW ON
APRIL 6 I WOULD LIKE CLARIFICATION OF WHETHER
I AM BEING GIVEN EXACT SAME AMOUNT OF TIME AS MR
MURROW HAD ON MARCH 9. I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE
USUAL TIME FOR COMMERCIALS. PLEASE ADVISE ME OF
EXACT NUMBER OF MINUTES COMMERCIAL WIL
TAKE AND THE NUMBER OF MINUTES I WILL HAVE FOR THE ANSWER
JOE MCCARTHY USS.

723P..

COPY

Research reference only

March 22, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

WOULD APPRECIATE GETTING COPY OF ANY RADIO OR TV PROGRAM MADE BY YOU SUBSEQUENT TO MARCH 9 IN WHICH YOU DISCUSS ME OR MY WORK. FILM AND RECORDING NOT NECESSARY. TYPEWRITTEN TRANSCRIPT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. IF THERE IS ANY COST INVOLVED WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE CARE OF IT.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

- - - - - -

March 22, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
U.S.SENATE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I AM DISPATCHING ALL RADIO AND TELEVISION SCRIPTS SINCE MARCH NINE ACCORDING TO YOUR REQUEST.

E.R.MURROW

Research reference only

MARCH 15, 1954

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.

YOUR SUGGESTION OF APRIL SIXTH AS THE TIME FOR YOUR REPLY TO MY RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM IS ACCEPTABLE. TRANSCRIPT AND KINESCOPE OF LAST TUESDAY'S PROGRAM BEING MAILED TO YOU. REGARDING YOUR STATEMENT THAT I HAVE QUOTE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE UNQUOTE I DENY IT UTTERLY. THE RECORD WHEN IT IS FINISHED WILL SHOW WHO HAS SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE YOU OR I.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Research reference only -

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.

Private Wire

PLEASE READ INSTRUCTIONS BELOW BEFORE SENDING YOUR MESSAGE.

Before sending this message please be sure a letter by REGULAR OR AIR MAIL would not suffice. Then be brief and indicate the account number to which the message is to be charged. A letter via REGULAR MAIL addressed to points in Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York; the New England states, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., Montreal and Toronto, via AIR MAIL to points in other states, will normally reach the addressee within a minimum of 12 hours and a maximum of 48 hours after it has been mailed from New York City.

Messages for WBBM and KNX are normally sent within an hour after receipt in the Communications Room on Mondays through Fridays; messages to other stations are normally transmitted so as to reach the addressee not later than NOON LOCAL TIME on the first business day following their receipt in the Communications Room, providing the teletype equipment at the receiving point is attended. Mark your message "Today" ONLY if faster service to these other stations is vital.

DATE March 14, 1954 19

CHARGE TO ACCOUNT NO. | | | |
Div. Dept.

STRAIGHT WIRE

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY
SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I UNDERSTAND FROM PRESS AND BROADCASTING REPORTS THAT YOU ARE UNABLE TO APPEAR ON SEE IT NOW THIS COMING TUESDAY NIGHT. IF THIS IS CORRECT, TIME WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO YOU ON THE SAME PROGRAM THE FOLLOWING TUESDAY, MARCH 23, UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS AS OUTLINED TO YOU IN MY PREVIOUS TELEGRAM. THE INVITATION TO APPEAR, I MUST POINT OUT, IS TO YOU PERSONALLY AND IS NOT SUBJECT TO TRANSFER TO ANYONE ELSE. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL XXXXXXXXXX APPEAR ON THE PROGRAM EITHER THIS COMING TUESDAY, MARCH 16, OR TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

EDWARD R. MURROW

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F-559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Paley

Station

April 13, 1954

Attached is some language which you had written for your press reply to Senator McCarthy, but the beginning of which was not used. I am sending it along on the chance you may have misplaced your copy and also because I thought it might help you in your writing chore this afternoon.

ED

Statement by Edward R. Murrow on Senator McCarthy's attack on him on "See It Now" April 6, 1954.

Senator McCarthy appears to be hurting and running. His performance tonight was typical; he made no answer to a documented report which consisted mainly of his own voice and pictures in context. He proved again that anyone who exposes him, anyone who does not share his hysterical disregard for decency and human dignity and the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, must be a Communist or at best a fellow traveller. I fully expected this treatment. The Senator couldn't even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director and Vice-President of the Columbia Broadcasting System, positions I have not held since 1937 and 1947, respectively. If his massive research, for which he requested a month's delay in his appearance, could not get those facts straight, it is reasonable to assume that he is in error in other areas.

The Senator has made me a member of a rather distinguished company; he has attacked in similar vein, "The

Streamers for letters

Milwaukee Journal", "The Washington Post", "Time" magazine, "Commonweal", the Alsop brothers, General of the Army George C. Marshall, and former Senator William Benton.

The Senator ran from his law suit against Mr. Benton, presumably because he cannot afford to testify under oath. He ran from his statement that if the existing law did not compel the radio and television networks to do what he wanted them to do, he would have the law changed.

I require no lectures from the Junior Senator from Wisconsin upon the evils of Communism. Having watched the aggressive forces at work in western Europe; having had friends in eastern Europe butchered and driven into exile; having broadcast from London in 1943 that the Russians were responsible for the Katyn Massacre; having told the story of the Russian refusal to allow allied aircraft to land on Russian fields after dropping supplies to those who rose in Warsaw and were betrayed by the Russians, and having been

denounced by the Russian radio for these reports, I cannot feel that I require instructions from the Senator in the evils of Communism.

We fear the aggressive forces of world Communism, and rightly so. But in this climate we might well remember something that Mr. Churchill once said: "If we spend too much time debating the past we might lose the future". And even more appropriate is this quotation of Adolph Hitler: "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it". We in this country are not going to imitate the totalitarian state of either the right or the left.

A

Having searched my conscience and my files, I can find no evidence that I have betrayed the oath I once took to this country. Most of my adult life has been spent either in education or in broadcasting. Most of what I have said is a matter of record. I have not always been right, not always

wise, but I believe that record will bear scrutiny, ~~and I would welcome the opportunity to have it examined under oath.~~

A

Here are certain specific comments on points raised by Senator McCarthy tonight

I am offering no new charge against Sen McCarthy at this time. I do not [illegible] this proceeding to

The Senator makes ~~four specific charges against me of Communist association. To quote a famous American, let's look at the record.~~

1. One charge is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. Iwas never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. ~~I never paid dues.~~ The facts are these. In summers during college and during one year before college in the mid twenties, I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest. The remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among lumber workers of that area. I worked with ~~such men, worked with~~ them in lumbering and I have so stated in years past. ~~I was also sympathetic with their efforts to increase wages and improve working conditions, theirs and mine.~~ But never was I a member or supporter of their organization nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. Another charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The title of the book is "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time" published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book, ~~like many positions he took in arguments we had~~, with which I ~~cannot~~ do not agree. ~~Laski was later Chairman of the British Labor Party, one of the principal architects of its victory in 1945.~~ He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a pre-condition for friendship or conversation. Senator McCarthy's implication that Laski's book was dedicated to me as a supporter of his views is refuted by Laski's introduction, ~~written on November 27, 1942,~~ written in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis, in which he said: to his book.

". . . our country owes an immense debt to Mr. E. R. Murrow. Day and night since before the war began he has done everything that courage and integrity can do to make events in this country a living reality to his fellow citizens of the United States. I am only one of the many Englishmen who have found in his faith and trust in our people a new power to endure and hope."

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3. Another accusation against me is that Owen Lattimore mentions me in his book, Ordeal by Slander, published in 1950. At page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose "reporting and editorial work . . . were clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty", Lattimore goes on to express appreciation to reporters whom he had never met before the hearings and to reporters whom, like me, he has

my 6

never met. There were no complaints about my treatment of the Lattimore case by those who were interrogating him. Everything that I said on that case, is a matter of record and can be examined by anyone interested. Within the limits of human fallibility I have attempted when reporting controversies of substance involving an individual to present both sides of the case and not to presume guilt until it has been proven. I shall continue to do that in subsequent controversies and that specifically includes the case of Senator McCarthy.

4. Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me is an attack on the Institute of International Education, of which I was assistant director and am now a trustee. He says that it was "chosen" by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, "to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police" in connection with the selection of American students and teachers to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934. That is false.

The facts are these: The Institute of International Education is an institution which was founded in 1919, its purpose was to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. I have been one of its trustees since 1931 and served as Assistant Director from 1932 to 1935. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates--Ralph J. Bunche, John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Virginia Gildersleeve, Thomas W. Lamont, to name just a few.

In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in Moscow for English and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the summer session in 1934, as it did for summer schools in other countries, including England, France and Germany. I, as a representative of the Institute of International Education was

one of the 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the American group. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The American group was open to all academically qualified students who applied for registration and included students from 60 American universities and colleges. The only contact which VOKS had with the American group was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, so much contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charges that we were engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute of International Education. It refused to permit students to attend the 1935 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute

tried--at the request of the United States Government--to arrange for American students to go to Russia after World War II, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction", and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . . one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski." I was favored, in that same attack with the tag "reactionary radio commentator".

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors, between the U.S. and over 50 foreign countries.

In 1948, President Eisenhower ~~has~~ said of its work:

"In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I believed ~~eighteen~~ twenty years ago, and I believe today that mature American students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, in the clash of ideas with communists anywhere ~~under peacetime conditions~~, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the communist cause, dogma and doctrine are stronger than our own.

5. Senator McCarthy made considerable play with the Daily Worker's attacks upon him, and their commendation of certain of my television programs. Here again is the effort to prove that anyone who exposes McCarthy must be a communist. I neither edit nor read the Daily Worker. That organ's

opinion of me or of Senator McCarthy holds no fascination for me. But how does the Senator explain the fact that most of the responsible press of the free world opposes his method and behavior. To be consistent the Senator must contend that all those great organs of opinion are either communist-controlled or the dupes of communists. He can't have it both ways.

ROSENMAN GOLDMARK COLIN & KAYE

575 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
GODFREY GOLDMARK
RALPH F. COLIN
SYDNEY M. KAYE
WALTER J. PETSCHEK
MAX FREUND
AMBROSE DOSKOW
SEYMOUR D. LEWIS

MURRAY HILL 8-7800

By Hand

April 9, 1954

Mr. William S. Paley
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Bill:

I hope that in view of recent events, it will be decided that Ed should make no mention of McCarthy on his Tuesday broadcast.

However, it seems to me that if anything is said, it might be wise to rest heavily upon an estimate of Senator McCarthy's reply, as made by some one not a party to the controversy. The New York Herald Tribune editorial seems ideal for that purpose, particularly since it is the opinion of a consistently Republican newspaper.

Proceeding on that basis, I drafted the enclosed material.

I repeat that I hope that the whole subject is dropped, but if not, the enclosed might be useful.

Sincerely,

RFC:FFF
Encl.

Personal and
Confidential

RFC:FFF
4/9/54(4)

D R A F T

Last Tuesday, Joseph R. McCarthy, the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, appeared on this program at my invitation. He was invited to reply to statements I had made, also on this program, five weeks ago. The Senator offered no semblance of replies to my statements. In fact, he did not even mention them. By failing to do so, he abused the invitation he had accepted.

What the Senator did, instead of replying, was described in language impossible to improve on in an editorial on April 8th in the New York Herald Tribune, a consistently Republican newspaper. The editorial, entitled "A Poison In Our Affairs," read as follows:

"Quote editorial in full."

Unlike the Senator, I will reply, briefly yet directly, to the more important of his accusations and other misstatements.

1. I have never been engaged in propaganda for Communist causes nor have I ever been affiliated with an institution so engaged.

2. I have never been a member of the I.W.W. - "by my own admission" as Senator McCarthy stated, or otherwise.

3. I have never followed the Communist party-line. Senator McCarthy's reference to the Daily Worker in which

appeared Mr. William Z. Foster's alleged priase of me read as follows - and incidentally it was not quoted by the Senator:

> "During the past ten days Senator McCarthy has received a number of resounding belts in the jaw. These came from Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, the broadcast companies. Even Eisenhower had to give McCarthy a slap on the wrist."

This was the sole reference to me in the Foster article referred to by Senator McCarthy. If that reference proves I am a Communist, it proves the same about President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, Republican Senator Flanders from Vermont, the Army leadership and the broadcasters. I am proud to be in their company rather than Senator McCarthy's.

4. A test of the accuracy of Senator McCarthy's statements can be found in his repeated reference to me, in the course of his reply, as Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System. After four weeks of massive research on me, the Senator could not even get straight my present relationship with CBS. I have not held that post for seventeen years.

This is all the time that the Senator's appearance is worth. I feel that I can and should do better with this program than spend more time on him and accordingly, I will proceed with the material on a more interesting subject.

Merridith, W. K.

MILLS AT
HOQUIAM, WASH.
PORT ANGELES, WASH.
SHELTON, WASH.
FERNANDINA, FLA.

RAYONIER
INCORPORATED

SAPPHO CAMP
SAPPHO, WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
122 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 9, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is a copy of the collect wire which I sent today. I am embarassed to take advantage of the "collect" priviledge but when I saw it was so many words I swallowed the pride.

I feel, like you, that here in America we have to fight for the right methods if we want our type of democracy to be exportable to the rest of the world.

It was a thrill to talk to you on the phone and Marcia, our 15 year old, said she was never so excited as when she took the first call!

Our best,

Ken

W. K. Merridith

WKM/em

Murrow's Statement April 6, 1954

Edward R. Murrow worked under my personal supervision for about 4 years in the woods of the State of Washington. This was on the logging engineering party for Bloedel Donovan Lumber Mills who were railroad logging vast timber areas of the Olympic Peninsula. To do this required the engineering to be a long ways ahead of the roads and railways. This work was all in virgin timber and did not even have access trails. Consequently, rivers had to be forded and long hard days in the brush were a steady diet and not the exception.

Work of this nature strips a man of shams and one can readily see what a fellow is really made of. I was soon to learn that this young axeman had "what it takes" and that I could depend on him. He was good natured, strong and full of work or play. He was out spoken and had initative and was not afraid of tough assignments.

The spirit of the woods in those days was one of accomplishment. The crews worked as teams in competition with their fellows in order to boast of surpassing them. Ed was an exponent of this attitude and was soon promoted to compassman. This required him to carry a true section line for a distance of a mile with only the aid of a sight compass and his ability to pace over mountainous country through virgin forest.

I can definitely say that at no time did he ever express any interest, affiliation, sympathy or leaning toward the Industrial Workers of the World. His interest was to make a little money to attend college. Which he did.

Through these years of association we became closely acquainted with Ed's father and mother. They were of the highest type. His father was a sound reliable locomotive engineer and his mother was and is one of the finest women morally and spiritually that we have ever known. Murrow has stated that she only weights 98 pounds soaking wet but if he ever had had a subversive thought she would have shaken it out of him in a hurry.

To qualify as a character witness I would say that I was Chief Engineer for Bloedel Donovan for 19 years and currently am Chief Engineer for a large logging operation for a national pulp company on the Olympic Peninsula who produce chemical cellulose for the world market.

W. K. Merridith

W. K. Merridith

Sappho Washington
April 9 1954

?

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

1954 APR 10 PM 7

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NB016 LONG 403 COLLECT FR=TDPT FORKS WASH 9 147PMP

=EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

EDWARD R MURROW WORKED UNDER MY PERSONAL SUPERVISION FOR ABOUT FOUR YEARS IN THE WOODS OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON THIS WAS ON THE LOGGING AND ENGINEERING PARTY FOR BLOEDEL DONOVAN LUMBER MILLS WHO WERE RAILROAD LOGGING LAST TIMBER AREA'S OF THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA. TO DO THIS REQUIRED THE ENGINEERING TO BE A LONG WAYS AHEAD OF THE ROADS AND RAILWAYS THIS WORK WAS ALL IN VIRGIN TIMBER AND DID NOT EVEN HAVE ACESS TRAILS. CONSEQUENTLY RIVERS HAD TO BE FORDED AND LONG HARD DAYS IN THE BRUSH WERE A STEADY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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DIET AND NOT THE EXCEPTION. WORK OF THIS NATURE STRIPS A MAN OF SHAMS AND ONE CAN READILY SEE WHAT A FELLOW IS REALLY MADE OF. I WAS SOON TO LEARN THAT THIS YOUNG AXEMAN HAD WHAT IT TAKES AND THAT I COULD DEPEND ON HIM. HE WAS GOOD NATURED STRONG AND FULL OF WORK OR PLAY. HE WAS OUT SPOKEN HAD INITIATIVE AND WAS NOT AFRAID OF TOUGH ASSIGNMENTS. THE SPIRIT OF THE WOODS IN THOSE DAYS WAS ONE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT. THE CREWS WORKED AS TEAMS IN COMPETITION WITH THEIR FELLOWS IN ORDER TO BOOST OF SURPASSING THEM. ED WAS AN EXPONENT OF THIS ATTITUDE AND WAS SOON PROMOTED TO COMPASS MAN. THIS REQUIRED HIM TO CARRY A TRUE SECTION LINE FOR A DISTANCE OF A MILE WITH ONLY THE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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AID OF A SLIGHT COMPASS AND HIS ABILITY TO PACE OVER MOUNTAINOUS COUNTRY THROUGH VIRGIN FORESTS. I CAN DEFINITELY SAY THAT AT NO TIME DID HE EVER EXPRESS ANY INTEREST AFFILIATION SYMPATHY OR LEANING TOWARD THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. HIS INTEREST WAS TO MAKE A LITTLE MONEY TO ATTEND COLLEGE WHICH HE DID. THROUGH THESE YEARS OF ASSOCIATION WE BECAME CLOSELY ACQUAINTED WITH ED'S FATHER AND MOTHER THEY WERE OF THE HIGHEST TYPE. HIS FATHER WAS A SOUND REALIABLE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER AND HIS MOTHER WAS AND IS ONE OF THE FINEST WOMEN MORALLY AND SPIRITUALLY THAT WE HAVE EVER KNOWN. MURROW HAS STATED THAT SHE ONLY WEIGHS 98 POUNDS SOAKING WET BUT IF HE HAD EVER HAD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(50).

FX-1201

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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SUBVERSIVE THOUGHT SHE WOULD HAVE SHAKEN IT OUT OF HIM IN A HURRY. TO QUALIFY AS A CHARACTER WITNESS I WOULD SAY THAT I WAS CHIEF ENGINEER FOR BLOEDEL DONOVAN FOR 19 YEARS AM CURRENTLY CHIEF ENGINEER FOR A LARGE LOGGING OPERATION FOR A NATIONAL PULP COMPANY ON THE OLYMPIC PENINSULA WHO PRODUCED CHEMICAL CELULOSE FOR THE WORLD MARKET=

W K MERIDITH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

W. K. MERRIDITH
SAPPHO, WASHINGTON

SAPPHO, WASHINGTON

Mar. 26 1954

Dear Ed:

We had 3 feet of snow for a while this winter, so camp was shut down tight enough to give me time to hear some of your 5 o'clock broadcasts. About that time my wife, Peg, brought home a February McCalls. I was most impressed that the ability to "throw" an engineer's chain was the best criterion by which to select radio commentators like Callingswood! This all added up to almost a reunion with the old compassman-and ex-chokerman.

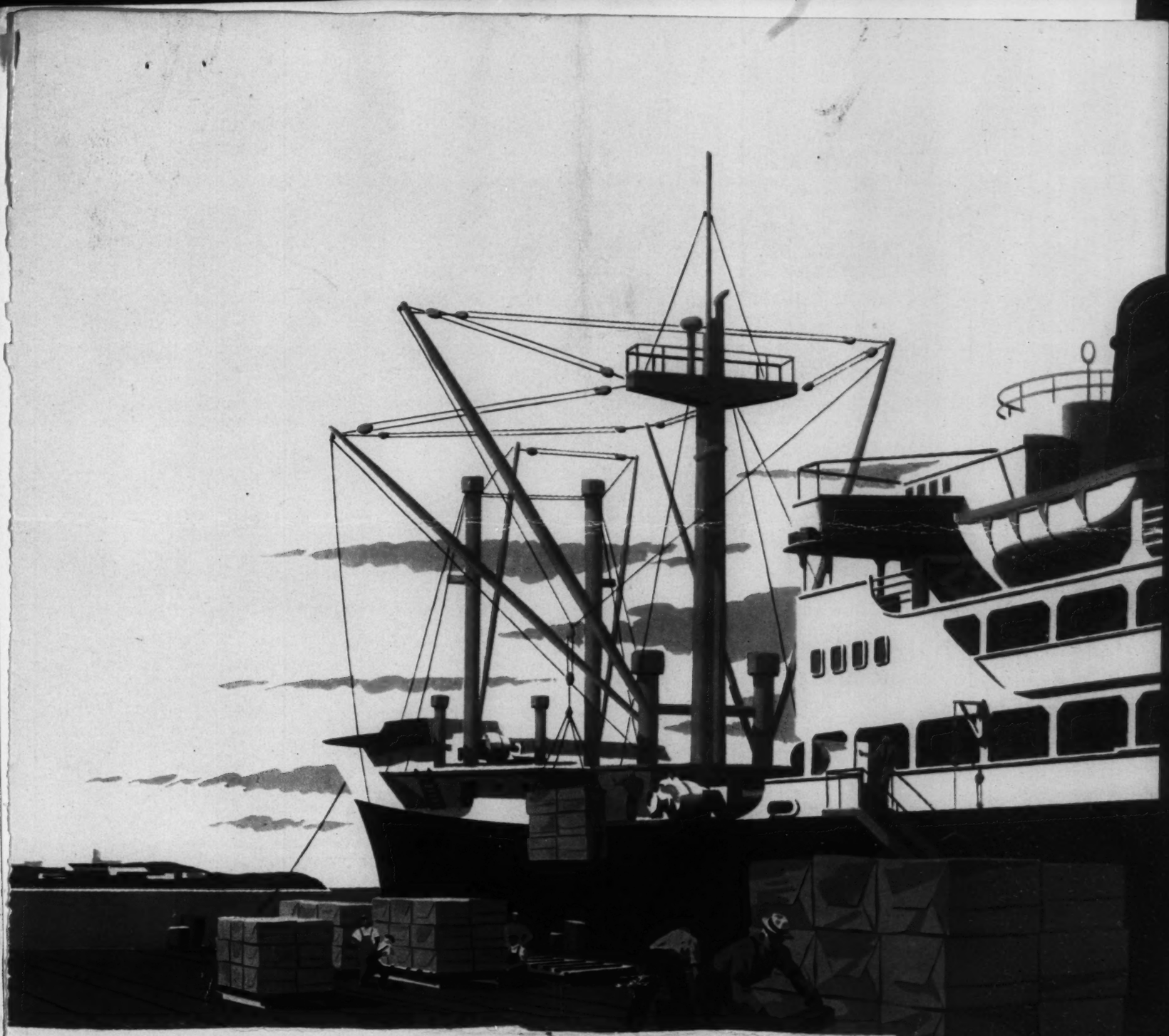
Then I noticed that you made Page 1 when you stated that "the Ends do not justify the means" even if the McCarthy elects to operate that way.

You also forgot to tell me that you were on an Espionage mission when you drove a Ford across the Balkan States and Czechoslovakia in the early 1930s for Federated Students!

I have always been somewhat of a liberal and I was glad to hear that you are Left of Louis XIV. That is one reason that I wish we had a television set at Sappho.

Well, Ed, Keep up the Good Work

Loyally Ken



ANNUAL REPORT 1953

RAYONIER

INCORPORATED

Directors

Charles R. Blyth (1937), *President, Blyth & Company, Incorporated, New York and San Francisco*

Morton H. Fry (1946), *Partner, Riter & Company, New York*

D. Samuel Gottesman (1949), *President, Gottesman & Company, Incorporated, New York*

Jonathan B. Lovelace (1946), *President, Capital Research and Management Company, Los Angeles*

Clyde B. Morgan (1951), *President, Rayonier Incorporated, New York*

William A. Parker, Chairman (1946), *Chairman of the Board, Incorporated Investors, Boston*

Junius A. Richards (1951), *Partner, H. N. Whitney, Goadby & Company, New York*

Arthur Ross (1951), *Vice President, Central National Corporation, New York*

Carl J. Schmidlapp (1946), *Vice Chairman, Executive Committee, Chase National Bank, New York*

James T. Sheehy (1953), *Executive Vice President, Rayonier Incorporated, New York*

John A. Sibley (1953), *Chairman of the Board, Trust Company of Georgia at Atlanta*

Ira D. Wallach (1951), *Executive Vice President, Gottesman & Company, Incorporated, New York*

H. L. Zellerbach (1941), *Executive Vice President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco*

*J. D. Zellerbach (1950), *President, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco*

**Director from 1937 to 1947*

Officers

*Clyde B. Morgan, *President*

3. James T. Sheehy, *Executive Vice President*

2. William E. Breitenbach, *Vice President*

1. Russell F. Erickson, *Vice President*

**Vice President from 1937 to 1941*

Arthur N. Parrett, *Vice President*

Russell M. Pickens, *Vice President*

Lawrence G. Wilson, *Treasurer*

Robert L. Lingelbach, *Secretary*

R. Allyn Budington, Jr., *Comptroller*

GENERAL COUNSEL: Lehman, Goldmark & Rohrlich, New York, N. Y.

Annual Meeting of Stockholders: April 6, 1954 at the Biltmore Hotel, New York.

I am known with these in this order:

RAYONIER INCORPORATED
AND SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT OF Income

FOR THE YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1953 AND 1952

	1953	1952
Net sales	$ 73,303,499	$ 78,263,086
Cost of goods sold	50,084,573	51,353,117
Gross profit	$ 23,218,926	$ 26,909,969
Selling, administrative and general expenses	2,672,786	2,192,768
Profit from operations	$ 20,546,140	$ 24,717,201
Other income and deductions:		
Interest expense	$ 1,528,787	$ 1,509,197
Other income (net)	439,813	718,453
	($ 1,088,974)	($ 790,744)
Depreciation and depletion charged against income amounted to $4,653,571 for 1953, and $4,350,448 for 1952.	$ 19,457,166	$ 23,926,457
Federal taxes on income (1953: after deducting $540,000 carry-back and other credits applicable to prior years. 1952: including excess profits tax of $1,435,000)	8,820,000	12,940,000
Net income	$ 10,637,166	$ 10,986,457

The accompanying notes are an integral part of this statement.

Boom boat hustles a giant log to the sorting pocket at Sekiu, Washington. Logs from Rayonier's timber operations are brought down by company-owned railroad to Sekiu, where they are stored in the water, then rafted and towed in the open sea to the Port Angeles and Shelton Mills. Normally, about 10,000,000 board feet per month pass through this rafting terminal.

SEKIU

William Tudor Gardiner lost his life in an airplane accident on August 2nd. He was Chairman of the Board of Incorporated Investors, of Boston, and at one time was Governor of Maine. Mr. Gardiner had served as a Director since 1951. His counsel was of great value to the Board, and his death is a severe loss.

John A. Sibley, of Atlanta, Georgia, was elected a Director in December to fill the vacancy left by the death of Mr. Gardiner. Mr. Sibley is Chairman of the Board of the Trust Company of Georgia. He is also a Director of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, Coca-Cola Export Corporation, and other companies.

The progress of Rayonier depends upon the experience, ability, and conscientious effort of the men and women who work in all of its varied operations. The Directors welcome this opportunity to thank the officers and other members of the organization for their able performance and accomplishments during the past year.

By order of the Board of Directors,

C B Morgan

President

February 20, 1954

from:
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

5C-12

April 6, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW ON
SENATOR McCARTHY'S BROADCAST ON "SEE IT NOW," APRIL 6, 1954

Senator McCarthy's reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him. I now join the distinguished list upon which already appear the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, Time Magazine, Commonweal, the Christian Science Monitor and General Marshall, among others. The Washington Post is characterized by Senator McCarthy as "the Washington edition of the Daily Worker"; the Milwaukee Journal as "the Milwaukee edition of the Daily Worker"; Time Magazine as having a purpose to "obstruct the fight against Communists"; Commonweal, a leading Catholic weekly, as having done "a great service to the Communist party"; the Christian Science Monitor as paralleling the Daily Worker in "venomous, distorted" stories; and General Marshall as "always and invariably serving the world policy of the Kremlin."

Senator McCarthy plays upon this nation's determination to protect itself against Communism as a means of creating distrust of anyone who criticizes him no matter how devoted to our American institutions the critic may be. I take no back seat to Senator McCarthy or anybody else in my dedication to this country and to its aims and ideals, nor are my views about the danger of Communism or Communist

(More)

infiltration into the affairs of this country less uncompromising than those presumably held by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. It is my devotion to the principles upon which this nation rests -- justice, freedom and fairness -- which sets me apart from Senator McCarthy. I would like to repeat the thought I expressed in answer to an earlier attack on me by Senator McCarthy: When the record is finally written, as it will be one day, it will answer the question who has helped the Communist cause and who has served his country better, Senator McCarthy or I. I would like to be remembered by the answer to that question.

Here are comments on the specific points raised by Senator McCarthy tonight:

1. One charge is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. I assume that this false charge was manufactured by Senator McCarthy from the fact that in summers during college and during one year before college in the mid-twenties, I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest, where remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among the lumber workers. But never was I a member or supporter of the IWW, nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. Another charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The book was published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine.

(More)

He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book with which I do not agree. He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a pre-condition for friendship or conversation. Senator McCarthy's implication that Laski's book was dedicated to me as a supporter of his views is refuted by Laski's introduction to his book, written in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis, in which he said:

> ". . .our country owes an immense debt to Mr. E. R. Murrow. Day and night since before the war began he has done everything that courage and integrity can do to make events in this country a living reality to his fellow citizens of the United States. I am only one of the many Englishmen who have found in his faith and trust in our people a new power to endure and hope."

This was a reference to broadcasts to the United States which I made from London in my capacity as European Director of CBS News throughout the war years.

3. Another accusation against me is that Owen Lattimore mentions me in his book, Ordeal by Slander, published in 1950. At page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose reporting and editorial work were, to quote Lattimore, "clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty," Lattimore goes on to express appreciation to reporters whom he had never met before the hearings and to reporters whom, like me, he has

(More)

never met. There were no complaints about my treatment of the Lattimore case by those who were interrogating him. Everything that I said on that case is a matter of record and can be examined by anyone interested. Within the limits of human fallibility I have attempted when reporting controversies of substance involving an individual to present both sides of the case and not to presume guilt until it has been proven. I shall continue to do that in subsequent controversies and that specifically includes the case of Senator McCarthy.

4. Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me is an attack on the Institute of International Education, of which I was assistant director and am now a trustee. He says that it was chosen by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, to do a job which would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police in connection with the selection of American students and teachers to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934. That is false.

The facts are these: The Institute of International Education is an institution which was founded in 1919 largely through the efforts of Nicholas Murray Butler, then President of Columbia University. Its purpose was to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. I served as Assistant Director from 1932 to 1935 and have been one of its trustees since 1931. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates -- John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Ralph J. Bunche, Virginia Gildersleeve, Philip Reed, to name just a few.

In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in Moscow for English

(More)

and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the summer session in 1934, as it did for summer schools in other countries, including England, France and Germany. I, as a representative of the Institute of International Education was one of the 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the American group. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The American group was open to all academically qualified students who applied for registration and included students from 60 American universities and colleges. The only contact which VOKS had with the American group was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charges that I or the Institute was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute of International Education. It refused to permit students to attend the 1935 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute tried -- at the request of the United States Government -- to arrange for American students to go to Russia after World War II, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction," and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . .one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by

(More)

A. Y. Vyshinski." I was favored in that same attack with the tag "reactionary radio commentator."

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors between the United States and over 50 foreign countries.

In 1948, President Eisenhower said of its work:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I believed twenty years ago, and I believe today that mature American students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, in the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the Communist cause, dogma and doctrine are stronger than our own.

5. Senator McCarthy attacked me because the Daily Worker on March 9th listed my television program as a "good bet" -- also, that in two subsequent issues this paper praised me. I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no

(More)

knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate.

Here is an example of what Senator McCarthy calls "praise" by William Z. Foster in the March 17th issue of the Daily Worker: "During the past 10 days Senator McCarthy has received a number of resounding belts in the jaw. These came from Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies. Even Eisenhower himself had to give McCarthy a slap on the wrist." This is the sole reference to me in the Foster article.

6. With his massive research on me the Senator could not even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a position I have not held for seventeen years.

* * *

from:

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
Plaza 1-2345

April 6, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY CBS ON SENATOR McCARTHY'S ATTACK
ON EDWARD R. MURROW

Edward R. Murrow has been associated with the Columbia Broadcasting System for over 19 years. The management of CBS has had ample opportunity during this time to become fully aware of Mr. Murrow's passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built. It also knows of his equally passionate opposition to those who, either within or outside our boundaries, would subvert those principles.

Mr. Murrow's achievements during the past 19 years have brought honors and distinction to CBS. They have won for him acclaim in tangible form from high officials in the United States Government and from the leaders in the fields of industry, law, science, education, and the arts. And, of special significance, acclaim has come to him from those well equipped to judge him; from leading members of the free American press, radio and television.

Mr. Murrow has won over 50 awards which attest to his integrity and accuracy as a broadcaster. Among them are the Peabody Award, which he has won four times, the Alfred I. DuPont Award, which he has won twice, and the Overseas Press Club Award, which he has won six

(More)

times. There is no major broadcasting award covering the presentation of the news or news subjects which has not been won by Mr. Murrow at least once.

CBS subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American.

* * *

Senator McCarthy has attacked me as one who was "chosen" by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, doing work of the Soviet police, in connection with the Anglo-American Institute of the Moscow University Summer School session in 1934.

The facts are these: I was then assistant director of the Institute for International Education, an institution which was designed to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in Moscow for English and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the school in 1934 and I, as a representative of the Institute, was one of a 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the Summer Session in its management. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The only contact which VOKS had with the school was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, so much contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charge that I was trying to Sovietize American students, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute's program. It refused to permit students to attend the 1935 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute tried--at the request of the Federal Government--to arrange for American students to go to Russia in 1948, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction", and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . . one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski." I was favored with the tag "reactionary radio commentator".

The Senator also states that "many" of the persons who attended the summer school later became Communists. He names two--and the Institute's roster of persons going to the 1934 school does not even carry the name of one of them. There were 190-odd at the summer session. In the Senator's language, two of these--one of whom may not have been there--is "many".

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in

administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors.

President Eisenhower has said of its work:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I have been associated with the Institute of International Education for more than 20 years, and have been one of its trustees since 1931. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates--Ralph J. Bunche, John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Virginia Gildersleeve, Thomas W. Lamont, to name just a few.

If the junion senator from Wisconsin brands me a Communist sympathizer because of my connection with the Institute, he must keep his branding iron hot.

Last week Senator McCarthy appeared on this program to correct any errors he thought we might have made on our report of March 9. Since he made no reference to any statements of fact that we made, we must conclude he found no errors of fact.

The Senator added this reporter's name to a long list of individuals and institutions he has accused of serving the Communist cause. His proposition is simple. Anyone who criticizes or opposes McCarthy's methods must be a Communist. If that be true, there are an awful lot of Communists in this country.

For the record, let's consider briefly some of the Senator's charges. He claimed that I had been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. That is false. I was never a member of the I.W.W.; never applied for membership. Men that I worked with in the Pacific Northwest in the mid-twenties will attest that I never had affinity or affiliation with that organization. I have predicted that one day the Senator would use that lumber camp work, where there were remnants of the I.W.W., in an effort to discredit and destroy me. He has now done so, and he lied in so doing.

The Senator charged that Professor Harold Laski, a British

scholar and politician, dedicated a book to me. That is true. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. He wasone of these civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a precondition for friendship or conversation. Laski, as he makes clear in the introduction, dedicated the book to me not because of political agreement, but because he held my war-time broadcasts from London in high regard.

Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me was an attack on the Institute of International Education of which I was Assistant Director and am now a Trustee. That Institute sponsored,-acted as the registering agent,-for summer schools in foreign countries, including England, France and Germany, and one in the Soviet Union in 1934. It has arranged, in all, some 30 thousand exchanges of students and professors between the United States and over 50 foreign countries. The man primarily responsible for starting this Institute was Nicholas Murray Butler, in 1919. It's work has been praised as recently as 1948 by President Eisenhower. It has been denounced by the Soviet pressand radio as a center of international propaganda for American reaction, and I have been labelled a "reactionary radio commentator",

The Senator alleged that we "were doing the work of the Russian Secret police"training spies. We were in fact conducting normal cultural and educational relations with foreign nations. The Moscow Summer Session was cancelled in 1935 by the Russian authorities. I believed 20 years ago, and I believe today, that mature Americans can engage in controversy and conversation in the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere without becoming contaminated or converted. I believe that our faith, our conviction, our determination, are stornger than theirs, and that we can compete and successfully not only in the area of bombs, but of ideas.

Senator McCarthy couldn't even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director, a position I have not held for 17 years.

The Senator waved a copy of the "Daily Worker" saying an article in it had praised me. It is a sad day for American reporting if a reporter's credibility depends upon what the "Daily Worker" does or does not say about him. My name was bracketed in that article with that of Adlai Stevenson, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies, and President Eisenhower. That was the sole reference to me.

Another charge by Senator McCarthy was that Owen Lattimore mentioned me in a book. What Lattimore, in substance, said was that he had never met me, but that I had done a fair job of reporting his testimony; in short, that I had not presumed his guilt. Everything I said in that case is a matter of record, and can be examined by anyone interested. I hope to continue to present evidence developed before Congressional committees as impartially as I am able. And that specifically includes the hearing before which Senator McCarthy will shortly appear. I have worked for CBS for more than 19 years. The company has subscribed fully to my integrity and responsibility as a broadcaster, and as a loyal American. Having searched my conscience and my files, I cannot contend that I have always been right or wise. But I have attempted to pursue the truth with some diligence, and to report it even though as in this case I had been warned in advance that I would be subjected to the attentions of Senator McCarthy.

We shall hope to deal with matters of more vital interest to the country on subsequent programs.

In the early thirties I was privileged, upon occasion, to be a guest in the home of the distinguished historian Professor James T. Shotwell. I may have been present upon the occasion referred to by Mr. Pegler. Professor Shotwell knew my political views then, and now. I would be prepared to accept his evaluation of those views. And I am equally prepared XXX and indeed eager to testify under oath regarding any aspect of my personal or professional activities.

Several times on social occasions I have said that at some point Senator McCarthy would learn that in the mid-twenties I had worked in a logging camp with possible members of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), and that he would use that information in an effort to discredit and destroy me. He has done so. Any allegations that I was ever a member of the IWW or contributed to it are completely without foundation in fact, and must arise from a misinterpretation of my remarks quoted above.

In 1935, I was assistant director of the Institute of International Education, an organization engaged in the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries.

In this capacity, I was a member of the advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow.

In addition to the Senator's reading of a newspaper article published 18 years ago, Fulton Lewis, Jr., more recently broadcast similar information and various versions of both these stories were widely mentioned in former Senator Frank Graham's campaign in North Carolina in 1950.

In actual fact, the summer school was cancelled by Russian authorities before it began. Those graduates student and professors who had signed up for the school spent the summer travelling in the Soviet Union, an activity which was not then, and is not now, illegal. I did not accompany this group of distinguished educators.

The Senator's reference to the Civil Liberties Union is another example of his too familiar technique.

In a recent television broadcast I actually said: "The attorney general's list does not, and has never listed, the American Civil Liberties Union as subversive, nor does the F.B.I. nor any other government agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation

from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General MacArthur."

The Junior senator from Wisconsin now accuses me of lying, his contention being that the A.C.L.U. was listed by the California State Senate Committee investigating un-American activities. I specifically stated "the attorney general's list" "the FBI" and "any other government agency."

I shall attempt to deal adequately with Senator McCarthy's latest reckless handling of the truth on the radio tomorrow night.

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D R A F T

OPENING

On March 9th, this program made a report on Senator McCarthy. At the outset of that program, I stated that Senator McCarthy could have time to reply. In a telegram to Senator McCarthy I said: "In accordance with my offer and CBS policy, we will make time available to you on the same program and network this coming Tuesday, March 16. You may use all or any part of the period occupied by "See It Now" less the time customarily used by me in opening and closing the program and the time allotted to commercial messages. I will make no comment on your statement in the time used by me on the broadcast but naturally reserve the right to comment subsequently". ~~Subsequently~~ I was notified that March 16th was not a convenient date for Senator McCarthy and that he preferred April 6th. He was ~~notified~~ Told that April 6th was satisfactory ~~to me~~. Senator McCarthy is now in our Washington studios ready to make his broadcast. He will make his appearance immediately after a message from our sponsor, the Aluminum Corporation of America, ~~which is a fellow~~

Senator McCarthy appears to be hurting and running. His performance tonight was typical; he made no answer to a documented report which consisted mainly of his own voice and pictures in context. He proved again that anyone who exposes him, anyone who does not share his hysterical disregard for decency and human dignity and the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, must be a Communist or at best a fellow traveller. I fully expected this treatment. The Senator couldn't even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a position I have not held since 1937. If his massive research, for which he requested a month's delay in his appearance, could not get that fact straight, it is reasonable to assume that he is in error in other areas.

The Senator has made me a member of a rather distinguished company; he has attacked in similar vein "The Milwaukee Journal", "The Washington Post", "Time" magazine, "Commonweal", the Alsop brothers, General of the Army George C. Marshall, and former Senator William Benton.

The Senator ran from his law suit against Mr. Benton, presumably because he cannot afford to testify under oath. He ran from his statement that if the existing law did not compel the radio and television networks to do what he wanted them to do, he would have the law changed. He ran from his promised subpoena of Brigadier General Telford Taylor; he even ran from answering the specific charges brought in his own voice and pictures on a telegision program a month ago.

I require no lectures from the Junior Senator from Wisconsin upon the evils of Communism. Having watched the aggressive forces at work in western Europe; having had friends in eastern Europe butchered and driven into exile; having broadcast from London in 1943 that the Russians were responsible for the Katyn Massacre; having told the story of the Russian refusal to allow allied aircraft to land on Russian fields after dropping supplies to those who rose in Warsaw and were betrayed by the Russians, and having been denounced by the Russian radio for these reports, I cannot feel that I require instructions from the Senator in the evils of Communism.

We fear the aggressive forces of world Communism, and rightly so. But in this climate we might well remember something that Mr. Churchill

once said: "If we spend too much time debating the past we might lose the future". And even more appropriate is this quotation of Adolph Hitler: "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it". We in this country are not going to imitate the totalitarian state of either the right or the left.

Having searched my conscience and my files, I can find no evidence that I have betrayed the oath I once took to this country. Most of my adult life has been spent either in education or in broadcasting. Most of what I have said is a matter of record. I have no always been right, not always wise, but I believe that record will bear scrutiny, and I would welcome the opportunity to have it examined under oath.

Here are certain specific comments on points raised by Senator McCarthy tonight

LEAD TO BE WRITTEN BY JOUSMER.....

On March Eighth I produced a television program dealing with Senator Joseph R. Macarthy...labeled it as controversial and offered him time to reply ... if he felt I had done violence to his voice or pictures...The senator asked for a delay of one month,in order to prepare his answer...His performance tonite was typical...he didnt answer...took evasive tactics...proved again that anyone who exposes him will be immediately subjected to slander and villification..I expected it...The senator has established ..in his own diseased mind the proposition that anyone who does not share his hysterical disregard for decency and human dignity,and the rights guaranteed by the constitution,must be a communist or at best a fellow traveller...I require no lectures from the senator upon the evils of communism...having watched its agressive forces at work in western Europe...having friends ~~xxxxxx~~ in eastern Europe butchered or driven into exile...having broadcast from London in nineteen forty three that the Russians were responsible for the Katyn Massacre...having told the story of the Russian refusal to allow allied aircraft to land on Russian fields after dropping supplies to those who rose in Warsaw and were betrayed by the Russians....I have not always been right.. and not always wise

TO Miss McDonough

FROM E.C.P.

Ret'd Registered mail 4/19

The attached 1930 year book of the NSFA was received from Chester Williams through Mr. Murrow's office. It should be returned to him. I have, in my files on this matter, a further copy of the year book received from Mr. Murrow himself and containing an inscription, under date of January 26, 1954, to him. This will, of course, be available to you and may be found in the bottom drawer of the filing cabinet which we have used.

THE BRIDGE THAT WAS BUILT TOO LATE

The Railroad Era of logging, which followed the Ox Team days in the Pacific Northwest woods, brought forth many novel designs of log bridges and high trestles. Some of them were designed, and their stresses were calculated by University Professors. Others were the products of the fertile brains of many aggressive logging Superintendents who did their figuring by the seat of their pants like the Alaska bush pilots fly their planes.

One such ingenious camp Superintendent of my acquaintance used to set up a transit near the bridge and sight through it diligently to impress the bridge crew and then cut the piling off where he had intended to in the first place! There was no lost time from long calculations by this method and the bridges nearly always stood up. The light locomotives of that day got over them safely.

The first long log bridge on which we attempted to make a full stress analysis and to design the members adequately for the loading for which they were intended, was 112 ft. long. It was made of 3"girders" of two full trees, one above the other, with the butts reversed to insure a uniform depth to the girders. When this bridge was seen in 1933 by Mr. French, the builder of the Harvard Stadium, he said,"There is a perfect example of what modern steel and concrete engineers say can not be done." However, this design was granted Patent number 2333327 by the U.S.Patent Office of Washington D.C. and runs until 1968.

The log bridge that is the subject of this article is called a counter-balance type. Very little clearance above high water existed at the site for which it was intended. So a span had to be designed which was only one log deep; but with a long center span to

let all the drift wood through without creating log jams as the multiple piers of the previous bridge had done. The weight of the counter balances prestressed the log stringers in the opposite direction to the live loading of the 160 Ton locomotive which was to use it. This device carries 50% of the live loading before the stringers are stressed in the normal direction.

All the bending moments, longitudinal shear over the piers, and details were calculated and checked by Rayonier Engineers which included John Warder of Hoquiam. Then the plans were gone over by Professor J. Kenneth Pearce, Professor Bror L. Grondal, and Professor A. L. Miller of the University of Washington. They saw no engineering error in its general design and quantities.

When they asked, "Where did you get that idea," the answer was, "at Sappho, Washington in the middle of the woods--pure inspiration." However, these men gave it their approval but recommended that the counter balance be fixed ends and this was done.

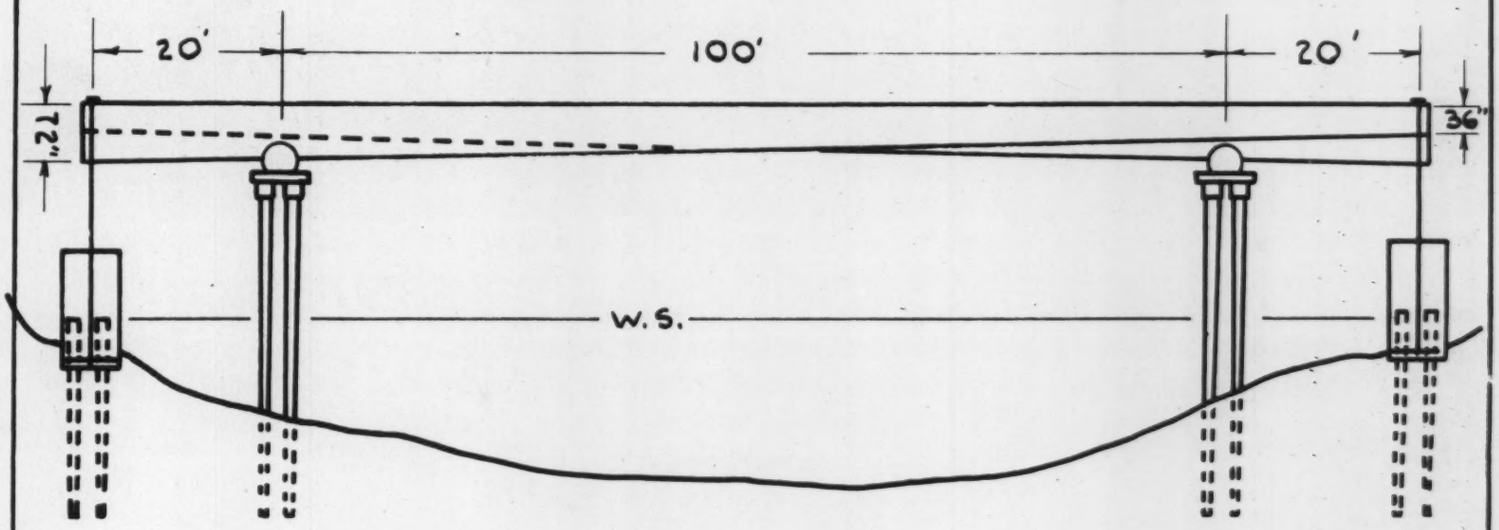
Between the completion of the plans and actual construction, the question was often asked, "Was this type of bridge ever built before?" To our knowledge it never had been used for railroad loading but during the last few years if engineering is not pioneering new fields like photogrammetry, radio telephone or new bridge designs it is behind the times. So to create more confidence in the new design a model was made to a scale of 1" = 4 ft. This showed the basic principles more clearly than the plans and was a help to all to visualize the work.

The construction work was done under R. F. Cunningham, General Superintendent and J. M. Meeley, Construction Supervisor. The plans and specifications were followed carefully by the whole crew. This gave a finished product which could perform as it was designed. So

when the first train ran over it in December 1953 consisting of the 160 Ton locomotive, 53 carloads of logs, a 65 Ton railroad crane and 3 idlers, it rode just as solidly on the counter balance span as it did on the long approach trestle.

All the piling and bridge timbers were treated with creosote for 8# retention. The weights were made from beach gravel and 6 sacks of regular Portland cement per cu. yd. of concrete. The 4 Douglas Fir tree stringers were untreated but are being covered with 24 gauge galvanized sheet steel to form a housing which will keep the stringers dry in the same manner as covered wooden bridges were protected.

Now to explain the Title. This prestressing principle of the counter balance adds so much strength to a long log stringer that if it had been applied at the beginning of the railroad era of logging it would probably have had a wide usage. It is simple to build, and most economical for any firm owning Douglas Fir in large old growth trees. The counter weights required only very ordinary concrete that can be made from local gravel. It is only the application of this principle to railroad bridges that is new, as the Carnegie Hand Book for Engineers has shown it for years on page 188.



DIMENSIONS

4 LOG STRINGERS 72" BUTTS 36" TOPS 142'-0" LONG	
LOG SCALE, EACH	14,248 FBM
COUNTER WEIGHT BLOCKS	
CONCRETE, EACH	50 CU. YDS.
WEIGHT, EACH	97 TONS
STEEL TENSION RODS, EACH	10 x 1 5/8" φ
HOLLOW STEEL BEAM ON LOGS:	8" x 12" x 19'-4"
BRIDGE TIES, CREOSOTED,	8" x 14" x 14'-0"

DESIGN DATA

LOADING: 161 TON LOCOMOTIVE & 100 TON CRANE	
BENDING STRESS @ CENTER OF SPAN =	1694 LB/SQ.IN.
CAMBER (NEGATIVE DEFLECTION) CENTER OF SPAN	3 INS.
LOADED DEFLECTION " " "	0.0 INS.,
LONGITUDINAL SHEAR OVER PIERS	117 LB/SQ.IN.

Draft of introduction and comments
on IWW, Laski and Lattimore

The Senator makes four specific allegations against me of Communist association. To quote a famous American, let's look at the record.

1. The first of these is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. I never paid dues. The facts are these. In summers during college and during one year before college in the mid twenties, I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest. The remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among lumber workers of that area. I worked with such men, worked with them in lumbering and I have so stated in years past. I was also sympathetic with their efforts to increase wages and improve working conditions--theirs and mine. But never was I a member or supporter of their organization nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. The second charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The title of the book is "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time" published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not. There are many contentions in his book, like many positions he took in arguments we had, with which I cannot agree. Laski was later Chairman of the British Labor Party, one of the principal architects of its victory in 1945. He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist upon agreement with his political ideas as a pre-condition for friendship or conversation. But let me read you what Laski said about me in his introduction, written on November 27, 1942, in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis.

> ". . . our country owes an immense debt to Mr. E. R. Murrow. Day and night since before the war began he has done everything that courage and integrity

can do to make events in this country a living reality to his fellow citizens of the United States. I am only one of the many Englishmen who have found in his faith and trust in our people a new power to endure and hope."

So far as I know this is the reason for the dedication and not because I furthered his views or Communist aims.

3. Another accusation is my "ardent support" of Owen Lattimore. The Senator cites Lattimore's gratitude to me, as expressed in his book, Ordeal by Slander, published in 1950. At page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose "reporting and editorial work . . . were clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was innocent unless proved guilty", Lattimore goes on to pay a debt to reporters whom he had never met before, or like me has never met. Lattimore said:

> ". . . as an example of the way they handled my case I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow. Even when the hysteria was at its height, before I could speak for myself, he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique of using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself, in excerpts from my testimony."

There were no complaints about my treatment of the Lattimore case by those who were interrogating him. Everything that I said on that case is a matter of record and can be examined by anyone interested. Within the limits of human fallibility I have attempted when reporting controversies of substance involving an individual to present both sides of the case and not to presume guilt until it has been proven. I shall continue to do that in subsequent controversies and that specifically includes the case of Senator McCarthy.

4/5/54

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1. The first of these is that by my own admission I was a member of the IWW. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW. I never applied for membership. I never paid dues. The facts are these. In summers during college and during my first year out of college in the late twenties I worked in lumber camps in the Pacific Northwest as a lumberjack. The remnants of the old World War I IWW movement were still found among lumber workers of that area. I worked with such men, worked with them in lumbering and I have so stated on the air in years past. I was also sympathetic with their efforts to increase wages and improve working conditions--theirs and mine. But never was I a member or supporter of their organization nor did I ever work with that organization.

2. The second charge is that Professor Harold Laski dedicated a book to me. That is true. The title of the book is "Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time" published in this country in 1943. Professor Laski was a British scholar and Socialist politician. He was a friend of mine. I am proud of it. He was a Socialist. I am not. There were many contentions in his book. Like many positions he took in arguments we had, I cannot agree. But let me read you what Laski said about me in his introduction, written on November 27, 1942, in the third year of Britain's war against the Nazis.

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". . . as an example of the way they handled my case I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow. Even when the hysteria was at its height, before I could speak for myself, he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique of using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself, in excerpts from my testimony."

Insert Page 4

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I have looked back at my programs to see what I said about the Lattimore hearings before a Senate committee that spring, to which the author is referring in the above quotation. On several evenings in April and May 1950, while those hearings were going on, I dealt at some length on my news program with the statements made at the hearings and about the hearings by others. I played several recordings of statements by Lattimore. On April 6, 1950 I presented a recording of Senator Tydings' statement that the Senate committee members had a complete summary of the F.B.I. files made available to them and that they unanimously agreed there ~~is~~ was nothing in the file which shows that Lattimore was a Communist, had been a Communist, or was in any way connected with any espionage. I then quoted Senator McCarthy's comment on Senator Tydings' statement, and I ended with a statement which is as true today as it was then, in the light of the last four years' experience with matters of this kind. I should like to quote it:

"I should like to make a purely personal comment about congressional investigating committees..specifically those aimed at discovering spies or subversive elements... Let's assume that everyone concerned is genuinely interested in getting at the facts and exposing any real danger that may exist...that's a pretty big assumption, but let's make it anyway...assume that both Democrats and Republicans are patriots above party... It seems to me that the seriousness of the situation does not arise from the fact that these public investigations create confusion and suspicion in the country... The damage to our relations with foreign countries is considerable but no one can measure the extent of the damage with any accuracy..but even that isn't the important thing...It is of course true that a considerable number of people are brought under suspicion, often without any substantial supporting evidence. Their denials never catch up with the original accusations... These people suffer a very real damage...this may be deplored and denounced, but I suggest that this is not the most serious aspect of these investigations...It seems to me that these minor curcuses on Capitol Hill... the screaming headlines and general confusion that results may well mislead our enemies into the fatal error of believing that this country is more divided than it

really is...but even that does not represent the real danger that stems from these public investigations...If we stick to the original assumption that these investigations are an attempt to uncover spies and subversive elements...that Senators McCarthy and Tydings, for example, are equally concerned for the public welfare and the security of the State...that this current investigation is not an effort to embarrass the administration, to 'get' Acheson or to get headlines...even if all these things were true and that's a pretty big if...the basic trouble would remain...the method being employed just won't work...it's no way to catch spies or uncover Communists. It might turn one up, but the very nature of the investigation would make such discovery something of an accident. What we are getting is all the danger and damage both at home and abroad of a witch hunt without having much chance of catching a witch... To say this is not to suggest that investigation, careful screening and constant vigilance are not necessary safeguards for the nation in face of the conscienceless cunning of the communists...It was for that purpose that the President's loyalty review program was established... There are those who doubt the effectiveness of this program...that being true...the congress is entitled to

review it and its practices. The Congress is of course entitled to look for spies and communists in government whenever and however it wants to...But the trouble with this present method is that it doesn't work...Even Senator McCarthy has said that this procedure won't produce results...It seems to me that the most intelligent suggestion has come from Senator Lodge of Massachusetts...The creation of a twelve man non-partisan commission which would hear evidence, study the whole matter and produce its findings...This procedure has worked well in other countries...The one we are following now doesn't seem to be getting us anywhere...."

C. Williams

CONFIDENTIAL

April 4, 1954

MEMORANDUM to: Ben Shute and Ed Murrow

The following are a few general suggestions on handling the immediate attack on Murrow.

1. It is vital in my view that the entire network be pre-empted for at least 15 minutes directly following the McCarthy presentation for Murrow's immediate counter-attack.

a) No defensive explanation

b) Use most blatant distortions in the filmed attack to expose McCarthy technique of the "half-lie"

c) Have prepared sequence on theme: McCarthy can't take criticism. "He is trying to put himself above criticism and his critics under suspicion." Anyone who refuses to pay homage to him is at once attacked as a pro-Communist. Use a Vishinsky clip from UN to show this technique in action. Use clips to show him employing the technique against General Marshall, Time, Life, Washington Post - all are tarred with the same brush. Get and use a clip showing McCarthy trying to suppress criticism of himself - perhaps the Leo Cherne encounter reproduced in Life may have a useful sequence. This was a TV show where McCarthy got rattled.

d) Use editorial from ~~Newark~~ Trenton - Catholic editor - as printed in the Denver Post to feature question, "Is McCarthy really a Communist?"

e) Repeat clip about Gen. Swicker- and statement about "army blackmail" to keep issue in hearings clear- then get arm in arm with General Marshall, Swicker, etc. - the issue is not Murrow but McCarthy's tactics - whether he realizes it or not, he is serving the Soviet cause.

f) Depending upon how the film McCarthy produces is handled, I suggest a brief introduction of it with a photograph of the telegram, and an announcement of the trailor program so all will stay tuned to hear. This is the most important time spot Murrow may ever get because SEE IT NOW will draw the biggest TV audience in history, including the majority of McCarthy supporters who now reluctantly say "he is doing more good than harm".

g) Perhaps Murrow's commentary might be along lines of the attached statement.

"I do not intend to pick up the booby-traps of half-lies and deliberate distortion Senator McCarthy has laid for me. I intend to stick to the facts, to face McCarthy with McCarthy, and to try to get him to answer to the American public.

Attacking me is no substitute for answering the record of his own distortions and half-lies. I will not let him change the subject.

I know from long experience in covering the tricks of Soviet and Nazi demogogues exactly what he is after when he tries to change the subject. He will not get that from me.

He started out in a telegram by stating that he would prove that I am a "conscious supporter of Communism". He retreated from that to a lame attempt to connect me by the old guilt by association trick with a few persons and institutions. He knows that my record in exposing and opposing Communism is clear and also clean. I have never lied about General Marshall or served the cause of Communism by undermining our relations with our allies.

He knows he cannot prove in any court of law that I have ever consciously supported Communism. I challenge him to state over the air or TV that I have and accept the consequences of a libel suit. He is obviously afraid to bring his so-called proof into court because he doesn't have any that will stand the tests of evidence.

Therefore, I do not intend to answer his innuendoes and thus play into his hands by helping him change the subject. Nor do I intend to retreat one inch from my position that the American people have a right to know the facts about McCarthy. If what I report are not facts, let him answer and prove they are not."

2. Suggest a release in time for morning papers featuring Murrow attack and text of the trailor program to assure maximum play with McCarthy put in the defensive position instead of Murrow.

3. Suggest following up on a few major points of probable attack to get in hand documentary evidence of distortion.

a) Communist attack on Murrow when he was President of NSFA- check Intercollegian and Student Review and files of Daily Worker from dates of possible attack shown by student sources. Best bet here is a photostat from the Daily Worker - also check on New Masses.

b) Check through Murrow's files and book for strong quote exposing Soviets, especially during the war re: Poland.

4. As part of facing McCarthy with McCarthy and adding a bit of humor, get McCarthy quote of a year or so ago that Murrow is fair and accurate.

5. Suggest going slow on libel front until or unless there is an open-and-shut case. Better in my view to needle, and to expose tricks by which he seeks to avoid court test of his innuendo - Exposure of tricks always fascinates the layman.

6. Suggest stockpiling of questions on cards that can be used by Murrow and all CBS commentators and reporters to keep McCarthy on the defensive without making categoric statements. Such questions could be drawn upon according to the news pegs of the moment. Later they may prove useful in a booklet, because there is need of such a document for general use and especially for correspondents who go on such shows as MEET THE PRESS. A booklet under the title, "QUESTIONS MCCARTHY WON'T ANSWER" might be projected.

CONFIDENTIAL April 3, 1954

Memorandum to Ben Shute and Ed Murrow

From: C. Williams

Subject: Proposed 16 mm Film

Many organizations are anxious to show the kinescopes of the March 9 and subsequent programs re McCarthy. This appears to be an interest which is impractical for CBS to meet but vital to Murrow's position with regard to effective public support.

Therefore, it is proposed that a special film be put together quickly under the auspices of Freedom House and made available through non-theatrical channels of distribution. The availability of the film can be advertised through many interested national organizations and local community forums.

1. The film might be called "Murrow Faces McCarthy With McCarthy".

2. The film should be put together as a thirty-minute production with a selection of clips as follows:

a. The best newsreel and TV clips of McCarthy from the March 9 SEE IT NOW.

b. Selected clips of Murrow's commentary from March 9 SEE IT NOW.

c. Selected TV clips from the Moss record used on March 16.

d. Selected TV clips from the April 6 program, if McCarthy appears.

3. This sequence could then be put together with a special commentary by either Harry Gideonse, Chairman of the Board of Freedom House, or Leo Cherne of that Board.

4. Freedom House would want to select the clips by reviewing the kinescopes; secure a list of sources for the clips selected so that they could buy the ones chosen for use; and receive permission from CBS and Murrow for those sequences containing Murrow's commentary as well as any specific TV clips owned by CBS.

5. It is understood that the film would not be used on TV without special arrangement and permission. The film would be handled on a rental basis by the distributors. Time is, of course, of the essence. Hence, the project is not feasible without the fullest cooperation of CBS and Murrow's staff.

MEMORANDUM

Industry Committee on Freedom of Expression

It seems to me that immediate steps should be taken to establish a special committee of radio and television on freedom of expression to coordinate public relations. This is essential to meet, by coordinated public relations, the forthcoming attacks of McCarthy in his private expose of the mass media.

The only way to beat him off is by a show of strength and unity and a planned program in defense of the industry. His hope is to divide and conquer - to pick off one program at a time by getting at the advertisers on the grounds that the particular victim is "controversial". The shot-gun attack on the mass media as a "hot-bed for Communists" is designed to put all on the defensive in hopes that each will seek self-protection. Unless all show immediate unity and determination to defend their public trust collectively, he may succeed in this maneuver.

The document he is privately putting together, largely under the direction of J. B. Matthews, will attempt to make each network and various publications appear vulnerable, but in such a way that each one could assume that it could get immunity from further attack by getting rid of a few people "unfriendly to McCarthy". If they do not, then they will be given the works as "coddlers of Communists", etc. The only answer is coordinated defense and offense.

Perhaps a pattern is indicated by the way the cigarette companies got together in a new Research Committee on the lung-cancer threat, using Hill and Knowlton as their public relations counsel, acting as a group to deal with this one issue.

Certainly, the radio-TV industry ought to have a well-financed, central set-up to deal with this threat. It can be predicted with fair certainty that the very announcement of such a Committee will cause McCarthy to back away from his projected plans.

It may be found useful for the industry to set up a committee of distinguished Americans to protect the reputations of loyal Americans and sift accusations that are made by various self-appointed groups. Surely, it must now be clear to all that the independence and integrity of the industry are in jeopardy and that it cannot save itself by tossing victims out of the sleigh indiscriminately to the pursuing wolves.

McCarthy has threatened to get Murrow off the air for good. This is not a threat limited to Murrow, CBS or even to the industry. If it is made good, Freedom as we have known it will be finished in the United States.

"He speaks with clarity, humor and authority."
GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Chester S. Williams

President of
WORLD INFORMATION, INC.

is available for
a limited number of lectures

SUBJECTS

World Business Statesmanship
Who's Isolating Us?
Do We Need World Trade to Survive?
What's the United Nations Good For?
Arab World—With Us or Against Us?
Ten Ways to Fight Communism Effectively.

SPEAKING FRO

For six years Chester S. Williams was at the elbow of the former Chief of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations, Ambassador Warren R. Austin. He served as Deputy on Information and as Public Liaison Officer (1946-1952).

He worked intimately with members of U. S. Delegations on such issues as:

Soviet War-mongering Charges—1947
Atomic Energy Debate—Paris, 1948
Palestine Truce Problems—1949
Aggression in Korea—1950
Prisoners of War—1950
William Oatis Case—Paris, 1951
Germ Warfare Charges—1952

Behind the Headlines

As President of WORLD INFORMATION, INC.—a research and consulting service for businesses with foreign development problems—he and his associates keep in constant contact with leading diplomats and technical specialists in the Department of State, United Nations bodies and regional organizations such as NATO, and the Economic Commissions for Europe, the Far East and Latin America.

Nation-wide Discussion

Under Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius and the supervision of Mr. Adlai Stevenson, he produced a series of Foreign Affairs Outlines and organized nation-wide discussion of the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals in 1945. He planned and helped handle liaison with 42 national business, professional and civic organizations given Consul-

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United Nations Charte
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As Director of th
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OM EXPERIENCE

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the *Round-the-World Town*
collaborated with George V.
of *America's Town Meeting of*
5 national leaders on a flying,
rld capitals where Town Meet-
and where he conducted sem-
inisters and other leaders in
East and Asia.

Information

as Assistant Deputy Director
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ed for exchanges of speakers,
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ommonwealth countries. He
nched the first U. S. Informa-
strialia, New Zealand, South
Later he stock-piled what he
reference materials" to begin
le East and liberated Europe.

ing the Blitz

a consultant to the British
tion on Anglo-American re-
a field survey in connection
of the British Isles. His re-
for our OWI program to
ime alliance.

Adult Education

For 7 years (1935-1942) he held various posts in the U. S. Office of Education under Commissioner John W. Studebaker—Assistant Administrator of Community Forum Demonstrations, Director of Conference Planning, and Director of Adult and Civic Education.

First-hand Study

Even before his graduation from the *University of California at Los Angeles* where he studied economics and political science, he travelled all over Europe, China, Japan and Korea as a field representative of the *Confederation des Etudients.* And he has been travelling abroad on special assignments ever since.

Writings

He is the author of numerous official documents, studies and articles on adult education and books entitled: *Rights We Defend, Right of Free Speech, Liberty of the Press, Fair Trial, Religious Liberty* and *Ways of Dictatorship.* A new book is scheduled for publication in 1954, answering 30 questions on Freedom and Communism.

Public Platform

He has addressed audiences, conferences and conventions in 46 States of the Union and in most of the countries of Europe, the Middle East and Asia. He is Chairman of the *Speakers Research Committee for the United Nations.*

See *Who's Who* for additional data.

THEY SAY . . .

On leave taking . . .

"You will be missed in the United States Mission and in the Department of State. I have always appreciated your work in the development of my own personal efforts in the public forum, with which you are so familiar. You are, indeed, a specialist in lofty oratory . . . "

—*Ambassador Warren R. Austin*

From a business convention . . .

"As we look back over the events of the past week when we were meeting in Endicott for our Hundred Per Cent Club Convention, one of the things that stands out in the minds of everyone who was there is the inspiring address which you made at the opening session."

"After your speech everyone I met thanked me for the privilege of hearing you. You gave one of the most statesmanlike addresses on world affairs that I have ever heard."

—*Thomas J. Watson,*
International Business Machines Corp.

An American spokesman in UN . . .

"It is a real pleasure to report the sense of satisfaction I personally felt in knowing that a man of his calibre, intelligence, and ability is a representative of the United States in the United Nations. Mr. Williams performed his duties in an outstanding manner and was of great help and assistance to me during my stay in Paris."

—*Mike Mansfield,*
Senator from Montana

From an off-the-record forum . . .

"Once again you captured our distinguished Washington audience with your pointed humor and your amazing grasp of international issues. Do you realize that you batted out answers to 34 questions? They certainly pitched you some fast, curved ones — especially the Senators and the officers from the Joint Chiefs at the Pentagon. I've had many calls today expressing sheer admiration for the precise, clear, and succint way you handled the questions. Of course, the speech itself was provocative, stimulating, packed with fresh information, and profound in its analysis."

—*Cooperative Forum,*
Washington, D. C.

From Philadelphia . . .

"On behalf of the Young Businessmen's Committee, I want to thank you for having been the guest speaker at the luncheon yesterday for, what I am sure, will be the most outstanding meeting of the year."

—*World Affairs Council*

From the former U. S. Commissioner of Education . . .

"In my years of association with him, I have found Chester Williams to be a man of great integrity—capable of interpreting the philosophy of the free society and current world affairs not merely out of an informed head, but also out of a loyal heart. He has much to say, and he says it well both in print and on the platform.

—*John W. Studebaker,*
Vice-President of Scholastic Magazines

For information on dates and arrangements communicate with:

Roxanna Wells Lecture Bureau,
342 Madison Ave.,
New York 17, New York
VAnderbilt 6-4513

At a conference with Prime Minister Nehru in his garden, New Delhi, India

TO: Mr. Murrow

FROM: ECP

4/1/54

Mr. Salant asked me to send you this.

re McCarthy Program - 4/6/54
Murrow's reply
to McCarthy

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Founders: Stephen P. Duggan, Nicholas Murray Butler, Elihu Root.

Organized: 1919.

Principal sources of finance:

(a) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace supported the Institute, in the main, for the first 15 years of its existence. U.S.A. a substantial contributor since 1943.

(b) Finances at present:

Principal Sources of IIE Income*
1949-1954

(All Figures Approximate)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Government	$120,000	$250,000	$580,000	$490,000	$550,000	$560,000
3 Foundations**	230,000	240,000	230,000	230,000	180,000	230,000
Other	70,000	70,000	100,000	150,000	200,000	180,000
Ford	--	--	2,500	340,000	425,000	590,000

Stated objectives: "To develop mutually helpful relations between the United States and foreign countries through educational agencies" (1928)

To use educational means to "overcome the great

---

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Carnegie, Rockefeller and Commonwealth.

ignorance of the civilization and problems of foreign countries that the [first world] war disclosed as existing, and a similar ignorance of American civilization that existed in foreign countries" (1938)

"To encourage cultural relations among different nations regardless of their forms of government or ways of life." (1939; 1954).

Government affiliations:

1938--At State Department request, instituted campaign to counteract Nazi propaganda in South American countries.

War Period--Made files accessible to State Department for information as to personnel placed by Institute. Similar information refused to State Department in post-war years.

Administered Government scholarship programs under:

Contracts with U.S. Army

Smith-Mundt Act

Fulbright Act

Mutual Security Agency

Technical Cooperation Administration

In post-war years, U.S. Government has been one of principal sources of funds handled by the Institute.

Trustees (1935-1952):

Arthur S. Adams	1950-1953
Raymond B. Allen	1950-1954
Frank Altschul	1948-1954
Frank Aydelotte	1925-1942

L. H. Baekeland	1923-1943
Edward W. Barrett	1948-1950
William W. Bishop	1931-1946
Sarah G. Blanding	1947-1952
Dudley B. Bonsal	1949-1954
Lindsay Bradford	1947-1953
Thomas E. Braniff	1951-1953
Ralph J. Bunche	1950-1952
Erwin C. Canham	1948-1952
Samuel P. Capen	1925-1946
Harry J. Carman	1942-1952
William G. Carr	1950-1953
Everett N. Case	1950-1952
J. McKeen Cattell	1930-1940
Joseph P. Chamberlain	1933-1949
Arthur H. Compton	1948-1953
John S. Dickey	1947-1950
Laurence Duggan	1946-1948
Stephen Duggan	1920-1950
Stephen Duggan, Jr.	1950-1953
John Foster Dulles	1931-1947
Frederick S. Dunn	1950-1952
Milton Eisenhower	1951-1953
Livingston Farrand	1928-1940
Virginia Gildersleeve	1927-1949
Kenneth Holland	1950-1954
Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.	1951-1954
Bryn J. Hovde	1947-1951
Walter A. Jessup	1935-1945
Alvin Johnson	1929-1947
Walter Kotschnig	1947-1952
Thomas W. Lamont	1932-1947
Waldo G. Leland	1941-1949
Samuel A. Lewisohn	1947-1953
Benjamin E. Mays	1948-1954
Leonard McCollum	1949-1954
J. Hillis Miller	1948-1952
John Bassett Moore	1920-1946
Mrs. Maurice T. Moore	1948-1953
Paul Monroe	1920-1947
Henry Morgenthau	1920-1947
Edward R. Murrow	1931-1952
William A. Neilson	1941-1946
James M. Nicely	1947-1953
C. Lathrop Peck	1928-1939
Arthur W. Packard	1931-1950
Henry S. Pritchett	1920-1939
Philip Reed	1947-1950
Dorsey Richardson	1948-1953

Mrs. Henry Potter Russell	1950-1952
Leland Rex Robinson	1951-1953
Michael Ross	1948-1951
William F. Russell	1932-1940
Eustace Seligman	1951-1954
G. Howland Shaw	1946-1948
George N. Shuster	1948-1949, 1951-1954
Walter A. Siders	1930-1938
Robert G. Sproul	1949-1950
Mark Starr	1948-1952
George D. Stoddard	1948-1952
Jack Strauss	1949-1950
Ordway Tead	1948-1954
Juan Trippe	1947-1954
Eliot Wadsworth	1931-1936
Mary E. Woolley	1920-1947
George F. Zook	1947-1950

ERM connection:

Trustee, 1931 to date.

Assistant Director, 1931 to .

Member Executive Committee (Dates?).

Member, Advisory Council for Summer Session of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University Summer School, 1933-1935.

Statistics on Exchanges*
1919-1954

Foreign Professors and Specialists to U.S.A.	1,977
Foreign Students to U.S.A.	18,875
American Professors Abroad	54**
American Students Abroad	8,839
Total, 1919-1954	29,745
Total, 1945-1954	21,116

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Only in years 1919-1924.

ANGLO-AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF THE FIRST MOSCOW UNIVERSITY

Dates of connection: 1934-1935.

Origins: Experimental session of 25 persons at the American Summer School in Russia in 1933, under auspices of Zorbaugh (NYU), Kulp (Teachers' College, Columbia U.), Sollins (reputedly of NYU). Based on success of this venture, Soviet educational authorities organized Anglo-American Institute to offer regular instruction in English-Speaking summer courses. (IIE Summer School Announcement).

History: Operated summer session in 1934, with approximately 150 American students and teachers in Moscow for three weeks of courses accompanied and followed by Soviet-conducted tours. Session scheduled for 1935, but cancelled on or immediately prior to commencement by Soviet authorities. IIE thereafter severed connections with the Anglo-American Section. Arrangements satisfactory to the students, but not under auspices of the Institute, were made by the Soviets for the 200-odd students, who had then already arrived in the U.S.S.R. (See 16th Annual Report of the Director, 10/1/35, p. 11.)

Relation of ERM: Member of "Advisory Council" with Counts, Heber (Advisors), W. W. Charters, H. W. Chase, John Dewey, Stephen Duggan, Hallie Flanagan, F. P. Graham, R. M. Hutchins, Charles H. Judd, I. L. Kandel, Robert L. Kelly, John

A. Kingsbury, Susan M. Kingsbury, Paul Klapper, Charles R. Mann, W. A. Neilson, H. W. Odum, W. F. Russell, H. W. Tyler, E. H. Wolkins, F. W. Withers. T. Woody, H. W. Zorbaugh.

Institute files indicate that ERM handled funds in connection with the summer school to the extent of transmitting them to Sollins, the active manager of the program.

Contemporaneous publicity: Editorial comment in Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) in issue for February 18, 1935, attacked the summer school for fostering revolution, etc. No indication that this contributed in any way to cancellation of the 1935 session.

Nature of Summer Session in 1934 (see Report for the Institute):

Inclusive dates: July 20 to August 15 (3-1/2 weeks), followed by tours.

Sessions were followed by Soviet-conducted excursions to various institutions, as: galleries, museums, schools, clinics, with accent on sociology and education.

Courses announced in Institute publicity were:

Comparative Art & Literature in U.S.S.R.
Elementary Education in U.S.S.R.
Secondary & Higher Education in U.S.S.R.
Experimental Educational Programs in U.S.S.R.
Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union
Social Backgrounds of Communist Society
Political Economics of the Construction Period
Psychological Research in the Soviet Union
Advanced Russian Phonetics & Grammar
Seminar in Soviet Social & Cultural Life
Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union

Declared purposes of Summer Session:

". . . a means of furthering cultural contacts between American, English and Russian teachers and students."

". . . to provide foreign visitors to Soviet Russia with the academic facilities and programs necessary for serious study and research; . . . to publish material on Soviet educational, social and cultural movements for the information and use of educators and students in all English speaking countries . . . ."

"The spirit of the Anglo-American Institute is that of the true Soviet school. In its student organizations and student control of all physical and academic problems, the visitor to the institute will be enabled to see the workings of a Soviet University. Cultural and social activities will be provided for through the cooperation of Russian student bodies . . . In view of the imminence of the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States, added importance attaches to an international education venture of this sort which seeks to further develop a more intimate contact between the students and educators of both countries."

Financial support: Tuition: $20 per course, with registration fee of $2.50, payable to Anglo-American Institute, First Moscow University, 545 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. (Address of "Intourist").

Not clear from available Institute files that passage money, living expenses, etc., were paid by individuals. This was evidently the case, however, from a letter by Stephen Duggan to Skvirsky, 9/18/34, commenting on aspects of the 1934 session in which he said (p. 2) that he considered Intourist (official Soviet travel agency in this country) to be "a mere profit making scheme of the ordinary capitalistic kind, viz.:

they want to get the biggest return for the least possible outlay."

No indication exists that the Soviet Government underwrote the Summer School's finances in any way, or contributed any funds to the Institute. It did evidently bear some expenses, as the salary of a liaison man between the University officials and the student group. See Duggan letter, p. 4.

Position of Intourist: Official Soviet travel agency for foreign countries.

Evidently acted as clearing house for visa matters, passages, etc. (Cf., IPR hearings, pp. 5161, 5162, 5191).

See note above as to Duggan's view of Intourist as an ordinary "capitalistic" venture by the Soviets.

Position of VOKS: Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34 to Skvirsky, VOKS was directly responsible for physical accommodations of Summer School registrants and was one of the Soviet agencies with which summer school authorities (Sollins, and, to at least an extent, Duggan) dealt.

Told name means "Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries" (IPR report, p. 20). Aim was (a) importation of literature, (b) exportation of literature, (c) invitation of students, artists, etc., from other countries to U.S.S.R. Per testimony before McCarran Committee, it checked persons

thoroughly and obtained NKVD clearance before inviting him, then would send tickets, etc. (IPR report, p. 37). Described (ibid.) as "cover organization" for getting information to Soviet intelligence and "sending infiltration of ideas and selling Communist ideas to the West."

Per report of Secretary General of IPR, 12/20-31/34, at that time VOKS represented 218 institutions and societies in the U.S.S.R. in the establishment of relationships with similar organizations elsewhere; furnished facilities to foreign students; "arranged for the American Institute which was held in Moscow last summer" (IPR Hearings, p. 4505; Report, p. 37).

Per the McCarran Committee (IPR report, p. 149), Carter, in 1937, said that Vox, in charge of all arrangements for visiting U.S.S.R., worked closely with the secret police; that Smirnov, its president, said it was important that social opinions and interests of "important Americans" be known to it.

Per E. C. Carter (IPR Report, p. 175), in 1937 VOKS paid all Carter's expenses from Vladivostok to Moscow on a trip in 1937--"thus in fact adding several hundred dollars to" the IPR treasury.

<u>Contemporaneous Institute programs with other countries</u> (see Institute Report for 10/1/35):

<u>Summer Schools</u>:

The Institute was accepting registrations, in 1935,

for foreign summer schools in five countries: England, Austria, France, Germany and Switzerland.

Other Programs:

The Institute placed, for 1935-36, fellowship and scholarship students in Austria, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain and Switzerland. Only one student (out of a total of 200) was placed in Spain. Two Spanish students (out of a total of 159) were placed by the Institute in U.S. institutions. No exchanges were effected with Russia.

Total Russian Students in U.S.

Tabulation by Institute shows following figures for Russian students and total foreign students in U.S. in years 1923-1935:

	Russian	Total
1923-24	391	6,984
1925-26	515	6,960
1926-27	340	7,541
1928-29	501	9,685
1930-31	473	9,961
1931-32	417	8,688
1932-33	327	6,894
1933-34	169	5,805
1934-35	152	5,887

Russian attitude toward Institute:

Per Duggan letter of 9/18/34, difficulties in relations with Soviet officials during 1934 session were not due to any hostility or apparent suspicion on the Russians' part,

but to plain inefficiency among them. Relations were sufficiently uneasy so that Duggan was prepared to sever IIE connection with the Anglo-American Institute if student reports on the 1934 session were generally unfavorable. It was not cancelled on this ground, and plans went forward for a 1935 session.

Per Institute's 16th Annual Report of the Director, cancellation of the 1935 session was effected by the Russians, after the arrival of some 200 American students, on the ground that the English-speaking professors had been requisitioned for government work.

In 1946, the U.S. Department of State requested the Institute to make a survey of colleges and universities in the U.S. to determine if there existed any interest in U.S.-Soviet exchanges of students, professors and specialists. A favorable response was obtained, but the Soviet government, when approached by the State Department, indicated it was not prepared even to discuss the matter (see Vol. XXIV, No. 9, pp. 18-19, of IIE News Bulletin, 6/1/49).

In 1948, the Communist press attacked the Institute and Stephen Duggan, E. R. Murrow, Foster Dulles, Thomas Lamont and Virginia Gildersleeve, as trustees, in an article entitled "The High Aims of Mr. Duggan", printed in Uchitelskaya Gazeta ("Teacher's Gazette"), No. 5, dated January 30, 1948. The

Institute was described as "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe . . . a monopoly American Institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal 'pedagogic' spies and informers and for establishing an 'American Column' in every country." A full translation (summary?) is attached.

Endorsements By Prominent People: *

"The United States Government has also endeavored to foster such educational interchange in every way possible. The cooperation and assistance which it has received in this program from the Institute, and from the colleges and universities of this country, have been deeply appreciated. I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations."--Harry S. Truman.

"In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."--Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO."--Robert Hutchins.

"The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered."--Eleanor Roosevelt.

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* Source: IIE pamphlet published in December, 1948, used for Institute publicity.

D R A F T

Senator McCarthy attacked me because the Daily Worker on March 9th listed my television program as a "good bet" -- also, that in two subsequent issues this paper praised me. I cannot take responsibility for what the Daily Worker or any other publication has to say about my program or about me personally. I can say that I had no knowledge that I was to be the subject of notice by the Daily Worker or any other Communist publication. This is more than Senator McCarthy can say for the Communist support and the Communist funds he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the United States Senate.

POSSIBLE INSERT

Senator McCarthy made considerable play with the Daily Worker's attacks upon him, and their commendation of certain of my television programs. Here again is the effort to prove that anyone who exposes McCarthy must be a Communist. I neither edit nor read the Daily Worker. That organ's opinion of me or of Senator McCarthy holds no fascination for me. But how does the Senator explain the fact that most of the responsible press of the free world opposes his methods and behaviour. To be consistent the Senator must contend that all those great organs of opinion are either communist-controlled or the dupes of communists. He can't have it both ways.

I

Edward R. Murrow, answering the charges against him made by Senator McCarthy on the 10:30 P.M. CBS SEE IT NOW TV program of Tuesday, April 6, 1954, tonight issued the following statement:

I deny that I have criticized Senator McCarthy for his tactics <u>because</u> he was engaged in digging out Communists. I am a loyal and patriotic American devoted to the task of freeing our nation from every vestige of Communist threat and infiltration. If I am critical of McCarthyism it is not because I desire to give comfort to our enemies but because I fear that McCarthyism, unless checked, may turn out to be as evil as Communism. A good portion of my life has been lived in the fish bowl of broadcasting and television appearances. My love of country and my dedication to its best interests have been passed upon favorably by experts and I am proud to abide by their decision. No intimidating threat by McCarthy that he will bring about an investigation of press and radio or destroy me will now or ever keep me from speaking the truth as I see it.

Never have I hesitated to attack the Communists nor will I ever. It was I who first pinned on the Communists responsibility for the horrible Katyn massacre, a charge which I broadcast to the world and which some six months later was substantiated by a committee of our own Congress. [Add Warsaw and February 8th or March 8th broadcast]. Yet when I join most of

the responsible press of the free world and criticize McCarthy, the Senator chooses to label me as a Communist propagandist. The charge is as untrue as the vicious innuendos contained in the program tonight, all of which I label as false and misleading.

III

4. Senator McCarthy has attacked me as one who was "chosen" by the Soviet agency, VOKS, to act as its representative, doing work of the Soviet police, in connection with the Anglo-American Institute of the Moscow University Summer School session in 1934.

The facts are these: I was then assistant director of the Institute for International Education, an institution which was designed to improve American relations with foreign countries through exchanges of students and educational facilities. I have been associated with the Institute of International Education for more than 20 years, and have been one of its trustees since 1931. It is an association I am proud of and one in which I have had many distinguished associates--Ralph J. Bunche, John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Virginia Gildersleeve, Thomas W. Lamont, to name just a few.

In 1934, the Moscow University had organized an Anglo-American Institute which proposed holding summer sessions in

Moscow for English and American students. The Institute of International Education acted as American sponsor for the school in 1934 and I, as a representative of the Institute, was one of the 24-member National Advisory Council which was set up to advise the director of the Summer Session in its management. All of the members of the Advisory Council were selected by the Institute. None was selected by VOKS, or any other Soviet agency. The only contact which VOKS had with the school was in connection with procuring living and travel facilities for the group while it was in Russia. Inasmuch as VOKS was the Soviet bureau in charge of such matters for foreign visitors, so much contact with it was necessary if the students were to sleep and eat.

As for the Senator's charges that I was trying to Sovietize American students, the measure of the truth of this is that the Soviets refused, after the 1934 summer session, to have anything more to do with the Institute's program. It refused to permit students to attend the 1934 session under the Institute's auspices. When the Institute

tried--at the request of the ~~Federal~~ United States Government--to arrange for American students to go to Russia in 1948, it was met with a Soviet blast, appearing in several Communist publications in Europe, calling it and its program "the centre of international propaganda for American reaction", and charging, among its trustees, John Foster Dulles as ". . . one of the most violent of the war mongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski." I was favored with the tag "reactionary radio commentator".

The Senator also states that "many" of the persons who attended the summer school later became Communists. He names two--and the Institute's roster of persons going to the 1934 school does not even carry the name of one of them, There were 190-odd at the summer session. In the Senator's language, two of these--one of whom may not have been there--is "many".

The Institute of International Education is today the contracting agency for the government of this country in

administering various student programs abroad. It also administers student programs under the Fulbright Act and the Smith-Mundt Act. Over the course of the years, it has arranged, in all, some 30,000 exchanges of students and professors.

President Eisenhower has said of its work:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

I believed eighteen years ago, and I believe today that mature American graduate students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, the clash of ideas with communists <u>anywhere</u> under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the

communist cause, dogma and doctrine is stronger than our own. This reporter declines to admit that, but remains uncertain as to Senator McCarthy's position on this matter. I believe that even Senator McCarthy could hold his own in an interchange of this kind--although that conclusion may be open to some doubt inasmuch as the Senator accepted Communist support and Communist funds in aid of his 1946 campaign.

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Mr. Salant

Station

March 31, 1954

These have come up from Ned Perkins in draft form. Would you call me at your convenience.

R. S. S.

Statement Re Institute for International Education

Edward R. Murrow has been associated with the Institute for International Education for more than 20 years and has been a Trustee since 19 . The Institute is a private, nonprofit organization for the promotion of international exchanges in the educational field. It was established in 1919, right after the First World War, as a result of the concern of a number of eminent Americans (including such leaders in education as Nicholas Murray Butler and Elihu Root) with the obstacle to mutual understanding among nations formed by ignorance of other countries' ways. It was, at the outset, entirely financed by private funds. For many years the Carnegie Endowment was its principal support. The Rockefeller Foundation and, more recently, the Ford Foundation have also contributed generously.

During the 35 years of its existence, the Institute has carried out its purpose by establishing opportunities and providing means for the mutual exchange of students, technicians, professors and specialists between the United States and some 75 other countries. It has numbered among its directors persons distinguished in almost every field of affairs. Included among these, past and present, have been Nicholas Murray Butler, one of the Institute's founders, John Foster Dulles, Stephen P. Duggan, Frank P. Graham, Ordway Tead, Robert

Benton, Virginia Gildersleeve, Robert M. Hutchins and Millicent Carey McIntosh.

Commencing in 1938, the Institute has done extensive work in cooperation with the United States Government. It commenced in that year, as a result of representations from the State Department, to make concentrated efforts to increase Latin-American exchanges in order to combat the effect of Hitler propaganda in this Hemisphere. Under a contract arrangement with the United States Government, it has since continued to administer Government funds for student exchanges and has acted as the Government's scholarship administrator under the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts. It has also worked for and with the Department of the Army in reorientation programs with Germany, Austria and Japan.

With regard to the Institute's work, President Eisenhower has said:

> "In these troubled days, the far-sighted policy of international education has become a firm foundation on which will ultimately rest the peace for which all the world is so earnestly yearning. I can assure you of my very best wishes and my full cooperation in the great achievements that lie ahead for the Institute of International Education."

The Institute's connection with the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University in the years 1933-35 was only a small part of the Institute's endeavors to help in bringing about understanding between this country and others.

It was the only instance of such an endeavor directed toward the Soviet Union. Because of Soviet interference, it was unsuccessful, and it was abandoned after the Russians withdrew recognition of the Institute as a student exchange agency in 1935. The summer session operated only one season, that of 1934, when some 150 American students and teachers attended, under the Institute's auspices, a three-week session of the Moscow State University Summer School. A 1935 session was scheduled, but Soviet authorities cancelled their recognition of the Institute before the session commenced and refused thereafter to recognize the Institute as an accredited exchange agency. In 1938, the Communist Press in Russia and other European countries attacked the Institute as a "center of international propaganda for American reaction". In the same article, Mr. Murrow was called a "reactionary radio commentator", and his position cited as evidence of the Institute's supposed purpose.

Any suggestion that the Institute, or Mr. Murrow, was a dupe of the Communists because of contact with the Anglo-American section of the Moscow State University in 1934 is, in light of these facts, absurd.

"The United States Government has also endeavored to foster such educational interchange in every way possible. The cooperation and assistance which it has received in this program from the Institute, and from the colleges and universities of this country, have been deeply appreciated. I am sure that the plan of the Institute for expanding its services will increase its rich experience in educational exchange and further benefit this country in its cultural relations with other nations."

--Harry S. Truman

"The Institute in reaching its thirtieth anniversary as a private organization which has so long recognized and fulfilled its obligation, deserves the thanks of the citizens of the U. S. and a deep appreciation of the services your Institute has rendered."

--Eleanor Roosevelt

"Further development of the Institute should be of distinct advantage to the perpetuation of the ideals of UNESCO."

--Robert Hutchins

Selected List of Trustees

Jack Straus

Mrs. Samuel A. Lewisohn

Arthur H. Compton

John S. Dickey

Virginia Gildersleeve

Millicent Carey McIntosh

John Bassett Moore

Thomas W. Lamont

John Foster Dulles

Mrs. Maurice T. Moore

Ordway Tead

Nicholas Murray Butler

Joseph P. Chamberlain

Frank P. Graham

Robert Benton

Robert M. Hutchins

Statistics on Exchanges*
1919-1954

Foreign Professors and Specialists to U.S.A.	1,977
Foreign Students to U.S.A.	18,875
American Professors Abroad	54**
American Students Abroad	8,839
Total	29,745
Total, 1945-1954	21,116

---

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Only in years 1919-1924.

Principal Sources of IIE Income*
1949-1954

(All Figures Approximate)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Government	$120,000	$250,000	$580,000	$490,000	$550,000	$560,000
3 Foundations**	230,000	240,000	230,000	230,000	180,000	230,000
Other	70,000	70,000	100,000	150,000	200,000	180,000
Ford	--	--	2,500	340,000	425,000	590,000

---

* Source: 2/19/54 Historical Review.

** Carnegie, Rockefeller and Commonwealth.

Statement Re National Student Federation of America

Neither Edward R. Murrow nor the National Student Federation of America, of which Mr. Murrow was President in 1930, has, or has ever had, any connection with the National Student Union. The National Student Federation was organized as a Federation of student government bodies in 1925. It was, under its charter and in the conduct of its affairs, non-sectarian and nonpolitical.

The Federation continued in existence, holding annual conventions for the exchange of student thought, until 1942, and during this period encouraged various student activities, including the exchange of debating teams with foreign countries and the organization of student European tours. In November 1930 (when Mr. Murrow was President of the NSFA) President Herbert Hoover said of these activities:

> "Wisely directed efforts looking toward greater enlightenment upon international problems and a more intelligent sympathy between nations deserve commendation and support. The work of the National Student Federation in this field is most promising and encouraging."

During the war years, the Federation was unable to carry on its program. The 1942 convention was cancelled and the Federation thereafter went out of existence.

Several other student organizations came into existence after 1930, some of them as a result of secession

of radical elements from the NSFA. One of these was the American Student Union. Any attempt to confuse the National Student Federation with the American Student Union is wholly without basis in fact.

WBBM

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

410 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS · WHITEHALL 4-6000

March 18, 1954

Dear Ed:

Knowing how jammed your mail must be, I have asked Dottie to pass this on to you. It is probably a case of being over-zealous because you and Fred have no doubt already covered this. However, just on the chance that you have not----

Among the sources for background information on the McCarthy story I should like to mention a friend of mine who really knows it thoroughly. He is Lindsay Hoben, chief editorial writer of the Milwaukee Journal. He has done many of the Journal stories and editorials on the Senator and I'm sure could be of great assistance in furnishing you any material to round out the picture that you might require.

sent to Shuster 3/26 Dm.

For your information our switchboard count at CBS-Chicago showed that between the end of your March 9 See It Now and Friday noon of March 12 we had received 2440 calls. Of this number 86 were pro-McCarthy, the others cheered Murrow. On the morning after the Lewis Junior interview we received 60 calls of which one (one---sic) was pro-McCarthy. I have no figures on the calls to WGN-MBS locally. I needn't tell you, Ed, how much your friends here admire what you are doing to show that radio-TV can be the great instrument that it should be.

sent to D. Jacobson 3/24

Thanks for sending Miles Jebb to us. He is a fine boy. Toni and I chose Washington's birthday (a bank holiday) to take him to visit the birthplace of Col. McCormick where he could better reflect on the sins of the British. As you may know, Col. McCormick was born in the up-stairs bar of the Key Club, 150 East Ontario Street, Chicago, Il. Miles was properly impressed when we took him upstairs after lunch. He said that although he didn't really collect such things, he HAD once seen Churchill's birthplace in Blenheim Palace, and as a matter of fact it was a similar-sized room.

If there is any way in which we might help you and Fred, I know you will call on me.

Sincerely,

Julian

Julian Bentley

MARCH 16, 1954

KEN MCCORMICK

DOUBLEDAY & CO.
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

THANKS VERY MUCH. TOO BUSY AND TOO MANY BOOKS TO READ TO TRY WRITING ONE REGARDS

ED MURROW

1-43-7

WU 086 PD

KL NEWYORK NY MAR 15 524PME

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 15 PM 6:20
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

DOUBLEDAY WISH YOU WOULD CONSIDER DOING A BOOK OUT OF YOUR BROADCAST WHICH WOULD BE CALLED MCCARTHY AND HIS FRIENDS. TEXT AND PICTURES TO STEM FROM YOUR RESEARCH FROM THE PROGRAM. IF YOURE INTERESTED WED BE DELIGHTED TO DO ANY AMOUNT OF EDITORIAL LEG WORK TO MAKE IT A POSSIBILITY YOURS

KEN MCCORMICK

617P..

M

EDWARD R. MURROW - CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

AKIN HALL ASSOCIATION
Pawling, N.Y.
Member in 1949. Present ?

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54 West 54 St., N.Y.
Social Club - resigned membership Jan. 14, 1954

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c/o Ray Vir Den, President
17 East 45 St., N.Y.
2nd Vice President

DUTCHESS VALLEY ROD AND GUN CLUB
Pawling, N.Y.

KAPPA SIGMA FRATERNITY
Washington State College, Pullman, Wash.

THE LAMBS
130 West 44 Street, N.Y.
Resigned, November 30, 1953

THE QUAKER HILL COUNTRY CLUB
Pawling, N.Y.

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CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
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~~7 West 43 Street, N.Y.~~

Miss Slocum
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INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 East 67 St., N.Y.
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c/o Lee Hills, Pres.
35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago

5-c-11

COPY

MARCH 15, 1954

EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS

AS YOU KNOW IN ACCORDANCE WITH YOUR WIRE OF MARCH 13TH OFFERING TO MAKE AVAILABLE ONE HALF HOURS TIME TO REPLY TO YOUR ATTACKS ON ME I DESIGNATED MR. WILLIAM BUCKLEY, AUTHOR OF "GOD AND MAN AT YALE" AND CO-AUTHOR OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK, "MCCARTHY AND HIS ENEMIES," TO PRESENT A DOCUMENTED ANSWER TO YOU. MR. BUCKLEY ACCEPTED THIS INVITATION. I TODAY RECEIVED YOUR WIRE DATED MARCH 14TH TO THE EFFECT THAT THE TIME WILL NOT BE ALLOWED IF I SELECT SOMEONE TO ANSWER BUT THAT IT WILL BE AVAILABLE IF I PERSONALLY ANSWER YOU. NORMALLY I WOULD NOT WASTE THE TIME TO MERELY PROVE THAT A RADIO AND TV COMMENTATOR WHO ATTACKS ME IS LYING. HOWEVER, IF I AM CORRECT IN MY POSITION THAT YOU HAVE CONSCIOUSLY SERVED THE COMMUNIST CAUSE THEN IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOUR LISTENERS TO HAVE THE CLEAR CUT DOCUMENTED FACTS SO THEY CAN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT YOU ARE AS TRUTHFUL AS YOU ATTEMPT TO MAKE OUT OR DELIBERATELY MISREPRESENTING THE FACTS. THEREFORE, I SHALL ACCEPT YOUR OFFER OF TIME. IF POSSIBLE I WOULD PREFER THE TIME TWO WEEKS LATER THAN MARCH 23RD, NAMELY APRIL 6TH.

THE REASON FOR THE REQUESTED POSTPONEMENT IS THREE FOLD. NO 1: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT YOUR SPONSORSHIP OF MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY WHICH WAS CO-SPONSORED BY VOKS WHICH WAS A RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DATES BACK MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS, IT WILL TAKE CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PUT TOGETHER ALL THE PERTINENT FACTS IN YOUR RECORD. NO. 2: I SHALL BE OUT OF TOWN FROM WEDNESDAY OF THIS WEEK THROUGH SUNDAY, DURING WHICH TIME AMONG OTHER THINGS I SHALL ANSWER FROM MILWAUKEE WISCONSIN THE ATTACKS MADE UPON ME BY ADLAI STEVENSON. NO. 3: I HAVE BEEN SPENDING EVERY AVAILABLE MINUTE OF PREPARING A MAJOR SPEECH ON THE AGRICULTURE PROGRAM WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON

THE ADVERSE CONDITIONS BEING CREATED FOR OUR DAIRY FARMERS. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE THIS WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY BEFORE MARCH 23RD AND DISLIKE TAKING TIME OFF FROM THAT IMPORTANT TASK TO ANSWER YOUR ATTACKS. HOWEVER, IF MARCH 23RD IS THE ONLY DATE BEING OFFERED THAT DATE WILL BE ACCEPTED. IN VIEW OF THE FACT I DID NOT HEAR YOUR BROADCAST I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING A TRANSCRIPT THEREOF AS WELL AS A TRANSCRIPT OF ANY OTHER ATTACKS WHICH YOU HAVE MADE UPON ME OR UPON THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF WHICH I AM CHAIRMAN.

JOE MCCARTHY USS

5-c-17

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
(CBS RADIO NETWORK)
(HARD NEWS PORTION)

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1954
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

The government reports that unemployment increased by 584-thousand persons in February. It was the fourth straight monthly increase. There are now three million 671-thousand unemployed. In the past three months, December, January and February, the figure on the unemployed increased by two million.

Once again tonight, Senator McCarthy and Army Secretary Stevens are in violent verbal disagreement. An army report says that Senator McCarthy and his Chief Counsel, Roy Cohn, applied pressure and threats to the army to try to get special treatment for a former committee aide, David Schine, who was drafted into the army. The Army report says the 27-year-old Cohn threatened to "get" Secretary Stevens and wreck the army. Cohn denies this and he and McCarthy say the army has been using this report in an attempt to "blackmail" the McCarthy committee to give up up its search for Communists in the army. McCarthy today released an unsigned memorandum saying that Army Secretary Stevens once suggested that the Committee aim its search for Communists at the Navy, the Air Force and the Defense Department. The unsigned McCarthy memorandum says Stevens offered to "furnish leads and plenty of dirt" for such an investigation.

Secretary Stevens promptly called this "utterly untrue." And the Army's legal counsel, John G. Adams, who is alleged to have had conversations with McCarthy on such things, calls the McCarthy memorandum "fantastic and false."

One McCarthy committee member, Republican Potter of Michigan, called for a quick hearing to determine whether what he called "these shocking charges" against Cohn are true. Another Republican committee member, Dirksen of Illinois said McCarthy violated an agreement with other Republicans not to release his memorandum at least until they had discussed the Army's report on McCarthy and Cohn. Dirksen says "the present controversey has gone far enough."

The three Democrats on the committee want an early hearing on the Army's report - so does Republican Senator Mundt, another member. Senator McCarthy left Washington today to make some speeches in Wisconsin.

Chairman Millikan of the Senate Finance Committee says the Senate will probably go along with the House on a reduction in excise taxes. He promised to battle against any further moves to cut income taxes.

Chairman Cole of the Atomic Energy Committee says the committee has been checking all atomic installations for missing documents as "a routine" matter. Representative Pelly of Washington state says "highly secret" papers are missing from the atomic plant at Hanford in his state. He says the volume of the missing papers is "rather extensive."

In Europe today, an American military source in Frankfurt says a Russian-made Mig attacked two of our navy planes on the German-Czech frontier. One plane was badly shot up. Both managed to land safely at Munich.

And Belgium today joined Holland as the only two countries that have completely ratified the European army treaty.

EDWARD R. MURROW ON SENATOR MC CARTHY
(CBS RADIO

FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1954
7:45 - 8:00 P.M.

I assume that most people have on their minds matters of more considerable substance than Senator McCarthy's opinion of this reporter, or mine of him. However, it might serve some purpose to set some part of the record straight. Let us begin with the subject of the Civil Liberties Union. Here is Senator McCarthy's statement on that subject, recorded while he was interrogating Reed Harris:

TAPE: HARRIS

Q. Did the Civil Liberties Union provide you with an attorney at any time?

A. I had many offers of attorneys and one of those was from the American Civil Liberties Union, yes.

Q. The question is did the Civil Liberties Union supply you with an attorney?

A. They did supply an attorney.

Q. The answer is yes?

A. The answer is yes..

Q. You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist Party?

A. Mr. Chairman this was 1932.

Q. I know it was 1932. Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist party?

A. I do not know that they have been listed so, sir.

Q. You don't know they have been listed?

A. I have heard that mentioned or read that mentioned.

Now here is this reporter's comment, made on a recent television program:

TAPE: MURROW:

"The Reed Harris hearing demonstrates one of the Senator's techniques. Twice he said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front. The Attorney General's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive, nor does the F.B.I. or any other ~~government~~ Federal agency. And the American Civil Liberties Union holds in its files letters of commendation from President Eisenhower, President Truman and General MacArthur."

Here again is what Senator McCarthy said last night, when asked by Fulton Lewis, Jr., to comment on my remarks:

TAPE: MCCARTHY "May I say there are some individuals in the ACLU who are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not been listed. I have as you see, here, Fulton, the fourth report of the un-American Activities Committee in California. I quote from page 107 .. this is a quotation in regard to the organization Murrow said had not been listed. "The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a communist-front or transmission-belt organization. At least ninety percent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law" - so that again, Mr. Murrow is not telling the truth."

I specifically stated "the Attorney General's list, the F.B.I. and any other government agency." Someone lied - there's no doubt about that.

Now let us turn to another subject. Mr. Lewis last night asked the Senator to comment on a television program of which I am the editor. Here is Senator McCarthy's reply. I have no hesitation in giving it such circulation as this broadcast may enjoy.

TAPE: MCCARTHY: "I may say, Fulton, that I have a little difficulty answering the specific attack he made because I never listen to the extreme left-wing, bleeding heart element of radio and television.."

The Senator may have me there. I may be a "bleeding heart", being not quite sure of what it means. As for being "extreme left wing," that is political shorthand; but if the Senator means that I am somewhat to the left of his position and of Louis XIV, he is correct.

Now here are the facts about that Moscow summer school. The date was 1935. I was the Assistant Director of the Institute of International Education. This organization dealt primarily with the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries. It had established offices in London, Paris, Berlin, Geneva and elsewhere. It was largely financed at that time by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation. Among its board of trustees were such as John Foster Dulles, John Bassot Moore, Thomas W. Lamont, Virginia Gildersleeve, and others equally distinguished. This board of trustees created an advisory committee in connection with a summer school in Moscow for graduate students, teachers and professors. Here is the list of advisors:

W.W. Charters, Director, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University.

Harry Wooburn Chase, Chancellor of New York University.

George S. Counts, Professor of Education. Teachers College, Columbia University.

John Dewey, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Columbia University.

Stephen Duggan, Director, Institute of International Education.

Hallie F. Flanagan, Professor of English, Vassar College.

Frank P. Graham, President, University of North Carolina.

Robert M. Hutchins, President, University of Chicago.

Charles H. Judd, Dean, School of Education, University of Chicago.

I,L. Kandel, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Robert L. Kelly, Secretary, Association of American Colleges.

John A. Kingsbury, Secretary, Milbank Memorial Fund.

Susan M. Kingsbury, Professor of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College.

Paul Klapper, Dean, School of Education, College of the City of New York.

Charles R. Mann, Director, American Council of Education.

Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education.

William Allan Neilson, President, Smith College.

Howard W. Odum, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

William F. Russell, Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.

H.W. Tyler, General Secretary, American Association of University Professors

Ernest H. Wilkins, President, Oberlin College.

John W. Withers, Dean, School of Education, New York University.

Thomas Woody, Professor of History of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Harvey W. Zorbaugh, Director, Clinic for the Social Adjustment of Gifted Children, New York University.

Some of the persons on that list are now dead, but presumably not yet immune from the Senator's attentions. It was and is a rather distinguished list, and I plead neither ignorance nor youth as the reason for my name being on it.

The Russian authorities abruptly, and without satisfactory explanation, cancelled the proposed summer school before it began, and most of the prospective

members spent the summer travelling in the Soviet Union. I did not accompany the group to the Soviet Union. No effort was made to revive the venture, and the advisory council was therefore dissolved. The Institute of International Education continued to arrange student and professorial exchanges, and to make arrangements for American students to attend summer sessions in various foreign countries, but not in the Soviet Union.

I believed eighteen years ago, and I believe today that mature American graduate students and professors can engage in conversation and controversy, the clash of ideas with communists anywhere under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted. To deny this would be to admit that in the realm of ideas, faith and conviction the communist cause, dogma and doctrine is stronger than our own. This reporter declines to admit that, but remains uncertain as to Senator McCarthy's position on this matter.

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
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March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We are sending along all pertinent file materials we can find in relation to the Moscow Summer Sessions. I hope you are able to make good use of this material. Please advise me if I, in Ken Holland's absence, can be of further assistance.

I want to call your attention especially to a copy of an article run in the "Teacher's Gazette" on January 30, 1948 in Moscow. It states pretty forcefully what the Soviets think about the IIE.

Sincerely yours,

Albert G. Sims
Vice President

enc.

P.S. I am also enclosing a copy of the latest "Study Abroad" (Summer 1954) and a quick run-down of the kinds of programs that the Institute "sponsors" for foreign governments and groups - sponsors in the sense of publicizing and screening candidates as a facilitating service.

To: BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEMORANDUM March 24, 1948
From: Lawrence Duggan

The translation of the attached article from the Moscow Teacher's Gazette was furnished by the State Department.

(Copy - Translation)

"U C H I T E L S K A Y A G A Z E T A"
("Teacher's Gazette")

No. 5, 30th January, 1948.

THE "HIGH AIMS" OF MR. DUGGAN
(Full Summary of 2-1/2 column article)
by Prof. M. Bernstein.

The magazine "America" published for Russian readers by the US Information Bureau, kindly lent the pages of its twelfth number to Professor Stephen Duggan and his son, Directors of the Institute of International Education, in New York, on the question of "international exchange of students and scholars". The article is richly illustrated with idyllic pictures of students from Hungary, Mexico, India, Iceland, Greece, and Palestine, relaxing, eating, reading and working in laboratories. The authors are discursively eloquent on the "need for a mutual understanding which would pass the barriers of race, nation and creed" on "the strengthening of good will and community of aims between the democratic countries". They try to convince Soviet readers that their Institute of International Education (IIE) has from its very inception concerned itself only with the attainment of these high aims.

Duggan is trying to extend the activity of the IIE to the USSR. He has made similar attemps not a few times before, but without success, for it is well known in the Soviet Union what Mr. Duggan and the Institute, which he heads, represent.

The IIE came into being literally on the day following the end of the first World War when the most aggressive section of American monopoly capital had placed on the agenda the question of the world hegemony of the USA. The new foreign political tasks of American imperialism called to life new organizational forms of political, economic and ideological expansion. A distinct and important role in the general scheme for the ideological offensive was assigned to the "educational" cadres of American imperialism.

The Institute of International Education was organized under the stamp of the well-known philanthropic Carnegie fund. But this was merely a mask and not a particularly clever one. From the very first days of its existence, the IIE had been the centre of international propaganda for American reaction, the nursery of a special detachment of American residents in all parts of the globe. As from 1926 when the Institute had given practical evidence of its ability to perform the tasks laid upon it, a special conference of representatives of the Morgan and Rockefeller philanthropic organizations financing the Institute and of representatives of the American Education Council which was the ideological and political inspiration behind it, turned the IIE into a monopoly American institution for international pedagogic relations, for training legal "pedagogic" spies and informers and for establishing an "American column" in every country.

Moreover, from 1939 onwards the IIE in practice controlled the entire work of consultation, information and orientation as well as of supervision connected with all foreign students studying in American higher education establishments even of those who do not enjoy the material support of the Institute and who have no need whatsoever of its guardianship. In other words, since the beginning of the '40s, the IIE has held in its hands all the threads of American foreign pedagogic relations.

The annual reports published by the Institute and the writings of Duggan himself, give an idea of the proportions, forms and methods of the work of this outpost of US "pedagogic" aggression and reveal the immense danger which its many-sided activity presents to the independence of peoples, to real democratic peace and cultural progress.

As to the political colour of the Institute, it will suffice to say that one member of its management is the notorious John Foster Dulles - one of the most violent of the warmongers, publicly branded by A. Ya. Vyshinski; others are Thomas Lamont - big banker and director of a number of industrial and transport corporations; E. Morrow - reactionary radio commentator; Paul Monroe, Virginia Gildersleeve, and a whole pleiad of such educationalists with long experience in planting American "educational" institutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The chief activity of the IIE is the organization of international student exchanges. In the 25 years of its existence it has sent about 2.5 thousand American students abroad, and placed more than 3000 students from Europe, Asia and South America in American colleges.

The American students have to pass through a two-fold political filter - they are selected by special selection committees attached to the establishments and colleges which have made the agreement with Mr. Duggan in the transaction concerned. The recommendation of their own colleges alone, however, is not enough; candidates must pass before a selection committee in the Institute of International Education itself.

Every student sent abroad must present two reports to the Institute - one during his stay, the other on his return home. These reports are secret and may be used only for the information of other students who are subsequently sent to the same country.

Two important criterions in the selection of candidates are: positive references from "politically reliable" persons and a capacity for getting on with other people. Students sent abroad by the IIE are advised not to confine themselves to their academic pursuits, but to "study the cultural, political and social life of the country to which they are sent, make friends with the local students and visit their homes, and establish friendly relations with the population".

The information which comes in through the Institute, as Duggan proudly declares, is more correct and reliable than that procured by the State Department through its Intelligence agents.

The real nature of the training which the IIE gives to American students staying abroad was "brilliantly" demonstrated during the recent war: in the words of its director the Institute became a reserve from which the American War Department and other state organs could draw trained cadres of occupation experts and colonisers. And one cannot but agree with Mr. Duggan that in this respect "the IIE justified the hopes of its real patrons and friends".

Since its inception the IIE has placed over 3000 foreign students in specially selected US colleges. They, unlike their American opposites, have to pass through a three-fold filter. Besides the selection made in Institutes in their own countries they must also come before a selection board organized in their countries and obliged to include two American residents there who enjoy the confidence of Duggan & Co. The final say

belongs to a selection committee in the IIE itself.

When he has finally passed through all these filters and won a scholarship from the Institute, the foreign student comes under its total guardianship and the tireless supervision of its agents in American colleges. In practice he is told which college he must enter. There he is directed by a specially chosen "professor" who "advises" him in all questions, even in the choice of newspapers and magazines to read, meetings to attend, and in the organization of his private relationships. All this is done in order that the student shall form "real enthusiasm for the American way of life and American civilization".

In the words of Duggan, only very few foreign students fail to yield to this "ideological" suasion. This is very likely, for the "fortunates" honoured with Duggan's "bounty" are naturally the offspring of the families of the ruling cliques in foreign states who are, according to Duggan, "candidates for leading public service" in their own country. Such selection is, of course, no mere chance. In its work with foreign students the IIE sets itself far-reaching goals; it plans to establish an American core among the ruling classes of the corresponding countries. As the Second World War again showed, in its respect too its calculations have justified themselves to a considerable extent. Duggan maintains that "the majority of foreign students who have passed through the IIE have proved loyal friends of the USA". It is among them that the Americans now seek and find "convinced" supporters of the "Truman doctrine", who fawn to Uncle Sam and are prepared to sell and betray the national sovereignty and the national dignity of their country for a dollar sop.

The second extensive branch of the IIE's activity is its "academic exchanges", i.e., the organization of lectures by foreign scholars in American colleges and by American scholars in foreign colleges. The selection of scholars invited to America, like the selection of American professors sent abroad, has a specific character. Both, as a rule, belong to the openly reactionary camp. In any case they must all be absolutely "reliable" from the point of view of capitalist ideology and "loyal" to American policy.

The IIE has spared no energies to organize "lecture tours" for such venerable "scholars" as ... the former President of the German Reichsbank, Schacht, and the Italian diplomat, Carlo Sforza, as well as a visit of the notorious airman Lindberg to the Latin-American and Far Eastern countries "to study schools, universities and the education systems as a whole".

The Nuremberg trial of the main German War criminals proved beyond doubt the "academic" nature of Schacht's visit to the USA. Evidently Duggan did not foresee such an end for his fascist protege when in 1943 he tried to deceive American and world public opinion by asserting that "Schacht did not receive a cent of credit from America".

Nor could Duggan, evidently, foresee that the secret of the sudden "pedagogic" transformation of Lindberg would be given away by his friend and companion-in-arms, John Barrett, who told representatives of the press that the visit of the "American prince", Colonel Lindberg, to Latin America, had been planned in order to weaken the impression made by the visit of the then Prince of Wales.

On the other hand, Duggan not only foresaw but awaited with impatience proofs of the beneficial influence of the IIE on his friend, Sforza. When, with the aid of his American protectors, the latter attained to the office of Italian Foreign Minister, he instructed his newspaper to declare that "any power which has signed the peace treaty may make any armed landing it please on any part of the Italian coast ...".

After this, how could Duggan not boast of his successes in organizing "academic exchanges" and in "strengthening mutual understanding between democratic peoples"...

What is the real attitude of Duggan and his Institute to the Soviet Union? In his last article in "America" he writes that "ignorance and prejudice are the primary factors which give birth to ill-will and conflict between peoples". These words apply perfectly to Duggan himself. All his activity and writings have proved not only his prejudice and ignorance in questions concerning the USSR, but also his complete inability to learn the appropriate lessons from his personal "experience" in this sphere.

The Socialist Revolution aroused in Duggan alarm and terror almost bestial. With the solemn mien of the venerable "scholar" he took to producing vile fictions about the "Bolshevist terror which has deprived Russia of her intellectual forces", the Bolsheviks as disturbers of peace throughout the world", and so on.

With the generous means put at his disposal by Morgan and Rockefeller he has made repeated attempts to prepare an American core for the USSR - through his "Russian Student Fund" mobilizing White Russian emigrés and by personal visits to the Soviet Union in 1925 and again in 1934.

He has met, however, with repeated failure. The frontiers of the USSR have proved firmly barred to his agents. Nothing has been left but to return to his old weapon against the Societ people - slander. And in this respect, in his last, autobiographical book, - "A Professor in the Wildest Sense of the World" - he has excelled himself.

Such is Mr. Duggan, who conceals beneath the gown of "Professor of International Pedagogy" a poisoned weapon of Intelligence and espionage; such is the Institute under his direction.

"Teacher's Gazette", No. 5, 1948.

July 8, 1954

Asked lawyers for it. They don't have it.

~~REMOVAL NOTE~~

"Political Processes in National Student Organizations" by Martin McLaughlin.

Returned to Ed Scott, SEE IT NOW staff, who had borrowed it for us.

D.McDonough
Sec. to Mr. Murrow dm.

Dotty:

Here are a few more names I should have included in the list of people who have worked for us:

Gene Milford	Cutter (or Film Editor) ..	left because of health
Sid Katz	Cutter	1. was temporary help
Lucy Savsay	Cutter	" " "
Jimmy Young	Assistant cutter	left for better job
Arlette Karpo ...	Assistant cutter	left to get married.

John Bockhurst

HIRED BY MURROW WHILE IN LONDON

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~Winston Burdett~~

Charles Collingwood

~~Larry LeSueur~~

~~Bill Downs~~

~~Charles Shaw~~

~~*Paul Manning~~

~~Edward P. Morgan~~

~~Bill Shadel~~

~~* William L. Shirer~~

~~* Thomas B. Grandin~~

~~Eric Sevareid~~

~~Richard C. Hottelet~~

~~* Mary Marvin Breckinridge~~ (now Mrs. Jefferson Patterson)

~~Kathryn Campbell~~

~~* Maureen Hall (secretary)~~

~~* Audrey Dunk (secretary)~~

~~* Basil Kolk (office boy)~~

~~George Moorad~~

~~Farnsworth Fowle~~

~~Lionel Shapiro~~

~~Robert P. Martin~~

~~Stephen Laird~~

~~John Jefferson~~

~~George Herman~~

~~Robert C. Pierpoint~~

~~Louis Cioffi~~

REPORTING TO MURROW AS EUROPEAN DIRECTOR FOR C.B.S.

Alexander Kendrick

*Cecil Brown

*George Fielding Eliot

*~~Bernard Valery~~

*Glen Stadler

~~Howard K. Smith~~

George Moorad (deceased)

* Farnsworth Fowle

~~* Bill Henry~~

~~* Hans V. Kaltenborn~~

* No longer with C.B.S.

EDWARD R. MURROW - ORGANIZATIONS

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
United Nations Plaza at 46 Street, N.Y.
Trustee
May, 1951 to Present

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
1 East 67 Street, N.Y.
Trustee and member Executive Committee
_____to Present

FORD FOUNDATION BOARD ON OVERSEAS TRAINING AND RESEARCH
445 Park Avenue
Member of Board
March, 1952 to Present

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS INC.
Lincoln-Liberty Building, Philadelphia
Trustee
October, 1953 to Present

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION
45 East 65 Street, N.Y.
Director and member Ad Hoc Committee on Program
January, 1953 to Present

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
58 East 68 Street, N.Y.
Member of Advisory Committee on Fellowships
March, 1933 to Present

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER
711 14 Street, Washington, D.C.
Member
March, 1951 to Present
(Committee inactive since summer of 1953 but
remains on standby basis)

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia
_____to Present
(Mr. Murrow merely receives monthly publication, "The Annals";
in my memory we have had no correspondence and Mr. M. has
never attended a meeting or written anything for them.)

EDWARD R. MURROW - ORGANIZATIONS PAST

WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION
45 East 65 Street, N.Y.
Director
May, 1946 to May, 1951

U.S.NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
Member
September 1946 to September 1949

THE YALE QUARTERLY REVIEW
New Haven
Member Editorial Board
Approximate dates: 1946 to 1948 or '49

AD HOC COMMITTEE to protest the removal of "The Nation" magazine from the New York City school library list.
(No longer have correspondence and do not remember exact title or dates...probably during 1949 or 1950.)

dmcd
3/25/54

MURROW EXTRA-CURRICULAR "GOOD WORKS"

SHAPE	Dec.1951. Narrated film, "Alliance for Peace"..."a motion picture dealing with the Western democracies' cooperative answer to the aggressive threat of Communism". Produced by Lt. Sam Goldwyn, Jr. of Eisenhower's SHAPE staff. (Film shown on CBS TV March 18, 1952)
CIVIL DEFENSE	Official films narrated for Federal C.D.Administration: 1951 - "Fire Fighting for Householders" 1951 - "Survival Under Atomic Attack" (appeal for volunteers) 1953 - "Disaster on Main Street" 1951 - Recorded appeal for volunteers which was played in "Transition Room" of Alert America Convoy Exhibit
FORD MOTOR COMPANY	1952 - Narrated public service film "Ticket to Freedom"... "whole purpose is to emphasize the personal responsibility of good citizenship"..shown to 130,000 Ford employees and made available to schools, film libraries, church groups, women's clubs, civic and community organizations, etc.".
CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM	Sept.3,1951. Narrated 15-min. program "Bells of Freedom" celebrating Crusade's first anniversary....produced by Crusade, carried by CBS, included recorded statements by Gen. Clay, Stassen, Eisenhower, Ambassador Gifford, Mayor Reuter.
THE COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS	Dec.4,1952. Addressed Eleventh General Assembly of States... group of State Secretaries of State, etc. (Have copy of speech if you want.) (NOTE: See 1948 or 1949 for speech at Governors' Conference for same outfit.)
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOC.	October, 1959. Addressed Forty-eighth Annual Meeting (Have speech).
PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOC.	April 30, 1953. Chairman of dinner honoring Ordway Tead... conducted interview-discussion with presidents of four City colleges.
ARMED FORCES INFORMATION SCHOOL	June 28, 1951. Addressed students, Fort Slocum, N.Y.

MURROW - "GOOD WORKS" 2-2-2

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE	Jan.26,1952. 45th Annual Meeting...participated in stage presentation "To The Living Generation".
	Jan.30,1954. 47th Annual Meeting and tribute to Jacob Blaustein, retiring president. "Report on Human Rights" presentation included excerpt from SIN films on Korea, Radulovich and ACLU. (Have rough script)
RED CROSS	March 1,1953. Introduced 30-min. TV program "Answer the Call" to launch national fund drive.
CBS DOCUMENTARY	May 8, 1953 Narrated "The Green Border"..."a full-hour actuality broadcast"...."the first report on the men and women who have escaped from behind the Iron Curtain, recorded in their own words and voices".
VOICE OF AMERICA	November, 1952. Commentators' Round-Table on the Pres. Elections broadcast...for Word Wide English Unit...with H.V.Kaltenborn, John Daly, Pauline Frederics, Cecil Brown.
NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS	May 1952. 15-min. recorded interview program "This is Polio" with Dr. Hart E. Van Riper, Medical Director of Foundation.
CARE	Nov.14,1950. 15 min. program with Ambassador Chang, Madeline Carroll, Paul French announcing formation of Care For Korea committee.
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL	March 1, 1951. Half-hour documentary drama on CBS, "Pioneer '51"...."the present-day development of pioneers building a homeland in Israel". Author of script, Millard Lampell.
ARMY & AIR FORCE RECRUITMENT SERVICE (Governors Island)	1951. Special Armed Forces Day salute on their regular 15 min. program "Stars on Parade"....."the events that led up to Armed Forces Day, 1951"...featuring Murrow and excerpts from "I Can Hear It Now"Albums.
MARINE CORPS	Nov.1950, March 1951, Sept. 1952. Recorded 20-second spot announcements for recruiting.
HERALD TRIBUNE FRESH AIR FUND	Dec.1953 Spot announcement for spring campaign.

MURROW - "GOOD WORKS" 3-3-3

NATIONAL FLAG WEEK	June8-14,1953. Served on honorary Executive Committee; Eisenhower honorary chairman. Appointed by The Star Spangled Banner Flag House Association, Baltimore and Governor McKeldin of Maryland.

EDWARD R. MURROW - PAST STAFF

George Connery	Washington reporter, 7:45-8:00 show; 9/49-3/50
*Alexander Kendrick	" " " " "; 1950; now CBS-Vienna correspondent
Ernest Chappell	CBS announcer, 7:45 show
Joan Platoff	Secretary, personal staff
Joan Hanson	" " "
Jean Peterson	" " "
Beverly Banks	" " "
Eleanor Benedict	" " "
*Mary Anne Summers	" " "
*Edward P. Morgan	Producer, TIB
Gladys Chang	Editorial Ass't, TIB
*Susan Baird	Secretary, TIB
Henry Hanson	Office Ass't, SIN
Judah (Jack) Seigal	Reporter, SIN
John Bockhurst	News of the Day cameraman for SIN (Deceased)
Gene Milford	News of the Day film cutter for SIN
Sid Katz	" " " " " " "
Lucy Savsay	" " "
Jimmy Young	" " "
Arlette Karpo	" " "
Seldon Levy	" " "
Ronnie Weston	" " ass't cameraman
J.G.(Jap)Oude	Agent and business manager for I CAN HEAR IT NOW albums
*Irving Gitlin	Editor, HEAR IT NOW radio program; 12/50-6/51

(* Still with CBS)

MURROW - LONDON - 1937-1945

Including London office staff and European correspondents reporting to him as European Director; some hired by him, some by CBS; nearly all at one time or another worked out of London office with him for both short and long periods of time.

*Kathryn Campbell

Maureen Hall (secretary)

Audrey Dunk (secretary)

Basil Kolk (office boy)

Mary Marvin Breckinridge
(now Mrs. Jefferson Patterson)

*Winston Burdett

*Charles Collingwood

*Larry Lesueur

*Bill Downs

*Charles Shaw

*Edward P. Morgan

*Bill Shadel

*Eric Sevareid

*Richard C. Hottelet

*Howard K. Smith

Paul Manning

William L. Shirer

Thomas B. Grandin

*Alexander Kendrick

Cecil Brown

George Fielding Eliot

Bernard Valery

Glen Stadler

George Moored (Deceased)

Farnsworth Fowle

Bill Henry

Hans V. Kaltenborn

(* Still with CBS)

On March 9th Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Educational Director of the Col. Broad. Co, devoted his program to an attack on the work of the United States Senate Investigating Committee and on me personally as its chairman. Over the past four years he has made repeated attacks on me and those fighting Communist infiltration of this nation. Neither Joe McCarthy nor Edward R. Murrow is of any great importance as individuals. We are only important in our relation to the great struggle to preserve our American liberties. The Senate Investigating Committee has forced out of government and out of critical defense plants Communists engaged in the Soviet conspiracy. The visiousness of Murrow's attacks is in direct proportion to our success in digging out Communists.

Ordinarily, I not take time out from the important work at hand, to answer Murrow. However, in this case, I feel justified in doing so because Murrow is the symbol, the leader and the cleverest of the jaeckle pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose individual Communists and traitors.

I am compelled by the facts to say to you that Mr. Edward R. Murrow as far back as 21 years ago was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes. The Inst. of Internat. Educa. of which he was an ass't

Abe Feller - ? - John Bovington
Isodore Begun
Zablowsky

director ~~and acting director~~, was chosen to act as representative by a Soviet agency to do the work which would normally be done by the Russian secret police. Mr. M, sponsored a Communist school in Moscow. ~~and~~ IN The selection of American teaches and students who were to attend, Mr. Murro's organization acted for the Russian espionage and propaganda organization known as VOKS.

Many of those selected were later exposed as Communists. Wis organizer John Bullen B.E. Blaisdell joined the Commie party after attending the Murrow sponsored school. Zolley Johnson Isodore Begun

Zabodowsky

[Julia Older] was fired from the United Nations ~~SS~~ IN 1952 as a Fifth Amend. Communist after she had been exposed by Roy Cohn's grand jury investigating Commie's in the U.N. out of UN

[Here's a picture of the typicaly student selected to attend the Comm. school in Moscow by ~~Mr.~~ M.'s organizagion.]

Mr. Murrow by his own admission was a member of the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World---a terrorist organization cited as subversive by the Attorney Gen. of the U.S. who stated that ~~it~~ IT was an organization which seeks "to alter the [form of] government of the United States by unconstitutional means". Other government committees have had

We can hardly make the same plea

before them actors, screen writers, motion picture producers and others who admitted Communist affilitations, but pleaded youth or ignorance.

On March 9th of this year Mr. M., a trained reporter who had travelled all over the world, who was the Eeducational director of CBS, followed implicitly the Commie line as laid down within the last six months not only by the Commie Daily Worker, but by the Commie magazine "Political Affairs", by the National Conference of the Communist Party of America [and by William Z. Foster, the former head of the Comm. party in the U.S.]

Why is it important to you, the peple of America to know why the Educational dir. and vice Pres. of CBS so closely follows the Comm. Party line? To answer that question we must turn back the pages of history. A little over a hundred years ago a little group of men in Europe conspired to deliver the world to a new system---to Communism. Under their system the individual was nothing, the family was nothing, God did not even exist. Their theory was that an all-powerful state should have the power of life or death over its citizens without even a trial. That everything and everybody belonged to the rulers of the state [even including the unborn child.] They openly wrote — nothing secret — that in their efforts to gain power any means

would be justified by the end...deceit, lies, terror, murder, treason, BLACKMAIL, were elevated into virtues. If a convert to Communism could be pursuaded that he was a citizen of the world it would be easier to make him a traitor to his own country.

For seventy years the Communists made little progress.

Let me show you a map of the world as it stood in the middle of the first World War in 1917 before the Russian revolution. You see there was not a single foot of ground on the face of the globe under the domination or control ofthe Commies. Bear in mind that this was only 36 years ago.

In 1917 we were engaged in a great world war in defense of our way of life and defense of American liberty.

The Kaiser was obliged to divide his armies and fight on both the eastern and western fronts. In the midst of the war the Russian people overthrew their Czarist master and set up a democratic form of government under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky. Kerensky's government instantly pledged [continued loyalty of Russia] allout support to the allies.

At this instant, the imperial German government secretly financed the return to Russia of seven Commie exiles [who had been forced to flee led by N Lenin

the country. These men were Nikolai Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Carl Ruddek---

Once in Russia by the very methods which the Communists are employing in America today they underminded the army, the navy, the civilian heads of government, and in 100 days they were literally the masters of Russia.

Now with all the wealth of the nation at their command they proceeded to organize Communist parties in every country of the world. They sent to these countries trained propagandists and spies, and in every country they found men like Ed.R.M. who would sponsor invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow exactly as Murrow did. They trained Communists in every country of the world, whose sole purpose was to infiltrate the government and once themselves in government employed others.

Now let's look at a map of the world as of tonight. This sixth day of April, 1954 and compare with the map of 36 years ago, then not even a red speck on the map of the whole wide world.

11 years ago one country with 180 million people in Commie chains. Tonight, on the sixth day of April 1954, over one third of the earth's area

our partisans Guatemala seeping into Honduras.

is under Commie control and 8 hundred million in chains.

How much of this was achieved by military force and how much by the traitors and Commie line propagandists in our own governemtn and the other free governments?

Let's start in Europe. They took by military force a little piece of Finland; ~~thex~~ and in the same way they took three small Baltic States, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. When ~~xxxxx~~ they precipitated the second World World they took half of Poland the same way. They acquired the rest of Poland through Polish traitors and Communists in ~~their~~ OUR own governemt ~~xxxxx~~ WHO gave American dollars and American support tothe Communists in Poland.

They took over Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary without firing a single shot, by the infiltration of Russian Communists ~~xxxxx~~ and domestic Communists in these governments.

How did they get Yugoslavia?...who were the Communists traitors in ~~xx~~ our government when we repudiated Mihailovitch who had fought with us throughout the war? Who are the Communists in our governmen t who induced our support of Communist Tito?

The Commie's took ~~of~~ over Czechoslovakia without firing a shot. They did this by infiltration of Communists into the Czech governemnt.

Listen to what a high official in the anti-Communist government of Czech. said:

"In my country the pattern was identical with what it is here. If anyone, before the Communists took over, dared to attack us, those Communists who were preparing and shaping the policy of my government to betray my people. He was promptly attacked and destroyed by a combination of Communist fellow-travelers and those unthinking people who thought they were serving the cause of liberalism and progress, but who actually were serving the cause of the most reactionary credo of all times, Communism.

How about this vast land area and the teeming masses of China. 400 million captured by force of arms? Certainly not. They were delivered to Commie slave masters by the jaeckle pack of Commie-line propagandists who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformists and our ally, the Republic of China, represented everything that was evil and wicked.

If there were no communists in our government would we have consented to turn over half of Germany and one half of Austria to the Russians?

omission this pg

If there was no Communists in our governemtn, why was Governor Winant when negotiating for the Corridor in Berlin advised by the State Department to try to get the Corridor, but don't irritate the Russians.

This decision has already cost the lives of 35 or 40 American boys and hundreds of millions of dollars.

If there were no Commies in our governemtn would we have given Russia 11 billion of Lend Lease even when they refuse to permit even a single American military observer to enter Russia? If there were no Commies in our government the very time we were saving the Russians from German army, would we have acceded in their refusal to permit a single American aviator to land in Russia?

The Germans were getting their oil from the Polesti oil fields of Rumania. We were bombing those oil fields from our bases in Africa. Three thousand American fliers were shot down and interned for the duration of the war in enemy prison camps in Rumania because our Russian allies would not permit them to land in Russia.

Now let us move to the East again. For (BLANK) months we were engaged in a live and death struggle in a war with Japan. During all of that time we were supporting Russian armies in Europe with men and

Omitted in main

armaments. Nevertheless, the Russians absolutely refused to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ lie a finger to aid us in the Japanese War.

After we had dropped the atomic bomb on Japan the Russian hastened to register dive day participation in the war.

If there had been no Commie influence in our governemtn would we have rewarded them with all of Manahuria, half of the Kurile Island, and one half of Korea. How many Americans have died and will die because of this No one will every know.

If there were no Commie influence in our governemtn why did Sec. of State D. Acheson invite the Korean War by telling the Russians that we had no interest in Korea.

When we abandoned 400 million Chinese to Commie slavery masters, the principle adviser on foreign policy was Owen Lattimore. He has since been named by a Democrat controlled Sen. Committee "a conscious, articulate insturment of Communist conspiracy". He has been indicted by a Fed. grand jury. On page (BLANK) of his book, he signles out and expresses gratitude for Murrow's ardent support.

If there were no commie in our government why did we delay for 18 months research on the hydrogen bomb even though our intelligence agencies

were reporting that the Russian were feverishly ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ pushing the development of the H-bomb. Expand — we are my die

There is a saying that A GOOD LAWYER ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ always advises a defendant that time and confusion work in his favor. Communist-line propagandists are already ~~xx~~ ready to vilify and smear those who expose traitors and having done a deadly job of creating delays and confusions. Thanks to their efforts we have squandered hundreds of billions of dollars; we have engaged in an abhortive war, and we have lost a third of the world.

It is often said following that it is suffieient to fight Communism in Europe and Asia, but Communism is not an American domestic issue. But the record is that the damage has already been done by ~~carefully~~ clearly calculated subversion at home. IT is the problem of subversion that ~~This is the problem~~ our committee faces.

Let us quickly glance at some of the work our Committee has done in slightly over a year's time. 238 witnesses were examined in public session. 367 witnesses were examined in executive session. 84 witnesses refused to tesitfy as to Communist activities or espionage on the grounds that thruthful testimony might go send them to jail. 24 witnesses with Communist background were ~~xxxxxxx~~ discharged or resigned top secret material because of their Communist activities which were exposed before our committee. Of course

you cannot measure the success of the Committee by a score based on the number of Communist heads that have rolled from secret jobs. It is completely impossible to even estimate the effect of our government's day by day plotting and exposure of communists.

For example, exposure of one Fifth Amendment Communist in the government printing office, having access to secret material from almost every government agency would result in undisclosed numbers of suspensions, and removal of the printing office loyalty board and a revamping of the loyalty rules. Disclosure of Communists in the military and radar laboratories result in the abolition of the Pentagon board which had cleared and ordered reinstated Communists who have for years been handling government secrets.

Army orders have been issued to prevent a recurrence of the Perris scandal which was exposed by the committee.

To evaluate the effective work of an investigation committee would be as impossible as to attempt to evaluate the effects of well-trained watchdogs upon the activities of potential burglars.

We Americans live in a free world--a world where we can stand as individuals; where we can go to the church of our choice and worship god, each in our own fashion; where we can freely speak our opinions on any subject.

Whether we shall continue to so live has come to issue now. We will soon know whether we are going to go on living this kind of life or whether we are going to live the kind of life that 800-million slaves live under Communist domination. The issue is simple-- life or death for our civilization.

If you think I've been rough with Mr. Murrow --and there are those who complain my methods in attacking Communists-- Mr. Murrow said on this program and I quote "The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have given considerable comfort to our enemies."

That is the language of our statute on treason.

If I am giving comfort to our enemies I ought not to be in the Senate of the United States. If Mr. Murrow is giving comfort to our enemies he ought not to be brought into the homes of millions of Americans by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

could be resolved with very little difficulty.

Reel 3 begins

This is a question which is not too difficult to resolve. What do the Communists think of me and what do the Communists think of Mr. Murrow?

One of us is on the side of American freedom and one is on the side of Communism and ~~mm~~ slavery.

The Communists have three official publications in America. These are not ordinary publications but they have been officially determined transmission belts from which the Communists in America, instructors of the party line the positions to be taken by the American communist writers, playwrights, broadcasters and hidden communists in the govt.

The First of these is a booklet which I show you. The name of it "The main report delivered at the national conference of the Commie party USA"..published in New York in October 1953.

The very first page of the report states: "The situation created by the new Soviet peace initiatives "enhances the possibility of broadening the struggle against McCarthyism." On page 32 the report states;" A struggle against McCarthyism is developing currently along the following main lines...struggle against witch-hunting investigations , the McCarthy-McCarran type of ~~investigating~~ congressional committee; defense of the victims of

Does this record take E M 3/9 program the station

of McCarthyism such as Lattimore, [Hiss] etc; .... in addition there is the direct attack on McCarthy himself..... In this report the Commies do not hesitate to instruct the comrades that their fight on McCarthy is only the means to a larger end.

Again I quote: page 33.... "Our main task is to mobilize the masses for the defeat of the foreign and domestic policies of the Eisenhower Administration and the defeat of the Eisenhower regime itself.... The strrugggle against McCarthyism CONTRIBUTES TO THIS general objective..."

One more quotation. On page 51: "since the elections McCarthyism has emerged as a menaceof major proportions..." You know what they mean. ... a menace to the Communist effort to overthrow the government by traitors from within.

[Just for the moment what other aims do the communists set forth. They advocate the overthrow of the present governments of western Europe... the abandonment of NATO...securing the recognition of Red China in the United Nations...stopping our preparations for defense, keeping Communist teachers in our schools.]

Now let us look a little further to see who is giving comfort to our enemies.

Here's the Communist Daily Worker of March 9th. containing 7 articles and a principle editorial attacking Mc. The same issue lists Mr. Murrow's program attacking me as one of "tonight's best bets on tv."

Here's the issue of March 10th..the day after Mr. Murrow made his attack on me. This single 8 page issue contains 11 seperate articles and the principle editorial attacking Mc.

Here's the issue of March 17th. Its principle front page article is an attack on Mc and its three other articles attack Mc. Its has a special article by Wm Z. Foster, former chief the head of the Commie party of America, now under indictment on charge of attempting to overthrow this government by force and violence. This article attacks Mc and praises Mr. E RM.

Here's the issue of March 26 it has two articles attacking witch hunting, three articles attacking Mc, a cartoon of Mc, and an article in praise of Mr. Edward R. Murrow.

Now I show you the Commie house political organ "Political affairs". The lede article is a report dated Nov 21, 1953 of the national committee of the Commie party of the US attacking Mc. and telling how loyal members can help by

Now you know who is fighting Mc. Who is fighting Murrow.

Owen Lattimore who has been named "a conscious articulate

instrument ofthe Commie conspiracy" by the Sen. Internal Security Comm. He is now under criminal indictment for perjury in regard to his testimony with respect to Commie activities. In his book, "Ordeal by Slander" he says "I owe a very special debt to men I've never met. I must mention at lease E.R.M.".

Here is a book by Harold J. Laski admittedly the greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England, [and a man who was expelled by the British Labor Party for Communist activites.] Title of book This book is dedicated, and I quote "To my friends, ERM and Lionel Tichner, with affection".

I am perfectly willing to let the American people of America decide who is "giving comfort to the enemies".

Mark of documentation not available
Television will be available next week.
Under shadow most terrible weapon
human shuttle children
~~To this cause I dedicated~~
M's, Lattimore, Fosters, Dorothy Ware
or C.P. No claim to leadership - Joined
with me.

FYI
For Your Information
CBS RADIO NETWORK · 485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

January 15, 1954

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* * *

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1953
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

Attorney General Brownell announced today that at least eight government officials were aware of an FBI report labelling the late Harry Dexter White a Russian spy - at the time former President Truman promoted White. Following up his Friday night speech, Brownell issued a statement saying that Justice Department records show that copies of a report on White sent to the White House were also sent to Supreme Court Justice Clark, then the attorney general - then Secretary of State Byrnes - the late James Forrestal, who was navy secretary at the time. The report also went to: Spruille Braden, then an assistant secretary of state, to Admiral Leahy who was Mr. Truman's chief of staff, to General Vandenbergh, then the air force assistant chief of staff, and to Fred Lyon, a state department official, and the late Fred Vinson, then secretary of the treasury. So far we have a comment only from Admiral Leahy and Mr. Braden. Both say they do not remember the report on White.

Mr. Brownell's statement today quotes one paragraph from the report distributed by the FBI in 1945 and early 1946. It says the information was received from confidential, reliable sources. And it says: "in no instance is any transaction or event related (in the report on Harry Dexter White) where the reliability of the source of information is questionable."

Senator McCarthy said today that William Henry Taylor, whom the senator describes as a "protege" of White, testified today that he was never a Communist or a spy. I'd like to review the developments in the White case in a few minutes.

At Harvard, President Nathan M. Pusey said today: "I am not aware that there is any person among the Harvard faculty who is a member of the Communist party." Last week Senator McCarthy asked Pusey about "his attitude towards retaining teachers who refuse to state whether they are communists." Pusey said

today: "Harvard is absolutely, unalterably finally opposed to Communism. It exists for the sake of free inquiry and the free mind."

In London today, Foreign Secretary Eden told the House of Commons that the recent bloody riots in Trieste had been caused by Italian extremists. He said Great Britain will resist violence in Trieste from any quarter.

An Italian foreign office spokesman says this charge is completely false. And the Vice President of Yugoslavia says the western powers are "prone to yield before the blackmail of the Italian government."

My colleague David Schoenbrun cables from Paris that Prime Minister Churchill has invited President Eisenhower and French Premier Laniel to a Big Three conference to decide policy on the future of western Germany. Schoenbrun says no time or place have been set. The British news agency Reuters says the Big Three are planning a meeting, probably in Bermuda.

Secretary of State Dulles today told Washington reporters that Russia's most recent note on Germany is "not acceptable," as far as we are concerned. Dulles said the Kremlin wants the free world to "unconditionally surrender their protective principles and practices of security" before any East-West meeting can be held. Mr. Dulles also told the reporters that we might consider recognizing Communist China if the Chinese change their anti-western policies and stop supporting aggression in Indo-China and elsewhere. Mr. Dulles in this first hint that such a move might be considered said that the Administration has never specifically said it would oppose recognizing Red China forever.

On Formosa today the touring Vice President Nixon told the Chinese Nationalist legislature that we recognize their country because they are "truly representative of the Chinese people."

There was no progress in Korea today on the enemy's "explanations" to prisoners who do not want to go home.

In the Philippines, some 5-million persons have started voting for a new president. The incumbent, President Quirino, predicts his re-election by half a

million votes. His opponent, Ramon Magsaysay says he'll win by at least one million votes "in a clean election."

At the United Nations, American Ambassador Lodge urged the rulers of Russia to change their minds and attitudes and negotiate honestly towards a genuine disarmament.

And the western powers, American, Britain and France, condemned Israel for last month's raid on a Jordan village which resulted in the death of 53 persons. Lodge endorsed Sir Gladwyn Jebb's statement that Israel is apparently unwilling "to punish those responsible and hence, by implication, their willingness to condone" the raid.

In Iran today former Premier Mossadegh told a court martial that if he is convicted of trying to overthrow the monarchy defying the Shah, and dissolving the parliament he will not appeal. And, he said, if he's released he'll commit suicide.

King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia died today. He was believed to be 73; the world's richest and most powerful absolute monarch. His son, Crown Prince Saud, has succeeded to the throne.

In Washington, the Supreme Court rules today that baseball is a sport and not an interstate business and therefore cannot be challenged in courts as an illegal monopoly. Chief Justice Warren said, in the majority opinion, that if there are any evils in this field, Congress should talke action to correct them.

In Hugo, Oklahoma, Mrs. Tommie Doughty, a 17-year-old former carnival strip teaser, was arrested and admitted kipnapping 5-months-old Richard Lee Stammer in Indianapolis. The baby was not harmed.

The case of Harry Dexter White, deceased, has so far raised more questions than it has answered. This is perhaps because there has been much talk but little evidence. This reporter does not pretend to know whether Mr. White was or was not a Communist spy, as alleged by Attorney General Brownell. Mr. Brownell asserted on Friday that President Truman promoted White after he had been told by the F.B.I. that White was a Russian spy. Mr. Truman denied it. General Harry Vaughan, the President's aide, who according to Brownell received the information about White, said he'd never heard of the man. Chairman Mitchell of the Democratic National Committee suggested that the whole matter should be placed before a Grand Jury.

Today, Vincent Quinn, now county District Attorney in Queen's County here in New York, said that in 1947 a Federal Grand Jury had studied the matter of Mr. White - all the evidence - and had failed to return an indictment because it felt there was insufficient evidence to warrant such action. He said this was the same Grand Jury that later indicted twelve top Communist leaders in this country.

Today Senator McCarthy said: "Anyone with an ounce of brains knows you can have a completely documented case of espionage which would not be a legal case." And the Senator said: "It is completely dishonest to say that unless you can send them to jail they are innocent." But our traditional concept of the law says that aman must be presumed innocent until there is sufficient evidence to send him to jail; or to otherwise penalise him for breaking an established law. One can only assume that what the Senator meant was that agiven body of evidence might convince him that a man had engaged in espionage, but the evidence would not convince a jury.

Mr. White, three days before his death, denied before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, that he had ever been a Communist or ever committed a disloyal act. This statement might not have convinced a jury either. It

would probably have depended upon the evidence. And the difficulty in this case is that so far we do not have - any of us- the evidence. The House Committee, in a report rendered after Mr. White's death, said that no charge of Communist Party affiliation had been made against him. But here again this cannot be regarded as proof that he did not supply information to Russia.

Today's statement by Mr. Brownell - reported earlier in this program - does not add substantially to the available evidence. He says, in effect, that the adverse report on Mr. White received wide circulation in government departments. He does not say what evidence the report contained..We do know that it was an F.B.I. report. And we also know that the F.B.I. does not evaluate material, which means that it does not reach conclusions. It reports fact, rumor, gossip - attempts to give some indication of the credibility or reliability of witnesses, but does not go beyond that.

Mr. Brownell may have in his possession conclusive evidence that Harry Dexter White was, as he alleges, a Russian spy. He may have evidence, as he alleges, that Mr. Truman was acquainted with this fact when he promoted him. But if he has such evidence it has not been produced. There are sound security reasons why the details of an F.B.I. report should not be make public. But it would seem that a charge of this nature, made with the approval of the President of the United States against a former President - a charge which clearly implies that Mr. Truman was either knowingly or unknowingly an instrument of espionage, should be backed by rather more evidence than has so far been produced.

Again this reporter doesn't know who's right and who's wrong, for the evidence has not been disclosed. But this procedure raises a question that is perhaps more fundamental than whether Mr. White was or was not a Russian spy; for it involves the Attorney General, with the approval of the President, with the combined authority of those two offices, asserting that a man was

a spy, without producing evidence. In this particular case the man is dead. But if this practise is to be pursued it may subsequently be applied to you or to me. The basic question would seem to be the selective release or interpretation of material gathered by the F.B.I., when that interpretation or conclusion is unaccompanied by evidence or witnesses. The question here, as I see it, isn't whether Brownell is right, or Truman is right, or whether Harry Dexter White was a spy. We are being asked to make up our minds about access to evidence. And if that should become our habit, then our heritage is in danger.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: We were discussing the case of Harry Dexter White...and the danger of drawing conclusions based on insufficient evidence. Mark Twain once wrote: "I think there is no sense in forming an opinion when there is not enough evidence to form it on. If you build a person without any bones in him he may look fair enough to the eye, but he will be limber and cannot stand up; and I consider that evidence is the bones of an opinion."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

CBS: MURROW: AUGUST 20: 19.45 DBST: LEAD. 1252

THIS IS LONDON: The Germans say that American armour, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ assisted by airborne troops is across the Seine between Mantes and Vernon. The Allied High Command remains silent. # There is no official news of ~~the~~ progress towards Paris. In the South of France more than twelve thousand prisoners have been taken. Allied casualties are light, and we are reported halfway to Avignon.

The Russians have made some progress northeast of Warsaw, but there have been no significant developments on either the Russian or the Italian fronts.

PASSED FOR PUBLICATION
PRESS AND CENSORSHIP BUREAU

At the beginning of the great week that has ended General Eisenhower told his soldiers that he saw a "fleeting but definite opportunity of victory. Later in the week the Supreme Commander warned against premature optimism. On Friday one of General Montgomery's staff officers announced that the battle of Normandy had been won, and that the enemy's power to resist effectively in France was gone. And he added: "The Germans are no longer able to conduct anything beyond strong rearguard actions. There will now be a phase of pursuit battles." Anonymous staff officers have been overcome with optimism before; and it would probably be the part of wisdom to remember General Ike's warning. Rommel's retreat from Alamein to Cape Bon involved strong rearguard actions and pursuit battles; and a great many British and American boys were killed in the process. It is true, beyond dispute, that the battle in France has gone better than anyone would have predicted at midweek. But the Germans are fighting furiously, and the ridges in the Falaise gap are littered with the bodies of German soldiers who fought their guns to the end. There has been no great mass surrender. ~~Inx~~ The Germans have not been fighting like men who know they are beaten. It is true that they are short of supply and transport; ~~but~~ they are taking an unprecedented pounding from the air. But they have succeeded in getting a considerable proportion of their armour and guns out of the Falaise pocket; and these, together with some of their best units, are

falling back in considerable confusion towards the Seine. The bridges are all down, and the Americans have reached the river at Mantes. The germans say we have chassed the River near there But this country along the left bank of the Seine is rolling and wooded - well-suited to a final fanatical defence. There will be a tremendous concentration of ack-ack guns in the area; they did the same thing on the Straits of Messina some at least of the German formations will get across at night in barges and on pontoon bridges.

The victory in France is assured, but it would be an injustice to the men who must fight for it, to create the impression that the only thing that is left is a tour of the country in tanks and armoured cars. There are only about eight weeks of good fighting weather left, and the Germans may be expected to buy time, whatever the cost. The best opinion here in London, based upon an appreciation of the political as well as the military situation, is that the Germans will fight their stubborn rearguard actions on the Seine, on the Marne, on the reversed Maginot Line and on the Siegfried Line. The assumption that they will not fight on German soil is certainly not borne out by events on the borders of East Prussia, where they are fighting stubbornly and laying waste their own villages.

The fall of Paris, when it is finally announced, is not likely to cause great celebrations in London. It may well be an effective symbol for the rest of Europe; but for people in this country its main significance will be the increased opportunity to cut off Northern France and to speed up the capture

of the doodle-bug launching sites. And, as the nights grow longer most people here consider that a worthwhile objective.

The campaign in Southern France has not been attracting a great deal of attention in London. It was known that the area was lightly held, and while there was great satisfaction with the progress, and with the co-ordination of a mixed force, even more satisfaction is expressed as a result of the magnificent cooperation of the French Forces of the Interior. The scattered reports coming in from Normandy, Brittany and the South have done a lot to restore confidence in France and the French. It is much too early to reach any final conclusions, but a great deal of the anxiety and doubt about what we should find inside France has evaporated. The Allies, ~~and indeed some of the Frenchmen outside France,~~ had been thinking of a period of tutelage and control in a situation where there would be chaos, starvation and a breakdown of government machinery. But the scattered reports do not indicate great demoralisation or the imminence of civil war. They tell rather of self-restraint, patience ~~and an overwhelming desire to aid in the job of getting rid of the Germans~~. Four years of Nazi rule have not been sufficient to destroy the civilised conduct of Frenchmen. In vast areas the progress has been so swift that destruction has been reduced to a minimum. There are serious shortages of ~~food, clothing,~~ food, fuel and clothing, particularly shoes. But it seems that

most of the French harvest will be saved, if for no other reason than that the Germans lack the transport to take it away. The distribution, the transportation will be a tremendous problem, due to the bombing of bridges and railways, the destruction of rolling stock and the fact that the Germans take with them nearly everything on wheels. ~~However~~ The whole French economy has been geared to feed the German war industry, and the re-adjustment must be a lengthy process. However, these preliminary reports, incomplete as they are, give some reason to hope that France will again astonish the world with her recuperative powers.

Of course, the post-war health of France depends upon that of the whole Continent, and there the prospect is still obscure. Last week was the anniversary of the Atlantic Charter. You may not have noticed it - most people over here didn't. There was, I think, one mild editorial praising the sentiments expressed in that document. When it was issued the prospect of victory was dim in the distance. Now it is assured. In those days it was easy enough to speak of no territorial aggrandisement. Now it is not so easy, particularly since territorial changes have already been agreed upon. ~~When defeat was possible, and victory distant, the view was clear. Now it is not so clear. For the day of decision is approaching.~~ Early last week General Eisenhower spoke of "a fleeting but definite opportunity of victory". Within a matter of months the same thing may be said of peace. We failed to make a peace at the end of the last war for one reason only. The Allies agreed to certain things which

they were not later prepared to enforce. The League of Nations failed, not because of the small States but because the great powers refused to act. The problem of security after this war xxxx is not how to dismember Germany; it is not how to keep Japan on her islands; it is simply how to create an international order for which great nations will be prepared to fight fifteen, twenty, thirty years from now. ~~Two of the slogans of the last war were: "To make the world safe for Democracy", and "Homes for Heroes". And a disillusioned generation laughed at them. And we are now fighting for substantially the same things.~~

It will be easy enough to impose a hard peace upon Germany. Not only easy, but probably wise; but wise only if it is done with the full understanding that we may be called upon to use force to sustain it in a few years' time. For example, if the Polish frontier in the West is moved to the Oder, we may hear in fifteen years the echo of the 1939 cry: "No war for Danzig"; only then it will be: "No war for the Oder". If we split up Germany it must be done in the knowledge that within a few years we may be called upon to prevent the peaceful union of Saxony and Bavaria, by force.

There does exist an agreement between the United States, Britain and Russia as to the zones that their armies shall occupy in Middle Europe. But that is all. The D-Day of peace is approaching, and there is none of the sense of urgency, none of the

agreement that preceded the military D-Day in the West. Unless that agreement is reached, fatigue and frustration will walk hand in hand across the Continent of Europe, and no one can predict the result. That is the real background for the security meetings at Dumbarton Oaks tomorrow.

Lest I be accused of personal polemics here is a single example of the situation as it is today. In response to orders from the Polish Government in London, the men and women of Warsaw came out to fight the Germans. The Moscow radio had been urging such action, not only in Poland but elsewhere on the Continent. Allied bombers - at least a hundred - flew from Italy to Warsaw with supplies. They went in over the city with full flaps (on the edge of their stalling speed,) in order to place their supplies in the proper district. One in five failed to return. The Russian newspaper Pravda is quoted as saying that the Polish Government in London "engaged in a perfidious, political manoeuvre in organising the revolt in Warsaw; that it desired to make propaganda to strengthen its prestige in the United States and Britain". Pravda, as quoted by the Associated Press, blamed Generals Sosnokowski, Anders and their adherents, and declared that they "deserved to be tried by an international courtmartial of representatives of the United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R. and Poland." Pravda further says: "that the people of Warsaw had been fooled by political speculators among the London exiles".

But the boys who went in low over Warsaw - the pilots who called for full flaps - and when the flaps are down you seem to stand still while you smell cordite from the flak bursting round you - they weren't political adventurers; they were merely doing what the Mediterranean Air Command had told them to do.

No progress has been made in solving the Polish-Russian difficulties. XX The dispute about the future government of Poland is unresolved. I am told, on what I believe to be good authority, that the Russians suggested that three members of the government, including the Prime Minister Mr. Mikolajczyk, might be drawn from London; one from the Polish underground, and the remainder from the Polish Committee in Moscow. Such a solution is obviously unacceptable ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ to the Poles in London and in Poland. If it should seem that this argument about Poland is remote and unimportant, just remember that this war which has sent American boys to the far corners of the earth, began right there.

~~Thxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ And it might be well to remember, too, something that Woodrow Wilson said in St. Louis in 1919, when he was losing his fight for American participation in the Peace. He said that if he lost he would say to American soldiers: "You are betrayed; you fought for something that you did not get." And the glories of the Armies and Navies of the United States is gone like a dream in the night. And there ensues upon

it, in the suitable darkness of the night, the nightmare of dread which lay upon the nations before this war came. And there will come, some time in the vengeful providence of God, another struggle in which not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world."

The prophecy was correct, and the problem remains the same.

This is E.R.M. in London now back to Walter Swoopy in N.Y. —

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P91

ERM Reply to McCarthy

In 1935, I was assistant director of the Institute of Interanational Education, an organization engaged in the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries.

In this capacity, I was a member of the advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow.

In addition to the Senator's reading of a newspaper article published 18 years ago, Fulton Lewis Jr. more recently broadcast similar information

And various versions of both these stories were widely mentioned in former Senator Frank Graham's campaign in North Carolina in 1950.

In actual fact, the summer school was cancelled by Russian authories before it began. Those graduate students and professors who had signed up for the school spent the summer travelling in the Soviet Union, and activity which was not then, and is not now illegal. I did not accompany this group of distinguished educators.

3

The Senator's reference to the Civil Liberteis Union is another example of his too familiar technique.

In a recent television broadcast I actually said: "The attorney general's list does not, and has ~~xxxxxx~~ neverlisted, the American Civil Liberties Union as subversive, nor does the FBI, nor any other government agency. And the Amer Civil Lib Union holds in its files letters of commendation from Pres. Eisenhow, Pres. Truman and Gen. MacArthur".

The Junior senator from Wisconsin accuses me of lying, his contention being that the ACLU was listed by the California State Senate Committee investigatin un-American activites. I specifically stated...."the attorney general's list"..."the FBI".... and "any other government agency."

I shall attempt to deal adequately with Senator McCarthy's latest reckless handling of the truth on the radio tomorrow night.

TO Ed Murrow

FROM Lucile Singleton

Walter Savage Landor (died in 1864) said:

When a small man casts a long shadow, it's a sign the sun is going down.

TO Ed Murrow

FROM Lucile S. 3-10-54

I heard on the radio this morning that McCarthy slept through your program last night. I'll bet my right arm it was so he could be in a position to say he didn't know what you said about him, and then he wouldn't have to rebut you.

Lucile

Ackerman, Bill

To: Ed Murrow

Great jit.

Bill.

3.10.54

William C. Ackerman

Agronsky, Martin

MARTIN AGRONSKY
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 8, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thought you might like to see this. This seems to be the time for all good reporters to come to the aid of each other.

Best regards,

Martin Agronsky

MARTIN AGRONSKY

APRIL 7, 1954 - AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY

Wisconsin's Senator Joseph McCarthy had his say last night on the T V program time of C.B.S. commentator Edward R. Murrow. Mr. McCarthy used the time in his usual manner.

It is the habit of the junior Senator from Wisconsin whenever anyone has the temerity to criticize him, to attempt to link his critic to the Communist cause. With Mr. McCarthy, it is always very simple - someone is critical of him or his methods - presto chango, that someone is a Communist. Accordingly McCarthy said of Murrow last night - "He is the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

The rest of Mr. McCarthy's remarks were a rambling pot pourri of allegations concerning Mr. Murrow and his alleged connection with Communist causes - allegations that ranged all the way from a quick glance by the Senator at the beginning of the Communist revolution in Russia in 1917, to a charge that research on America's hydrogen bomb was deliberately stalled for 18 months in the face of reports that Russia was feverishly pushing a similar project. Unless extraordinarily precocious, Mr. Murrow must have been in diapers at the time of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. And just what connection Mr. Murrow was supposed to have with this alleged delay in this country's production of the H-bomb, Mr. McCarthy did not make clear. But the fantastic allegation enabled him to drag in by the heels the question - "If there were no Communists in government, why did we delay?"

This particular statement of Mr. McCarthy's regarding the H-bobm was immediately dubbed by Democratic Representative Melvin Price of Illinois, a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, as "completely ridiculous." "He doesn't know what he's talking about," said Mr. Price, "he shows complete ignorance." So far there has been no opportunity to get any additional comment from the Atomic Energy Commission or other official sources.

Time limitations make it impossible to take up in detail the various other allegations by Mr. McCarthy concerning Mr. Murrow. A look at Mr. McCarthy's

(more)

technique may be rewarding, however. A typical example of the McCarthy method which he employed last night, and which the Senator always uses, was on display. First Mr. McCarthy quoted from the Communist Daily Worker various criticisms of himself. Then he placed these alongside the comment of the Communist paper's TV radio critic that Mr. Murrow's "See It Now" show was "recommended listening." This according to Mr. McCarthy's curious ratiocination, apparently demonstrated that the Senator from Wisconsin is anti-Communist and Mr. Murrow is pro-Communist.

Such reasoning, of course, gives the Communist sheet a tremendous influence if its editors are sufficiently prescient to recognize it. Presumably the Daily Worker critic need only list any program as 'good viewing' or 'listening' and it immediately becomes unAmerican and Communist inspired. This is a two edged weapon that Mr. McCarthy places in the Daily Worker's hands. For example, if the Worker's critic were sufficiently Machiavellian he might recommend to his readers the next radio-TV appearance of Mr. McCarthy, himself.

This kind of reasoning raises, too, the awful possibility of the Communist newspaper's editorial board deciding someday that the criteria of Senator McCarthy is just what they need to win friends and influence people in the subversive directions that suit Communists best. The Daily Worker's editors might just draw up a list of everything they hate in our Democratic society and publish a passionate defense of these things. They might, for example, insist that they are for American patriotism and thus automatically make it unAmerican to be patriotic. Or they might name Mr. McCarthy as the finest example of an American Senator. And what an awful dilemma we'd all be in if the Daily Worker came out against sin.

These examples, of course, carry the McCarthy analogy to the point of absurdity. However, that's not an unreasonable place to leave it.

Mr. Murrow, of course, is well able to take care of himself against Mr. McCarthy's charges. Murrow responded last night that he had no knowledge he was

to be the subject of favorable notice by the Daily Worker. And Mr. Murrow commented then, "This is more than Senator McCarthy can say about the Communist support he accepted in aid of his 1946 campaign for the U.S. Senate." Mr. McCarthy has said that he knew of no Communist support for him. Well, the fact is that Mr. McCarthy, in his election campaign against Lafollette in Wisconsin in 1946, did indeed have the support of the Communist party in the state of Wisconsin and this helped Mr. McCarthy beat Lafollette in that race. Mr. McCarthy may prefer to forget this phase of his political career, but it's nevertheless a matter of record.

It's not easy to handle reasonably the kind of charges that Mr. McCarthy makes when he's out to get someone like Ed Murrow. When there is a total disregard for responsibility on the side of persons who make charges defaming someone, and responsibility is adhered to in rebutting such charges, the advantage is invariably with the irresponsibles. The technique Mr. McCarthy uses is on the surface so plausible that anyone can be damaged in the public mind unless the method is understood.

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate this, and it apparently needs demonstration, is to turn on Mr. McCarthy his own technique, labelling it very carefully, of course, for what it is. In such a McCarthyist vein, let's start with President Truman's announcement on January 31st, 1950, that the United States, after much soul searching, had decided to go ahead and make the H-bomb. A perfect example of how to use McCarthyism against Mr. McCarthy immediately offers itself. How? Well, you just take the fact that this decisison of Mr. Truman obviously denotes a major American government policy decision to beat Russia to possession of the H-bomb, which naturally would be disadvantageous to Russia - anti-Communist. Then you play the numbers game. You note that nine days after Mr. Truman made this historic anti-Communist decision, on February 9th, 1950, Mr. McCarthy at Wheeling, West Virginia, launched his first attack on the Truman administration.

(more)

Then you complete the formula - President Truman makes an anti-Communist policy move. Senator McCarthy, nine days later, attacks President Truman and his administration.

So now you've got it all together. And you next put the McCarthyist question - 'What does this make Senator McCarthy?' Get it?

-30-

5C-13

Akerman, John L.

CBS RADIO SPOT SALES

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. · PLAZA 1-2345

Radio Stations Representative . . . A Service of CBS Radio

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Radio Station WCBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Was extremely proud of you last night on your "See It Now" broadcast, and furthermore, it was deeply satisfying to be associated with CBS.

With your broadcast and with the follow-up from the News Room, in my opinion radio and television became of age.

It was a difficult situation, beautifully handled. Again, congratulations.

Sincerely,

John

John L. Akerman

JA/bb

Representing: WCBS, *New York* · WBBM, *Chicago* · KNX, *Los Angeles* · WCAU, *Philadelphia* · WCCO, *Minneapolis-St. Paul* · WEEI, *Boston* · KMOX, *St. Louis* · KCBS, *San Fran-*
WBT, *Charlotte* · WRVA, *Richmond* · WTOP, *Washington* · KSL, *Salt Lake City* · WAPI, *Birmingham* · WMBR, *Jacksonville* · Columbia Pacific Radio Network · Bonneville Radio Net-

Clangan, S.

Hotel Chelsea
222 West 23rd Street
New York 11

Dear Ed:

Let me express sincere admiration for a job well thought out, well timed, and well done. I was proud to have known you. Keep it up.

Sincerely,

Sherry Mangan

12 March
1954

Alderman, James S.

p-13

KPRC FIRST in RADIO and TELEVISION
Houston 2, Texas

Apr. 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I pray that you will not let McCarthy's personal attack on you cloud the issues of your original attack on him. His attempts to make you anything less than a highly respected citizen are most feeble. Only the briefest of denials and refutations are required.

As a member of your profession, I am most interested in seeing the Junior Senator from Wisconsin cleared out of public life. Nothing would please me more than to be right in the thick of the battle with you. However, for the present I can only offer words of encouragement from the sidelines.

If there is any possible way I could help, please call on me.

Some weeks ago I did a little thinking on Congressional investigations and came up with the attached result. If it is of any use to you, help yourself.

Cordially yours,

James S. Alderman

James S. Alderman
TV News Editor

P.S. Pound hard on early communist support of McCarthy.

OWNED AND OPERATED BY THE HOUSTON POST COMPANY

Alsop, J + S. ✓

51-13

JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

2720 Dumbarton Avenue
Washington 7, D.C.

Telephone
Columbia 5-3781

March 11, 1954

Dear Ed:

It's what the church calls an act of supererogation, I know; yet I can't resist sending you a line of heartfelt congratulation on one of the great acts of political courage of our time. After the last week I have a feeling that we have crossed the great divide which I had begun to think we should never cross. And I am sure that what you did, setting such a powerful example to all the rest of us, has greatly assisted the crossing.

Sincerely,

JA:cc

JOSEPH ALSOP

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

American Broadcasting Company, Inc.
ABC TELEVISION CENTER · NORMANDY 3-3311
HOLLYWOOD 27, CALIFORNIA

3/18/54

Dear Ed,

Nice work! The steady bead on this SOB has a delightfully deadly effect.

And how that camera and sound-track hit with a telling impact.

Incidentally, there seems to be considerable debate out here whether it was you or Stevenson who touched off the whole thing and what begins to look like the demise of some of the "hatriots."

I'm sure you recall it, but you might wish to bear in mind what McCarthy is alleged to have said about you in the March 9, 1953 issue of Newsweek.

And attached you will find something which might be of value or interest or both.

Again, nice going and a hell of a lot of us are at ringside ready to clout him another one if you'll work him toward the ropes.

Regards,

Chet

Chet

The following is from pages 24 and 25 of MOSCOW AND CHINESE COMMUNISTS by Robert C. North of Stanford University, published 1953.

The quotes from Lenin which North uses here are indicated in a footnote on page 24 and in the bibliography as coming from LEFT-WING COMMUNISM by Lenin, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1947.

Here is the quote:

"Lenin suggested that the exploitation of antagonisms was something more than the mere driving of wedges and fracturing off of isolated groups. Communists, he thought, must learn to turn the enemy against himself. Ever since the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, he observed, the whole world.....and especially the bourgeoisie.....had changed. Capitalists were now terrified of Bolshevism, 'incensed with it almost to the point of frenzy,' a fact which supposedly accelerated events to the Communist advantage. The capitalist world, by concentrating its energies on the suppression of Bolshevism by force, was thereby weakening its position in a number of other vital fields and at the same time drawing mass attention to the very ideology it wished to suppress. '.....when the American bourgeoisie, having completely lost its head, seizes thousands and thousands of people on suspicion of Bolshevism, creates an atmosphere of panic, and broadcasts stories of Bolshevik plots; when the British bourgeoisie.....the most solid in the world.... despite all its wisdom and experience, commits incredible follies, founds richly-endowed anti-Bolshevik societies, creates a special literature on Bolshevism, and hires an extra number of scientists, agitators and parsons to combat it.....we must bow and thank the capitalist gentry. They are working for us.'

"Thus is was not sufficient for the Communists to win over the working class. Bolshevik leaders must also goad their non-Communist

opponents into weakening and even destroying themselves. Bolshevik strategists and tacticians must recognize not only whether they had won sufficient proletarian support for a telling blow, but also 'whether the historically effective forces of all classes.....positively all classes of the given society without exception.....are aligned in such a way that everything is ripe for the dedisive battle; in such a way that (1) all the class forces hostile to us have become sufficiently entangled, are sufficiently at loggerheads with each other, have sufficiently weakened themselves in a struggle which is beyond their strength; that (2) all the vacillating, wavering, unstable intermediate elements....the petty bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois democrats as distinct from the bourgeoisie.....have sufficiently exposed themselves in the eyes of the people, have sufficiently disgraced themselves through their partial bankruptcy; and that (3) among the proletariat a mass sentiment in favor os upporting the most determined, supremely bold, revolutionary action against the bourgeoisie has arisen and begun vigorously to grow. Then, indeed, revolution is ripe; then, indeed, if we have gauged all the conditions indicated and briefly outlined above, and if we have chosen the moment rightly, our victory is assured.'

"Lenin also used other words to put the same concept across; e.g., that successful revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis: 'it is not enough for revolution,' he said, 'that the exploited and the oppressed masses should understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes. It is essential for revolution that when the lower classes do not want the old way, and when the upper classes cannot carry on in the old way.....only then can revolution triumph..... It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class-conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand that revolution is necessary and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should be passing through a governmental crisis,

which draws even the most backward masses into politics (a symptom of every real revolution is a rapid, tenfold, and even hundred-fold increase in the number of members of the toiling masses....hitherto apathetic.... who are capable of waging the political struggle), weakens the government and makes it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly.' "

American Broadcasting Company Staff

American Broadcasting Company

7 WEST 66TH STREET · NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5000

WABC - 770
NEW YORK

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

A short and to the point note concerning last night's program "See It Now".

I believe you rendered a signal service to the public and added to its fund of information concerning the "Jr. Senator from Wisconsin".

My sincere congratulations. It was a magnificent job.

Cordially,

Gene Accas.

GA:mm

Gene Accas, Director
Radio Sales Promotion

American Broadcasting Company

ABC TELEVISION CENTER · HOLLYWOOD 27, CALIF.

NORMANDY 3-3311

9 March 1954.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

There are times when I consider that the three years I volunteered to serve in the Army of the United States paid off my debt to society for the rest of my life. For my money, you paid off your debt forever with your presentation of the McCarthy Story as you saw it on See It Now.

You made a plug for freedom and the American Way of Life that might well start the turn of the tide that our "Mr.Joe" had fostered. I have wondered whether we had a figure left on the American scene with guts you showed tonight. Fortunately for us you had the intelligence to go with the guts. A brave dope is useless against Mr. Joe.

My feeling that I should not have thrown away those three years passes when I realize that there are people like you taking the big step almost every day. Thanks for building up my hope again.

Sincerely,

Ralph Neave

Ralph Neave
Merchandising Director

American Broadcasting Company
7 WEST 66TH STREET · NEW YORK 23, N. Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5000

ABC
TELEVISION NETWORK

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I just had to put down on paper how tremendous I thought your McCarthy SEE IT NOW program was.

It's about time someone brought the facts to the American people and you and your staff deserve no less than the Congressional Medal of Honor for tackling the job at such an opportune moment.

Sincerely,

Olive O'Neill

Olive O'Neill

American Broadcasting Company
7 WEST 66TH STREET · NEW YORK 23, N.Y.
SUSQUEHANNA 7-5000

ROBERT M. WEITMAN
VICE PRESIDENT

March 10th 1954

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed

Bravos and kudos to you and your staff for a magnificent job on your show last night!

Sincerely

Robert M. Weitman

The power of congress to investigate derives from its legislative function.

Therefore, congressional investigation should be designed to produce legislative results.

Congressional investigations without the motive of producing new laws to cover subjects of investigation are an abuse of power.

There is no constitutional provision allowing a member or a committee of congress to sit in judgement of United States citizens. ~~except the President.~~

Angell, Ernest

Ernest Angell
1 East 44th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

March 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

This is a belated but enthusiastic and grateful acknowledgment of the great service you have rendered to fundamental decency in American life by at least two of your recent TV shows - that of last week with the ineffable senator from Wisconsin, and Tuesday night with the poor colored lady, Mrs. Moss.

As to the former, I am grateful both personally and as chairman of the Board of Directors of the ACLU. More than any other single individual, you have succeeded, I believe, in at least tipping the scales against the senator.

Very sincerely yours,

Ernest Angell

Anthenelli, Felicia

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC., PUBLISHERS

711 West Monroe Street ~ Chicago 6, Illinois

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My congratulations on your magnificent program on mccarthyism. It is such a relief and joy to see someone finally standing up, presenting some facts to the broad public, unafraid to face the man.

And my further congratulations to ALCOA, for being sensible and brave and generous enough to permit a good journalist to use this awesome medium in one of the ways it should be used. They have won my undying admiration, far more than they would have with millions of silly jingles.

Sincerely yours,

Felicia Anthenelli

Felicia Anthenelli
Staff Reporter

ANTONOW & WEISSBOURD
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS

Antonow, J. P.

TELEPHONE FINANCIAL 6-3535

135 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO 3

March 16, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow,
Vice President,
CBS,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed is a reprint of a recent address by Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School before the Massachusetts Bar Association. I think you will find it a thoughtful and perhaps helpful speech.

Your recent television and radio programs concerning the basic issues raised by the junior Senator's techniques and tactics represent an important contribution in our return to rational thinking. Judge Learned Hand's speech (reprinted in the Saturday Review), George Keenan's talk at the Pennsylvania University, and Agnes Meyer's address at Atlantic City last summer, Governor Stevenson's recent speech at Miami, and Dean Griswold's address, together with your broadcasts, are the hopeful signposts in this difficult road back.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph P. Antonow

JPA:AP

Enc.

Ascoli, Max

The Reporter
220 East 42nd Street
New York City 17

Max Ascoli

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

This is probably the most superfluous letter I ever wrote -- particularly considering the fact that in all probability you will never get around to seeing it. Yet I can't help writing it: It was a wonderful thing you did last night, Ed. Never had I realized so keenly what a power for good television can be when it is used for a good cause by a good man.

More power to you, and my heartiest congratulations to Mr. Paley and to Alcoa. At our house, we're never going to buy anything but Alcoa frying pans or pots from now on.

All the best,

Sincerely,

Max

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

For the past few months I have been trying to put together two half-hours of television and five fifteen-minute periods of radio time each week, and this is literally my first opportunity to say my thanks for your gracious communication regarding the television program we did in regard to the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

I trust you will not regard this long delay as any indication of any lack of appreciation on the part of myself and my colleagues for your thoughtfulness in sending us an encouraging word.

It is our hope that future programs may merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,

E R Murrow

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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It is our hope that future programs may merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,

E R Murrow

SUGGESTED ROUGH DRAFT OF LETTER OF REPLY TO "PRO" MAIL

Dear _____:

This is a form letter and I am sorry about that. I wish to take this opportunity to tell you that your communication has been read and that it is appreciated. We presented a factual report on two aspects of Senator McCarthy's career, and acknowledging at the outset that the subject was controversial we pursued the established policy of CBS in offering time for the Senator to reply. We are of the opinion that the presentation of this report and the opportunity for the Senator to reply to it was in "the public interest and in conformity with the traditional American practice of fair play."

Permit me to thank you for your communication and to say that we shall always be grateful for your comments regarding subsequent programs whether they be favorable or unfavorable.

Sincerely yours,

DRAFT OF LETTER IN ANSWER TO CRITICAL COMMUNICATIONS

Dear _____:

This is, of necessity, a form letter due to the volume of correspondence received regarding our recent broadcast dealing with Senator McCarthy. We presented an entirely factual report on two instances in the Senator's career. I made a certain comment regarding his action which I believe to have been demonstrated by film and in the Senator's voice. I offerred at the outset to provide adequate opportunity for the Senator to reply. I do not know what more I could have done in accordance with CBS policy and the American tradition of fair play. The Senator has now accepted my offer of equal time to reply. He has requested and received a month in which to prepare and document his reply.

Permit me to thank you for your communication and to say that we shall always be grateful for your comments regarding subsequent programs whether they be favorable or unfavorable.

Sincerely yours,

Applequist, Mrs H. A.

MRS. HARRY A. APPLEQUIST
2001 SEVENTH AVENUE
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

March 12, 1954

Mr.Edward Morrow,
See It Now,
C.B.S.
New York,N.Y.

Dear Ed,

"Hack" and I wish to add our congratulations to the many that you have received from your Tuesday telecast on Senator McCarthy.It was well done and timely.

Recently I read an article about you and your family in McCall's magazine,and enjoyed it very much. The reference to Ida Louis Anderson touched me since I was in college at the same time,and lived with her at the Pi Phi house. We all loved her and I think it a nice tribute that you mentioned her as having influenced your career.

We both enjoy your radio and television programs. This is my first "fan" letter,so please know that it is a sincere expression.

Sincerely,

Mildred Applequist

Associated Technical Writers

ASSOCIATED TECHNICAL WRITERS
incorporated

250 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

JUdson 6-3726-7

cable address:
assotech, new york

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Yours truly and many others... doubtless millions of them, who were just hoping that somebody, sometime, would forcefully say what they had been thinking all along of the junior gentleman (this is used most loosely) from Wisconsin, have been overjoyed with the very able job you did on the Senator in question.

I have never forgotten a conversation we had -- you probably have forgotten, since you did many far more interesting jobs since -- as we were waiting for a train connection prior to going into the Maginot Line for the first broadcast from inside a fortress. We were discussing the spread of the Nazi threat (which yon poor Maginot line did mighty little to stop!) and trying to figure out how we could best give expression to our thoughts while remaining objective. You told me, at that time that, in effect, there were times when you just had to speak out the facts as you saw them, and be good and loud about same.

Since we are much of an age, it makes me feel younger to see that you have kept the fire which, at times, I am inclined to call "old" (after all, this was 16 years ago...), which makes you say, with the authority which you have so richly deserved, the things so many of us would love to be able to tell... whatever number of millions of viewers you have on your shows.

It so happens that, in this little shop of ours, there is small affection for the Senator from Wisconsin and his ways. When I called your secretary to pass on my own message of appreciation, they overheard me and wanted to add their signatures to mine. This, I am only too glad to have them do.

More power to you and all those who refuse to be intimidated by the threadbare, overworn methods it has been the sad lot of many of us

to study at first hand in the palmy days of Josef Goebbels.

Congratulations. Keep up the good fight. I will see you at the Waldorf when they give you that award anyway. I had always voted for the winner until 1952, when I made my first "error"... but this will be remedied some this November.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel G. Van Acker

DGVA:es

Keep it up Ed!
Daniel G. Van Acker
Dan

Yes indeed!
Renée M. J. Bjisler

Your my boy, Ed!
Manny Ruiz
Elena Jonsilla

All of us in the office never miss your two wonderful shows.
Georgette Jaffre

It's about time!
Evelyn Soifer

Very well done
George W Sorlin

Continue your good w
Armando Marin

TELEPHONE
WHITEHALL 4843
TELEGRAMS
c/o HELLENIST (PICCY)

THE ATHENÆUM
PALL MALL S.W.1

March 14th

My dear Ed.

More power to your elbow! Mr. Carthy may only be a side-show to us, but he's something worse to you over there. In the "Manchester Guardian" yesterday Alistair Cooke gave you a good run for your money, winding up with the words "Marxism may yet make bravery fashionable"! Anyway, it was good to hear an echo of you again: and so, we look to

you and your Janet.

Yours as ever

Fred

232 South Mapleton Drive
Los Angeles 24, California

Lauren Bacall
April 20th

Dear Ed -

this is just a word to add to the many you have received over the past six weeks. tho' it's late I know - I did want to write you.

Bogie and I have been in Europe for the last three months - and were in Rome when your McCarthy broadcasts were done. We missed seeing them but are keeping after CBS if and when they become available. But I can tell you - you are unquestionably the man of the years from Rome to London - to say nothing of our United States from coast to coast.

I really only wanted to say thanks for starting the ball rolling. God knows (over)

we're all affected by what's been going on.

Continued good luck - Ed. You're doing a fine thing.

My very best to you always -

Lauren Bacall

P.S. It looks as though you lose that bet!

Baldinger, W. H.

National Press Club

Washington

April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to record my revulsion at the performance which Senator McCarthy was permitted to put on last night.

I suggest that in giving the half-hour to the political blackguard you should have at least stipulated that he address himself, however indirectly, to your magnificently documented case against him.

At any rate, I know of no decent person in the news business who is not proud of you.

Sincerely,

Wilbur H. Baldinger

Wilbur H. Baldinger

Aug. 29. 54.
Banks, M.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

No doubt your mail concerning the touchy subject: McCarthy vs. Army, must be prodigious.

And there is no question in my mind, that your particular stand on the case, comes from a firm and sincere conviction about that man's foul tactics.

I am 66, widow of an archaeologist, republican and Roman Catholic, just an ordinary person, and you may not be interested in what I have to say. However, I am one of the people, who make up this great nation.

My husband and I faithfully

listened to your reports on the "Battle of Britain". Your broadcasts had a ring of truth, convincing and deep reaching.

When you – may I say "exploded" and deserted your "observer" role in the case of McCarthy, it was not a commentator, but a human being, who just could not take any more of that charlatan's exhibitionism.

It was like a cry from wilderness – to stop that madman. Many of us wanted to do the same thing, but our cry would not have reached the ears of the nation. So for one, I am grateful to you.

To me this man is a psychopatic case - dangerous.

Hitler was one, and isn't it amazing how the mob is easilly influenced, and led by such men.

His issues were foggy - as was his expression, his speech muffled - nevertheless ruthless.

No ones honor was spared.

When cornered, he switched the questions and accusations entirely out of scope of the actual case, in order to confuse.

His stooge Cohn, brilliant and vicious actually handled McCarthy as a puppeteer handles his props. And Shine, son of a millibnaire, Harvard graduate, so innocent and yet indispensable poor Shine so badly abused.

What contradictions.

There is no doubt that the man has done some good at one time and that the army brass are not beyond criticism, for that matter no big organization can boast of an absolutely clean record - just as none of us individuals can cast a stone at another and say, we have never made a mistake.

As I see it McCarthy is suffering from the delusion of grandeur, His alone must be the final judgement of right or wrong. No really "big" man succumbs to such conceit.

I hope that your "Crusade" (may we call it so) might bear fruit, and that McCarthy-ism will be a thing of the past - a bad, bad dream.

Sincerely
M. de M. Banks

Box 519
Eustis
Florida

WHUM TELEVISION

Barclay, Paul.

A Division of Eastern Radio Corporation

READING, PENNSYLVANIA • TELEPHONE 44805

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

April 9, 1954.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The following is a quote from my 6pm newscast on Channel 61, April 8, 1954.

> "Let me inject a personal word here. This is my own opinion. I do not know Edward R. Murrow. I have listened to his broadcasts and telecasts for a number of years and have always considered him to be a very fair and able reporter. Up until this time, I have never heard anyone cast aspersions upon his loyalty or integrity. Until some real evidence is presented to the contrary, I will hold the opinion that Edward R. Murrow is an excellent reporter, a patriot, and an honest man."

The opinions of the writer are his own and do not necessarily reflect those of this station.

Thought you might be interested in the above.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Barclay

Paul Barclay
News Department

Barrett, Edward W.

EDWARD W. BARRETT & ASSOCIATES
237 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 4-2136

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

To you, Fred, CBS, and Alcoa, a loud cheer.

Your timing was perfect. Your approach, emphasizing the simple business of lying, was sound. And the impact was splendid.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

EWB:sbf

E. L. BARTLETT
DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

Bartlett, E. L.

SECRETARY
MISS MARY LEE COUNCIL

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
MRS. MARGERY SMITH

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Count this as a vote for Murrow.

With highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Bob Bartlett

E. L. Bartlett

HERON BEACH
ST. JAMES
BARBADOS, B.W.I.

March 24th

Dearest Ed,

It has trickled back here to the 19th century, that you are the man and the genius we always knew you to be, and an ornament to the 20th century. Huzzah for the blows struck and cheers

for your courage and skill.

Love to you both,

Nanetta

Beckley, S.A.

1816 West 75th Street
Los Angeles 47, Calif.

PLEASANT 1-0242

Manufacturers Representative

S. A. BECKLEY & CO.

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March 10, 1954

SUBJECT

Mr. Edward R. Morrow
CBS Television Network
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

We thank Providence that there are men like yourself and Chet Huntley on the air waves who broadcast a beam of whole truths like that of a streak of light from a lighthouse on a dark and dismal night guiding the mariner from the treacherous crags.

We trust that beam will for ever remain bright.

Thanks, thanks indeed.

Yours very truly,

S.A.Beckley

S.A.Beckley

Bendick, Jeanne

jeanne bendick. 16 magnolia drive.
great neck, new york

March 11th,1954

Dear Ed Murrow,

Cheers for the Great Deed Tuesday night, and for your beautiful restraint tonight.

Bob is still in France doing more CINERAMA. I have sent him a bouquet of your clippings.

Best from us both,

jeanne bendick

jeanne bendick
16 Magnolia Drive
Great Neck,N.Y.

cc Mr. Murron Benton, Wm,

March 31, 1954

Mr. Arthur P. Hall
Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Dear Mr. Hall:

Thanks for your letter in reply to my letter to Mr. Wilson but in view of Mr. Hoffman's conversation with Mr. Wilson I hope you will try to make a point of showing my letter to him.

Very sincerely yours,

William Benton
Publisher

COPY

Q ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA

Pittsburgh, Pa.
March 26, 1954

Mr. William Benton
Encyclopaedia Britannica
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Benton:

We very much appreciate your communication of approval concerning our sponsorship of "SEE IT NOW", which features Edward R. Murrow.

We sponsor this broadcast as a public service, and it has been gratifying to watch the audience growth - which is currently running between 9 and 10 million per telecast.

Believing that no one has the right to control or influence the news, we do not know or care to know in advance what Mr. Murrow intends to use on his program We do offer criticism freely when we do not like the show, and I must say he takes it seriously and well.

No one in the news commentating field can do an honest job and please all of the people all of the time. We realize that Mr. Murrow is doing a top-notch job, and are gratified with the public reaction.

Again, thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours

signed

Arthur P. Hall

Berlage, J.

J. BERLAGE COMPANY, INC.

11 EAST 44TH STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 2-8530

CABLE ADDRESS: BERLAGE-NEW YORK

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BENTLEYS & SCHOFIELDS

March 10, 1954.

Mr. Ed Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Re: McCarthy

My dear Mr. Murrow:

I refer to your telecast of yesterday on the subject of Sen. McCarthy. I believe that the general public is not even remotely aware of this great danger.

Last year three men marched past the receptionist in my office, right into my private office and stated they were from the McCarthy Investigating Committee, investigating the Government Procurement Service. A request, which was subsequently honored, to identify themselves was met with insults and refusal at first. Then a series of the most insulting statements, insulting questions, and above all, continuous efforts at intimidation began. After turning the office upside down for three weeks, they walked out.

I was born in Holland and came to this country in 1935. I had an opportunity to see the Hitler regime at work in Germany. The methods of McCarthy and Hitler are identical. Democracy, such as we have known it in this country, is in great danger.

Any organized anti-McCarthy movement will have my strongest support.

Very truly yours

J. BERLAGE COMPANY, INC.

Jan Berlage.

JB:LRP

J. Berlage, president

Berle, Adolph A.

70 PINE STREET
NEW YORK 5

March 12, 1954.

My dear Ed:

Joining a few hundred thousand others, this is merely to say that your profile on McCarthy was one of the jobs that justify continued faith in American journalism and in the radio broadcasting phase of it. I think it is a turning-point in this fantastic struggle. The inevitable counter-attack on you seems to have been merely childish.

Let us hope this phase of post-war development will now begin to fade away. We had the extreme-left elements running their own campaign of combined intrigue and slander against their enemies. Now we have the opposite group of demagogic fascists tackling it in their turn. Perhaps in a year or two we shall be back to sanity with both groups assigned to the limbo of unrespected unimportance, where they belong. You have rendered a real service on both fronts and you are entitled to the thanks of the public, including as one thereof,

Very truly yours,

Adolf A. Berle

Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

Mr. Edward Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
New York, New York.

Berman, Syde

SYDNEY BERMAN
Editor and Publisher

1650 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Circle 7-4620

April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Despite my complete distaste for CBS and anything that CBS represents, the armor of my bias has been cracked to the extent of this note telling you that the wild meanderings of McCarthy couldn't sway us one iota - we're still in your corner.

Get over to NBC fast. While CBS may or may not knife you for your activity, you're too good for CBS and they don't deserve you.

Sincerely,

Syde Berman

Biggs, John

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The following opening announcement might help to justify a re-broadcast of your recent "See it Now" program on Senator McCarthy.

> "Last week, in the course of featuring excerpts from the political life of Senator McCarthy, I invited him to appear on this program. In view of his past enthusiasm for television as a medium for self expression, I fully expected him to join me at the earliest opportunity which would have been tonight. He did not, leaving me totally unprepared. In view of this most embarrassing situation I find myself with no other alternative but to repeat last week's 'See it Now'."

Cordially,

John Biggs

John Biggs
Merchandising Department

JB:NS

REMSEN BIRD

Dear Ed:-

Now McCarthy will attack the networks. We shall watch to see if they knuckle under! Public schools, churches, universities and colleges, departments of government, the army, various liberal institutions with honest intentions, certain distinguished individuals, etc. etc. How he does follow the proved pattern which the demagogues have employed through the ages.

During the pre-reformation days there was a group of gay souls who thought that the best way to break down the claimants to infallibility over state and church was to spoof them.

They wrote imaginary letters to a man named Ortius Gladius under the title of "Letters of Obscure Men". For a time they were regarded as authentic and commended and then the truth came out. They helped a lot in extricating the New Learning from the powers that would destroy the same.

Its an idea; but it would be I think profitable for the saving of those who were born free, to collect letters of such a sort addressed to this strange creature who is, whatever he thinks are his motives, is softening us for an American brand of a pusher around!

Yes.

Anyway if you have a moment you might read the enclosed.

It could be done better, but it helped me on a certain day to release some pent up emotions.

What we really need is someone like the little Saint of the Umbrian Valley. I am enclosing one of his prayers. I am not easily moved to satire for this that is going on moves me rather to tears and prayers than to scoffing and such.

Thank God for you, Elmer Davis, Cecil Brown, — even Kaltenborn!

Best to Janet

Cordially

Remsen

P02502
Carmel, California
March 9, 1954

The Honorable, Joseph McCarthy
The Senate of the United States
Washington, D. C. (Top Secret!)

Dear Joe:-

We certainly have them on the run now! Now we must be exceedingly careful, for some of these birds may see what is really going on, and it is important that they do not see! My counsel is that we begin at once, and very very quietly to organize the Purple Shirts and I suggest that we call them, when the time comes for us to get the power of such organization into the open, "The Sons of Freedom". I am enclosing a picture of the uniform, insignia, etc. which you will want to look over.

What I would like to see worked out at once, is groups of ten in every community, in every organization, in every school, among the politicos, the business men, even in organized labor if we can get in, and in the churches, who can be absolutely counted on to report, to propagate, and to spread into the larger groups when the time is ready.

You can always learn from those who have sought to get control in other lands and in other days. The organization that Togliatti has produced in Italy is an example, also Hitler, also Lenin, and there are as you well know many other illustrations in the past.

The country is now thoroughly softened. These frightened pigeons are ready to fly in any direction to save the land from the communists and the fellow travelers, they see everywhere. They now distrust everybody except you!

The year 1956 is not far off and we must be ready! By the time it comes around we must be thoroughly organized and whatever these poor saps who back Eisenhower may plan, we shall be smarter. You will be one of the candidates, the Dewey Forces will swing to you. You will be the candidate, and then the President, and all so legal, and all so hunky dory. Remember how Hitler worked it out. You can learn even from the devil. Poor Hindenberg. Poor Ike!

Where are we now. As your specialist in propaganda, let me give you a kind of reassuring summary;

(1) We have liquidated the egg-heads! Harvard University, that refuge of the sissies and the subversives. Its President you have thoroughly slapped down as well he deserved, for as I recall he was pretty nasty when he was in Lawrence. You failed in getting Conant, but don't worry about that. We'll catch up with him presently. The whole crazy loyalty oath business has well fogged the mind of the Californians and most of the more conservative still think that's a hot bed of communism. And as for the Middle West, good old Red Grange has now liquidated Stoddard, who has been a real power in this effort to keep America in the World understanding groove!

As to the rest of the colleges and universities, we have some pretty powerful trustees and regents and benefactors who are thoroughly suspicious of anyone who presents controversial issues!, and fewer and fewer of these so-called scholars want to stick their necks out. Economic necessity is a powerful weapon on our side.

(2) As to Public Education, thanks to Zoll and his campaign against progressive education, and frills and furbelows, and for the three rs, and all that Hearst did in paving the way, and the work of the various sappy patriotic societies over the country, who slap down anybody who has anything to say that isn't right in the groove, and with the little gray guys needing the money in the monthly check to pay for the new baby, over the country from the superintendents down to the janitors public education is thoroughly intimidated, and soft as butter.

(3) Let us take a look at the Protestant Clergy and the Protestant Churches. There was a time when these were very powerful in this country. They have stiff necks and believe that no one should push them around, and they seem to think that the teachings of this Jesus on love and such guff can be applied to meet the problems which people face in town and country and business and government. They are starry eyed in this but they have been pretty tough when it comes to standing up for the — what they call, the freedom of the conscience. But we have them now getting soft. There are so many of the trustees and elders of churches who are afraid of all this socialism, which they mix up with what these preachers say, that thousands of them are talking more about theology, pie in the sky and what happens after death and less about politics and what is going on in the world.

These churches are made up for the most part of frightened bourgeois who want to hang on to their investments, who have observed what is wrong in the world and who blame it all on the democrats and among the democrats on the pinkos who are in their minds fellow travelers and as such Fifth Amendment communists, and are not to be trusted. That is the screwy way their minds run, but you old screwer have helped to make them so! Very naughty, Hey what?

The Velde attack built on absolutely nothing threw about a lot of sand and there are some ministers of great power who are completely on our side and who can be counted on to work against us. But watch watch very carefully, this John Mackay, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church who got out a letter to the 8,000 Presbyterian Churches against you and your method, and watch Bromley Oxnam, the top bishop of the Methodist church going over the country shooting his face, and the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, this man Sherrill. He sits with the rich and mighty and a lot of the rich and mighty are very much more concerned with Christian principles than they are with their accumulated gain. They are very very dangerous.

(4) As to the government, the poor sappy government! There is where you have had your greatest success. The people who are in the State Department are thoroughly cowed. You ever had Acheson cowed, and in this liquidation business and in bringing up opinions expressed long ago, you have something on nearly everybody of any importance in that arm of the government. No one in the State Department now would really dare come out against you.

And who in any other branch of the Federal Government will dare come out flat foot against you. Its all ready for you there, believe me.

(4) Hitler was so smart in getting the patriotic organizations back of him. His technic was superb. The Jews are against our chosen people! The enemy is rings around. Look out for the subversives within. We want our Saar and our Ruhr, and we want to get rid of this Weimar crowd who don't know their right hands from their left. The Sons of the Revolution, give you their plaques! The Daughters of the Revolution swear by you. The Veterans of Foriegn Wars, by and large are on your side, and want everybody every year or thereabouts to take the oath. And there are the Liberty Belles, and the Pro Americas, and the Christian Economists, and the American Legiona chapters — not all of them -- we must look into this.

But wherever you go if the conversation turns to you and your method, always someone stands up and says, "Well he's got the communists on the run. What more do you want!" Very good.

(5) Let us report on the Roman Catholics. We've got to silence the Jesuitical "America" and this Catholic pinko sheet, "The Commonweal". They can do us a lot of damage. But Cardinal Spellman is out and out for you and he is the most powerful priest in the USA and he may be the Pope. It could be. It could be! Talk to any group in any town in America now, that is right of center, and someone will say, "Well, the Catholics are against the communists, and the protestants are wishy washy, so I am for the catholics!" Good, I say, very very good.

(6) Now the writers and the painters and the musicians and all these other dreamers who get easily cockeyed ideas. I am making for you a catalogue of them. I will list those that are reds, and those that write like reds and those that we can count on. There are writers who have tried out the communist line and have sprung over, but they have the same kind of psychology, in whatever category you find them. They who once fall for the guy that tells them what to think are your meat. We need some good writers, commentators, radio announcers, and makers of songs! By the way, we need a good song? I must find you someone to write it, a real bang up song like Giovenezza, or the Horst Wessel thing or the International. Nothing like a song. Think what the Marsellaise did for the revolutionaries in France? Very important that I find you a good song.

(7) Now the Army and the Navy. The Navy will be easy. Those guuys don't know much of what is going on, and they are picked pretty carefully by those who want to be sure that they will be easy on the ship. They can for the most part be counted on. There are stiff necked ones in the Army, but you have them on the run. It got a bit dangerous there for a bit, but very soon the Zwicker affair will be forgotten and the fact that you found a communist promoted and honorably discharged will not be forgotten. When we get this special Purple Shirt organization well oiled, we will filter into the army and they will behave, they will behave. The conflict between the Westpointers, who also don't know much outside the military and the Reserve officers is right down your alley. "There's not to reason why. There's but to do and die!" Well we can use them, living or dying.

(8) The Press! That is easy, easy. There is no real democratic press. The pink sheets, the New Republic for example are struggling to exist. Most of the newspapers of the little towns are republican and on our side. The New York Times, the Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and a few others we have to watch, but give us time, give us time. As to the Periodicals few read the slicks, Henry Luce has an Achilles heel, and Raymond Moley has a grudge against the New Dealers, his heel! When we take over we will have a list and we will have local leaders who will know when and how to turn the newspapers to shout for you. No difficult job, that!

(9) Commentators, columnists, Radio broadcasters, TV shows and comments, all this sound and fury that goes over the air. The sponsors are shrewd enough to know whose voice wins soap buyers and whose doesn't. Little by little we get rid of the ones that speak out. Fulton Lewis is superb and I should imagine he would be the one we would want to give the whole plan when it seems a proper time to you. Ed Murrow, Cecil Brown, Elmer Davis, even Kaltenborn we must discredit. We haven't been able to get anything on Murrow, but we will.

(10) Nixon, Dirksen and Jenner have what it takes. They are tough, ruthless, and are on your side. They should know that there are top places in the New Government. Nixon certainly grows in Savvy, and he is becoming very popular over the country with the old ladies and the frightened pigeons. I would pull him in close pretty soon.

(11) The Democrats are more and more divided. We can play them against one another. The bogey of the negro is all we need in the South. In the North the New Dealers and the Anti New Dealers are at one another's throats now. Adlai Stevenson is the most powerful force they have, but whenever he speaks we have immediatelythe power of Winchell and Lewis and the Press to show him up as the one who is causing the hatred and bitterness and division of our times. Nixon did a good job in the Campaign in tying Hiss to his tail! But he is smart. We have to watch him.

So much for now.

I have been making a careful study of just how Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and Mao got the countries softened and then took over. I am also making a very very careful study of how it was that Hitler and Mussolini lost out!

Keep at it big boss! Don't bother to answer. Just go on to the next attack. Attack! That is the motto! Throw sand in their eyes and mud in their faces. and in 1956 we take over.

Yours for Freedom!

Dr. George M. Day
5223 Maywood Avenue
Eagle Rock, Los Angeles, Cal.

My dear George:-

Thank you for your letter from San Francisco and the note concerning Harold Fisher and Dr. Timoshenko. You will presently tell me what this is all about! Harold will be down here to-morrow for a Stanford Conference and Helen has invited a few friends in to talk with him. We are at the moment especially interested in the location of the Ford founded, Institute of Human Behavioral Studies. Monterey is an ideal place for it!

The other after noon I met the widow of Walter Lyman Brown, a distinguished mining engineer, associated with Mr. Hoover, William Honnold and others in Belgian relief, friend of the Various famous mining engineers, Harvey Huid, etd.

They lived in Russia in connection with the work of mining explorations and helping Mr. Hoover in the work of relief he undertook there during the famine time! Remember?

She talked to me with great interest and precision concerning the Russian people and she shares completely your ideas. This cruel fearful government will pass. It is the product of some strange philosophy, opportunism, and the accumulated evil that blew up the top.

The Russian people are possessed by and large of great talents and have a tremendous future. The land is rich beyond all compare in minerals and other resources. It is, as she says, as the USA was in the days of Lewis and Clark.

We must be ready to cooperate and to work with these people when the day arrives that it will be possible. That day will come!

This point of view interests me intensely, and especially when I realize that over the hill there are 200 Russians teachings hundreds of Army personnel the Slavic Language and there are Slavic students, especially under your care, spread across the land.

Cruelty, evil, malice, bitterness, mal treatment of various sorts pass in time, but faith, hope and love are eternal!

PO2502 Affectionately
Carmel, California
March 5, 1954

Boehnert, W. Kenneth

270 Elm St.
Oberlin, Ohio
March 14, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am writing to you from a very personal standpoint about your recent showdown with Senator Joseph McCarthy. Last Spring I had the good fortune to be assigned to assist Ed Scott and Leo Rossi as they filmed Oberlin College's commencement, the latter institution being my alma mater and my current employer. At the time, Ed and I discussed Mr. McCarthy at some length, in fact it was a student ACLU poster on one of our bulletin boards which prompted Ed to stage the student debate on "Academic Freedom" which you used in broadcast.

It is from this background then that I would like to take this opportunity to extend to you my heartiest congratulations for the recent stand you have taken against Mr. McCarthy, the magician of the mass mind. As you undoubtedly realize by the mail that is pouring into your office, I am not alone when I express this sentiment. There are many people not only in the circles of higher learning who are in complete sympathy with your viewpoint. Far more important, I believe, is the middle group of people who have just recently come to think about the issues involved. Even the most reactionary groups (the glassy-eyed Right Wingers, to paraphrase a McCarthyism) could not sit still when the United States Army became caught up in the wave of intimidation. Individuals may seem insignificant in our society, but symbollism is still pre-eminent. When Mr. McCarthy attacked the Army many of his followers as well as the sideline observers felt that he had bitten off more than they could chew.

To my way of thinking, your all-out challenge to the Junior Senator from Wisconsin has its greatest single value in the fact that it has come at a most strategic time - a time when many minds are in transition. The fact that this challenge came from a recognized and respected news analyst did not lessen its effectiveness. For many unknown reasons the true facts about Mr. McCarthy, his background, his methods and his truly anti-democratic philosophy have been too glossed over by the mass media, the Democrats and especially the Republicans. A public expose of Mr. McCarthy is very much in order at this time but it seems to be a "hot potato" that no one wants to handle. Many people, including this writer, are very pleased to see that you have taken such a large measure of this task upon your own shoulders.

If I may be so presumptuous, I would like to make a comment or two about your current approach to Mr. McCarthy. I do not know what "class" of listeners has comprised your radio and TV audiences, but since Mr. McCarthy has publicly acknowledged your challenge I am sure that many of the "undecided" will take and active interest

in your programs. The limitation that I foresee in your present broadcasting is the same one I felt during Adlai Stevenson's campaign; that is, that despite his efforts to "talk sense" to the American people, Mr Stevenson inadvertently talked over the heads of many people who did not have quite the background of understanding he possessed. For many people who listen to your program regularly, you make quite a bit of sense and have for some time. These people both understand what you are saying and agree with you for the most part.

Should my premise be correct, many people will be listening to your programs for the first time. These people may also be listening to you without having the background presupposed by many of your commemts. For this reason I feel that your approach to Senator McCarthy ought to have a two-fold purpose, to criticize the Senator but also to educate your new and perhaps undecided listeners. I believe that comments such as you made on your news program of Friday, March 12 concerning Mr. McCarthy's assumption that a clash of ideas implies defeat for democratic values needs to be spelled out in words of one syllable. In many ways this one point is basic to all of Mr. Mc Carthy's maneuvers. The more people who can clearly see such a common denominator in the hodge-podge of his activities, the sooner Mr. McCarthy will assume the role befitting his character.

The second limitation that I am wary of in your attack is the possibility that your criticisms will be put off as partisanship - as the voice of the Democratic party or worse. This would not be so bad ordinarily, but at this particular moment I believe that no possible area for "labeling" should be exposed. The listeners who have just recently joined your audience to more clearly understand your views of Mr. McCarthy may react if they sense that you are blasting the Republican Party as Mr. Stevenson did recently. I have no doubt that you consider McCarthyism as transcending party politics, but I feel that this must be made very clear to your newer audience so that they too can become more objective in their analysis of Mr. McCarthy.

I have enclosed a cartoon which summarizes rather well the feelings of many people, I sincerely hope that nothing deters you from the progress you have already made. With best wishes for success in your campaign for truly democratic ideals, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. Kenneth Boehmert

W. Kenneth Boehmert
Asst. Director of
Admissions

P.S. Please give my kindest regards to Ed Scott and Leo Rossi.

W. K. B.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

MARCH 14, 1954

T THE NEWS - - - - -

Braddock, G. M.

State Farm Insurance Companies

HOME OFFICE • BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS

G. M. BRADDOCK, AGENT P. O. BOX 146 CRESCENT CITY, FLORIDA PHONE: 61-11

March 12th, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York
N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I'm dreadfully sorry that anyone has to become involved with such as Senator McCarthy...particularly a man such as I believe you to be.

Through the years that I have listened and read to and of you I have been impressed that you were of top-quality as a thinker and reporter. I have been impressed that perhaps in your personal thinking, that is politically, that you were probably a bit of a liberal...certainly in the human sense. But most of all, your unbiased, comprehensive and condensed reporting. You have truly become an institution in our family.

Unfortunately McCarthy has a following...I don't say that he is wrong if he is hunting reds...but it is disgraceful, or so it seems to me, that we have a man seemingly just wantonly maligning and defaming people. And he and his gang talk of "smear" and "blackmail"....disgusting!!

I don't believe that you need any help with this alleged varmint...but I hope that if you do I can help. A neighbor of mine upon hearing of his comments, charges, etc., regarding you, suggested that probably you should ignore the guy saying that, "Doubtless McCarthy never had a father".

As always....

Sincerest Best Wishes

G. M. Braddock

G. M. Braddock

P. S. You are invited to The Bass Capital of the World!

GMB

McCarthy file

S I N

Brickner, Rabbi Balfour

April 23, 1954

Dear Rabbi Brickner:

Mr. John S. Hayes was good enough to pass along to me your very kind letter of April 9th, and I thought I would like to tell you how very much I appreciate your nice comments and your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Balfour Brickner
1835 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

rh

April 23, 1954

Dear John:

Many thanks for sending me Rabbi Brickner's letter. I sent him a little note, copy of which is enclosed.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John S. Hayes
Station WTOP
Broadcast House
40th and Brandywine Streets, N.W.
Washington 16, D.C.

rh

WTOP
AM—FM—TV

THE WASHINGTON POST STATIONS
WARNER BUILDING, WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

April 12, 1954

Rabbi Balfour Brickner
1835 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Rabbi Brickner:

Thank you for your letter of April 9 and your very interesting comments.

I am taking the liberty of forwarding it to Mr. Edward R. Murrow, as I am sure he would like to read your reactions.

Your interest in WTOP-TV is greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

John S. Hayes

COPY

Temple Sinai

Washington, D. C.

HAROLD STRAUSS
PRESIDENT

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JACOB H. GICHNER
PAST PRESIDENT

BALFOUR BRICKNER, RABBI
1835 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
REPUBLIC 7-0579

April 9, 1954

General Manager
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast House
40th and Brandywine Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:-

May I take this opportunity to express my views on the latest appearance of Senator McCarthy on your television network. Americans have always appreciated objectivity and fair play. Mr. Murrow's offer to sacrifice his own time on the networks and your readiness to carry Mr. McCarthy was certainly a good example of such objectivity. It gave every person who saw the programs a chance to evaluate for himself just who operates in a constructive pattern and who is interested in his own self-aggrandizement. I firmly believe as a result of Mr. McCarthy's appearance on Tuesday, April 6th, the American public is finally beginning to realize that this man is not only a serious threat to the moral, spiritual and political welfare of America, but is also a person who has all the potentialities of becoming one of the nation's leading demagogues. The bright lights of television showed him up for what he really is and you are to be commended for such a fine public service. You helped give Mr. McCarthy enough rope to begin, what I am sure, will be his own political self-strangulation.

May I further commend you for carrying such a fine news analyst as Edward R. Murrow. He has in the past and does presently serve the American people well, and I pray that you will continue to give him the opportunity to bring to America a fair and objective analysis of the news.

Sincerely,

Balfour Brickner

Balfour Brickner, Rabbi

BB:js

THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Broadcasting House, London, W.1

TELEPHONE: LANGHAM 4468 TELEGRAMS AND CABLES: BROADCASTS, TELEX, LONDON

15th March, 1954.

My dear Ed,

I shrink from adding to what must have been an enormous mail and, much as one would like to have news of you sometime, the last thing I would suggest is that you should bother about answering this, but I felt that I had to send you my congratulations on the television thing of last week and to wish your elbow all the power there can be in an imperfect world. Both politically and professionally it was a heart-warming experience, as I expect numberless other people have told you.

My affection to Janet and yourself,

Mal.

Mr. Edward S. Morrow,
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System,
Madison Avenue,
New York,
U.S.A.

Brown, Eleanor Corrigan

BENTON & BOWLES, Inc.

Advertising

444 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. MURRAY HILL 8-1100

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Mr.Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Just a line to say that of all the superb programs you've been responsible for, last night's "McCarthy Show" was the greatest.

The excellent production, the fair, dispassionate and truthful treatment of your subject should prove the most influential factor to date in bringing home to the people of the United States the real story of "McCarthyism."

Thank you for doing what we, as average citizens, have neither the ability nor the opportunity to do for ourselves -- to help restore the Four Freedoms!

Congratulations to you and to your wonderful staff, and best wishes and continued success from

Eleanor Corrigan Brown

Eleanor Corrigan Brown

P.S. In my enthusiasm, I completely forgot to extend deepest thanks to your great sponsor, Alcoa, and to CBS-TV, for the presentation of this program.

Brown, Himan

HIMAN BROWN • RADIO PRODUCTIONS
285 CENTRAL PARK WEST • NEW YORK 24, N. Y. • SCHUYLER 4-4333

Dear Ed -

Your broadcast was a great moment in American history - I was proud to identify with you and your courageous and necessary censure of Mr. McCarthy -

As an American, I and 160 million others owe you a debt of gratitude which can never really be paid -

All good health and happiness to you in the future -

H. Brown

Bullis, Harry A.

General Mills, Inc.
400 Second Avenue South

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
HARRY A. BULLIS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

Minneapolis 1, Minn.

March 29, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Corporation
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

On March 10th at New York, I telephoned your office congratulating you on your March 9th "See It Now" television show in which you discussed the speeches, announcements and tactics of Senator McCarthy. That special program of March 9th was televised in Minneapolis last evening at 8:30 p.m. My wife and I enjoyed seeing it.

I have also liked all of your other comments regarding McCarthy. I congratulate you for having the courage to tell the truth about this unscrupulous political adventurer.

My latest indictment of him will be in the April issue of Fortune magazine.

In Washington last Thursday, I told my friend Earl Gammon, Vice President of Columbia, that you were my favorite news broadcaster.

I compliment you on the great contribution you are making to the education of the American public about national and international problems.

Sincerely yours,

Harry A. Bullis

HAB:bp

More power to you!

Burke, Thomas A.

EDWARD MARTIN, PA., CHAIRMAN
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THOMAS A. BURKE, OHIO
WAYNE MORRIS, ORE.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

March 11, 1954

AIRMAIL

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I was quite impressed with your program of Tuesday, March 9, concerning Senator McCarthy. I am only sorry that I wasn't able to record the sound portion off my own television set. In lieu of that, I am wondering if you have an extra copy of the script. I would be most appreciative if you could mail it to me.

What I would like, of course, is a complete script of everything said on the program, including the statements made by Senator McCarthy and others on the newsreel shots which you showed.

Thanks a great deal for any consideration you can give to this request.

Cordially,

Thomas A. Burke
THOMAS A BURKE, U.S.S.

Caley, Chas. C.

WMBD

"First in the Heart of Illinois"

212 SO. JEFFERSON AVENUE • PEORIA 2, ILLINOIS

Telephone 6-0711

CHARLES C. CALEY
PRESIDENT & GENERAL MANAGER

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Radio Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I took occasion last evening to tune in WHBF-TV, Rock Island, Illinois, to hear Senator McCarthy's reply to your program of March 6. Although our television reception was not the best, it was sufficiently clear for me to see and hear confidentially what I thought to be one of the worst presentations of its kind. I have no desire personally to be quoted in this matter, but I wanted to tell you that in my opinion, Mr. McCarthy's response was the worst type of "smear campaign". It seemed to me that his one basis of attack upon you was the fact that you belonged to some international educational group about twenty years ago and frankly, in the program I could find no other record of your association with subversive organizations. It is my understanding that our present Secretary of State was a much older member of the same organization.

Mr. McCarthy then proceeded to bring us up to date regarding communism and then, not too cleverly I thought, attempted to tie in the current communist newspaper comments as an endorsement of one of their brethern, namely, Mr. Murrow. It was interesting to note that the newspapers quoted all seemed to be dated and published after your broadcast of March 6, and I was very amused because of my three years of Intelligence service in the Army Air Force dealing in such matters, to note that this type of endorsement has been established by the Communist Party and their members for many, many years. It is a very clever way of "damming with praise". It has been used so long that I would think even Senator McCarthy would be familiar with such tactics. I am sure you are. It is my feeling that Mr. McCarthy last night confirmed everything that most of us have thought of him for some time.

Heartiest congratulations from Brooks Watson and myself for the courageous position that you have taken in this matter, and best wishes for a successful conclusion of it.

Kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

Charlie

Charles C. Caley
BH

Calkins, J.T.

JOHN T. CALKINS
1528 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

SEE IT NOW on McCarthy was great, intelligent and effective.

I only wish you would do a five or six week series along the same lines. Certainly the material is there, and what this nation needs is a steady, planned and organized program of the truth.

Keep up the excellent work.

Sincerely yours,

John T. Calkins

John T. Calkins
Assistant to Rep. Sterling Cole

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Campbell, Sterling

RADIO STATION WDWS

COLUMBIA AFFILIATE

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ROBT. MEEKER ASSOCIATES, INC.
333 North Michigan, Chicago
521 Fifth Avenue, New York

MARC HOWARD
Manager

March 13, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
CBS Radio News
New York, New York

THANK GOD YOU TAKE THE STRONG STAND YOU DO AGAINST

MCCARTHY!

Your broadcast last night was greatly appreciated by myself and my colleagues. We heartily approve of what you say and the way you say it.

Watching the way McCarthy handles the truth, and the manner in which he treats men and women is a disgusting spectacle. Any American citizen can do nothing but cringe when he hears the proceedings of these so-called investigations.

I must admit Mr. Murrow that I am rather glad that the Man from Wisconsin took after you Thursday evening. At last there is a STRONG, respected person who will oppose the senator vigorously and with out fear. You seem to be the only person in or out of government able and unafraid to oppose him.

These few lines I hope will serve as a small measure of appreciation. You Have MY Support.....

Sterling M. Campbell
S M Campbell
Staff Announcer

CBS Staff

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

March 10, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly,

We're proud to work in the same organization with you.

Shirley Meehan
Max Wilk
Betty Kanzell
Gillis Mac Gil Stearns
Gerald Pinzas
Charlie Barbley
Irk Alexander
Jerome Shaw
B G Sherwood
Myron W Blum
Gary Jenkins

COLOR

March 10, 1954

TO: Ed Murrow

FROM: The CBS Radio Program Department

We are very proud!

Lester Gottlieb
Terry Manly
Norman Rankin
James I. Fischer
Dolores Martinez
Peter Haas
Gray Blackmaine
Don Melamed
Budd Wilds
Harriett Wilson
Lucile
Rose Olken
Pauline Caponegro
Virginia Dixon
Rose Tolivas
[illegible]

Clifford, Clark

STERLING 3-1544

Clifford and Miller
Attorneys and Counsellors at Law
1523 L Street, Northwest
Washington

March 18, 1954

Dear Ed:

I have delayed writing you with reference to your original McCarthy broadcast because I feared my letter might be lost in the flood that must have inundated you.

I wish to extend my sincerest congratulations for the magnificent service that you have rendered to this nation. Your action took courage and daring and it has paid off to an incredible degree.

Sometime, when the pressure lessens, I hope that we might have luncheon again.

With best personal wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Clark —

Clark M. Clifford

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Washington, D. C.

THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS OF THE CBS. MAIL ROOM EXPRESS THEIR CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. EDWARD R. MURROW FOR THE STAND HE HAS TAKEN ON THE McCARTHY ISSUE.

S. Kom
D. Fuchs
J. Shephan
W. Haas
David I. Hitchcock
Ken Eisler
Jack P. Pabis
Alan J. Sholbeck
Gilbert Steele

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow, Fred Friendly

from: Ruth Alben, Fred Freed, Martin Weldon

We would like to let you know how proud it made us to work for CBS as a result of last night's "See It Now."

We are aware of how much courage it took to put it on the air.

It seemed to us as fine a television program as any of us has seen.

We simply want to add our voices to the chorus of support and tell you how good you have made us feel to be CBS employees.

We work for "This Is New York" on WCBS radio. But a program like last night's enlarges all of us, no matter in what department we happen to be employed.

Fred Freed Martin Weldon Ruth Alben

693

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: EDWARD R. MURROW

from: Gertrude Black

March 12, 1958

Please accept my most heartiest congratulations on a most wonderful program. Not only wonderful, but informative.

We, who have no voice with which to say how we feel, are proud to know that we now have a spokesman with courage. For, there are many great people who feel as we do, but lack the "guts" to express themselves for fear of being labeled "red."

More power to you!

gb:ego

Gertrude Black

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R Murrow

3/10/54

from: Florence Britton

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Thanks- thanks so very very much . I'm proud of you and bursting with pride for the network.

Garlands,

Florence Britton
Story Editor,
STUDIO ONE

50

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

GEORGE CRANDALL

Director
Press Information

Oh Kid, you did it!

And it certainly hit the mark.

I'm proud to know you —

Sincerely and in gratitude,

Edith Gebhens —

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly

from: William Dozier

March 10, 1954

As a co-toiler in the vineyard, please let me bow very low, with cap doffed, in reverence over your last night's achievement.

You will receive countless plaudits, all of which you deserve, and more.

Sincerely,

Bill Dozier

abp

50

Dear Ed,

Superb is the word.

Doug Edwards

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

6121 SUNSET BOULEVARD · HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA · HOLLYWOOD 9-1212

B. F. FEINER, JR.

Executive Producer

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Generally the pressure of work precludes my catching "SEE IT NOW". Last night, however, my wife and I enjoyed the privilege of watching "The McCarthy Story" and as regularly enrolled Republicans and members of the CBS family I want to convey to you our heartfelt gratitude for having expressed so ably the things we have felt so long and so deeply.

Sincerely,

Ben Feiner

BFF:hw

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Ed Murrow & Fred Friendly

from: Louis Teicher

March 10, 1954

Congratulations!! A great job and one which needed doing for a long time.

I'm proud to be associated with you in CBS.

Louis Teicher

693

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Murrow, Friendly

from: Dallas Townsend March 10, 1954

That was the finest and most exciting program I have ever seen on television. As one who has had the privilege of working with you on occasion in the past, I hope you will accept my respectful congratulations.

DT

50

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: Virginia Gray - Sec. Alex March

March 10, 1954

I feel that I must add my applause personally, by way of this memo, for your magnificent show of last night.

My fears for my country were lessened considerably by your honest, unafraid stand against Senator McCarthy and his Medieval techniques of interrogation. Up to the time of your broadcast it was my unhappy opinion that there wasn't one man in the United States with the courage to oppose the Senator...thank God you proved me wrong.

It is my firm belief that with your show as an example, the people of this nation will throw off the yoke of fear they have been saddled with and will destroy McCarthy and McCarthyism.

Thank you, Mr. Murrow, thank you for giving me back my faith in democracy and in America.

Virginia Gray

50

TO Mr. Ed Murrow

FROM P. Guillatt

3/10

Dear Ed:

Thanks, many thanks for last nites "See It Now".

PG

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Murrow

from: Mr. Jacobson

March 10, 1954

We thought you would be interested in having the names of the following people who were among those who called Tuesday night to congratulate you on the McCarthy show: Mr. Alinsky from Chicago, Eva Gabor, Ed Sullivan, James Fly, former F.C.C. Commissioner.

DJJ:aen

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Robert Jiras

March 10, 1954

It is indeed a great privilege and honor to be working at the same network with you. Congratulations on last night's "See It Now".

Robert Jiras
Head of Makeup

Robert Jiras

RJ:mjm

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Murrow and Friendly

from: Johanna Johnston

Three phone calls this morning congratulated me for working for the network that carried your McCarthy show last night. I was already filled with pride...and with gratitude. I'd like this note to express the thanks - not only of myself -- but of dozens of friends who feel like shouting in the streets because someone has at last spoken out.

Johanna Johnston

693

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs. Friendly and Murrow

from: Marvin Josephson

March 12, 1954

I am proud to work for the same corporation that employs your services. Your latest "SEE IT NOW" program leaves me speechless.

MJ

MJ:MS

TO Edward R. Murrow

FROM Howard Kany

Your McCarthy "See it Now" was positively terrific. I hope a way can be found to air it again--for the benefit, among others, of the single person I have talked with today who sheepishly admitted he didn't see it.

HK-3/10/54

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Sheldon B. Keller
Rod Parker
Don Sheldon....."I'LL BUY THAT"

Your report on Mc Carthy was one of the most significant pieces of journalism ever seen on this medium.

We are proud and honored to be a part of the same network that has Edward R. Murrow.

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: David Klinger

March 10, 1954

When SEE IT NOW finished last night, I was very proud of my association with CBS, and of my identification, albeit remote, with you.

DK

DK/fmp

50

Office Communication **WCBS-TV**

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Lee LeBlang

March 10, 1954

It is a great pleasure to be associated with an organization that allows the kind of program you presented last night on "See It Now." It was a thrilling experience to sit through the fastest half-hour in television history. If the reaction I ran into is any indication of popularity, you gained and McCarthy lost a lot last night.

MHL:pas

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: ERM

from: Larry LeSueur

Nice clean shooting. When shall we deliver the hide?

693

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: Jan Levy 3/10/54

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In the three and one-half years I have worked for CBS-TV, I was never prouder of being associated with the network than I was after your "SEE IT NOW" broadcast last night.

You and Mr. Friendly have rendered an invaluable and long needed service to our country and our industry, and the editing and compiling of those film clips was indeed a Herculean job, masterfully done.

I want to thank you, Mr. Murrow, for your courage, and the honesty of your presentation and editorial comment. Many newsmen will no doubt feel freer now about expressing themselves on this subject, but no one who shares your sense of public awareness can ever forget that you exercised your democratic (no pun intended) prerogative first.

Let us hope that your voice will provide a conscience for this country whenever the issues indicate that the time has come to stand up and be counted.

Sincerely,

Jan Levy

50

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: Alex March

March 10, 1954

I just want to be one amongst many, many thousands to write and thank you for last night's SEE IT NOW...I can't imagine a better opening offensive against Senator McCarthy and I feel too that for the first time since McCarthy's rise to power he is not going to go on unopposed. Perhaps with your show the Liberals and all the decent thinking people in this country will stand up unafraid and be counted. And in the face of this I don't think the good Senator can possibly survive, at least in any important political sense.

I should like you to know too, sir, that standing up and being counted is not just idle chatter on my part and if there is any way, any time, any place that you can use my energies, my fairly limited talents, etc., in this - the good fight - I should be only too proud to be associated with you in any way you see fit to use me.

Thank you again and again for last night.

Sincerely,

Alex March

50

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly

from: Dolores Martinez

March 10, 1954

Congratulations! Last night's SEE IT NOW makes me proud to be a member of CBS.

693

TO Ed Murrow & Fred Friendly

From AL MORGAN

May I add my note to your avalanche of mail. I think your "See It Now " report on McCarthy was a magnificent job.

Al

TO Mssrs. Murrow & Friendly

FROM Norman Ober

Don't know why this came to me, but I'm happy to forward it. Credit where credit's due! Your show made me glad I work for CBS.- gladdest in over seven years!

Congratulations from the bottom of my heart. It was supurb!

(re. Robert I. Randall letter 3/9/54)

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Edward R. Murrow

from: Mr. Harry G. Ommerle

March 10, 1954

As I told Fred today, I just want to add my own congratulations to the thousands you must have already received as a result of last night's magnificent job.

HGO:cb

H.G.O.

30

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F. 559

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Mr. Murrow

From Reference Dept.

Station 485 Madison Ave.

March 11, 1954

"O, that this too too solid flesh would melt

Thaw and resolve itself into a dew."

(Hamlet, Act 1, scene 2)

We refer, of course, to Senator McCarthy. Congratulations to you on your wonderful program!

Elizabeth Smith
Helene Pringle
Nancy Caron
Lucy Romano
Jane Girardi

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Ed Murrow

from: Dick Roll

By taking my corny liberties with an old saying, I've come to the conclusion this must be the feeling of the Jr. Senator: "DON'T PUT OFF TODAY WHAT YOU CAN DO TO-MURROW".

RR

Allan Jackson's writer.

693

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

McCarthy Program - Congratulat

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am so very proud today! Proud to be an American and proud to work for the CBS Television Network. May I congratulate you and your staff on the magnificence of the SEE IT NOW program last night.

It is admirable that a man in these frightened days feels the overwhelming necessity to say what you did, and horrifying that it had to be done...that it should take courage to telecast those words that we, the small, still, plaintive voices have been repeating for so long.

It was doubly wonderful to me because I saw the program during a party for a few Herald Tribune High School Forum exchange students, one of whom is a guest of my brother. We had all discussed the "McCarthy situation" earlier in the evening and it embarassed me that teen-agers throughout the world, "the hope of the future", thought so little of this country politically. They watched you with open admiration...and it came to them that here was the greatness, here was the shining light of enlightened intelligence, reason without emotional coloring, fact, and, therefore, realization of that which is -- the necessary criticism of democracy at work.

I feel, somehow, that it was an historic speech, that we will all long remember the things you said. I pray that it has given us an impetus to speak up and to raise our voices and thereby to make ourselves heard to rid ourselves of the half-gods of half-truth. Perhaps we can now be masters of our fate.

Sincerely,

Marge Schwartz

Marge Schwartz
FILM PRODUCTION DIVISION

Wednesday, March 10, 1954

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

Mister Murrow:

Overnight apprentice writer, third grade, speaking -- and briefly. No television set where I live, I was lucky enough to get to the Newsroom last night early -- in time for SIN. You know that newsmen must write the news objectively, when subjectivity is cried out for in certain cases, day by day. I think you helped most of us get it at least vicariously off our chests. Thanks for picking that fine target, that evil man, Senator McCarthy.

your unmet colleague,

Em Stone

.....

Emerson Stone II

Random House, Inc. THE MODERN LIBRARY

457 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

BENNETT A. CERF, PRESIDENT

March 10, 1954.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
c/o CBS-Television,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Ed:

You've done a lot of wonderful things in television, but your McCarthy program last night surpassed them all. I am enclosing herewith a carbon copy of a letter I have sent to Alcoa.

More power to you.

Cordially,

Publishers of THE AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY
bc;pk

Cerf, Bennett A.

March 10, 1954.

Aluminum Company of America,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Gentlemen:

In my opinion, Ed Murrow's "See It Now" program last night devoted to showing the American people exactly what kind of a man Senator McCarthy is, was about as thrilling and soul-satisfying a half hour as has ever been done in television. By sponsoring this program, it seems to me that Alcoa has performed an outstanding public service, and I for one hasten to express my deepest appreciation.

May I add that I believe, from a purely commercial point of view, this program will do more to create good will for Alcoa than a double color spread in every newspaper and magazine in America.

Cordially yours,

Bennett Cerf

bc;pk

Chandler, Theodore

WVSC *The Voice of Somerset County* 990 KCS

Phone 4186 SOMERSET BROADCASTING CO. P. O. Box 231
SOMERSET, PENNA.

March 10, 1954

Mr Edward R Murrow
CBS Television News Department
485 Madison Ave
New York, N.Y

Dear Mr Murrow;

Being in the radio business myself, and specifically, in the news category, I have long since ceased to expect fan mail, myself, or to pay overmuch attention to flattering letters when they do arrive. I am, however, moved by your last evening's TV triumph to write you and to include my heartfelt thanks for as brilliant a job of analytical reporting as I have ever seen or heard.

Only by full and frank discussion of the tactics of the junior Senator from Wisconsin can we hope to beat him at his own game. Because a demagogue must be feared in order to be a success. If such coldly brilliant spotlights as yours of last evening are continually trained upon him, the American people must surely come to understand the feet of clay of this political Moloch. Then they will no longer either fear or trust him and we can move forward to a united effort to defend ourselves in peaceable and sane manner.

It has long seemed to me - ever since that Wheeling West Virginia speech which started the whole McCarthy legend that sooner or later, a crisis would be reached which would inevitably lead to such a battle as is necessitated now. The pity of the whole thing has been that up to recently, the Republicans thought that McCarthy would be a handy dandy weapon against the Democrats, and so would do nothing about him, and more recently, the Democrats have seen McCarthyism as the righttin can to tie to the tail of the administration, and now they seem unwilling to move against him. Oh, brave new world that has such creatures in it!

This letter - which is essentially one of thanks for your brilliant and necessary program of last evening - has dragged out far too long. But the most taciturn of us are wont to become voluble when McCarthy is concerned. So disregard the rest of it, and just accept the thanks of a very grateful listener.

Very truly yours

Theodore Chandler Jr.

Theodore Chandler Jr

Clark, J. B.

JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING COMPANY

WBT WBTV

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLOTTE 3-8833

April 7,1954

Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York N Y

Dear Mr Murrow

You are deluged, I am sure, with letters, telegrams and telephone calls endorsing your position in the current air-debate with Senator McCarthy. Permit me to add my small tribute to you and to wish you continued success as our nation's leading news commentator on both radio and television.

Of all the men whose opinions I listen to and respect, you are by far the one in whom I would place secure confidence. Your integrity, honesty, fair-mindedness and accuracy of reporting would never be questioned by any American whose primary concern is one of patriotic devotion to country.

Not only as a broadcaster myself, and one who in his time has done considerable writing and reporting of the news, but as a loyal citizen of this greatest of all Democracies, do I wish to support you in any such controversy as this and to pledge my continued loyalty to men like you in any future debate wherein the welfare of our nation is involved. It would behoove me, as well as all true Americans, to rely on your sense of fair play and your courageous approach to any problem affecting the good of the country, rather than to respond to the ofttimes hypnotic spell of an irresponsible office-holder like the junior Senator from Wisconsin whose actions, at least so they seem to this listener, appear selfishly motivated and based on every unethical tenet foreign to our American spirit.

Cordially yours

J B Clark

J B Clark

13 March ✓
Clark, Judge Wm.

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
42 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK 36

Dear Ed -

Good for you - I saw something of Cox and Schurz almost daily for years 'Positively Mr Cox. Absolutely Mr Schurz'

In my legal eye Mr Cattys remarks have some inherent evidence of veracity. Sherrill is decent enough for anything and Alan takes to fine expressions Louis Seals but.

Bill Clark

(Judge William Clark
5 Cleveland Lane
Princeton, N.J.)

TO ED MURROW

FROM JERRY MAULSBY 4/8/54

Ed Codell is a chap you met in London while he was helping us get ABSIE put together.

Jerry

Ed Codel

Jerry:

Thanks very much for getting this to Ed Murrow. It's just a drop in the bucket but a sincere tribute to a wonderful guy!

Ed

THE KATZ AGENCY, INC.

Codell, Ed

NEW YORK. .
CHICAGO. . .
DETROIT. . .
ATLANTA. . .
KANSAS CITY
SAN FRANCISCO
DALLAS . . .
LOS ANGELES.

The KATZ AGENCY, INC.

NATIONAL ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 1888

488 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 9-4460

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

May I re-introduce myself: I met you the first time in London, where we were introduced by Jerry Maulsby. Recently we met again at a restaurant where you were having lunch with Eric Severeid, a former classmate of mine at the University of Minnesota.

The purpose of this letter is to tell you how bad many of us in the industry feel about your being subjected to the indignities that were heaped upon you by McCarthy. Thanks for carrying the ball for so many of us who believe exactly as you do but don't have the opportunity of helping to expose this character assassin who revels in the Hitlerian methods we all fought to defeat. Not only we in the industry but the entire country should be grateful to you.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Ed Codel

Edward Codel

EC/rp

From the desk of—
MARTIN CODEL

3-10-54

Ed-

That took real guts — and our hats are off to you.

Regards —

Martin Codel

Coe, Don

ERM

Don Coe of ABC phoned to offer his congratulations.

Thinks you should re-run Kine.

LL

Cohane, John P.

Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell & Bayles, Inc.

437 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Just a note to congratulate you on the particularly fine job you have been doing during the past month or so in connection with Joe McCarthy. At a time like this, I believe it is essential for everyone who agrees with you to let the fact be known, and I couldn't agree more heartily.

If there is anything I can do personally ever to help, be sure and let me know.

Best regards,

Jack Cohane

John P. Cohane
Vice-President & Secretary

jpc/gm

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 1-2345

Collingwood, Charles

13 March 1954

Dear Ed;

I don't seem to get around the shop as much these days so I haven't had a chance since the historic broadcast to tell you how proud and moved and admiring I am.

Apart from the show, its marvellous timing and tremendous impact which everyone will tell you about, I want you to know how much it meant to everyone who labors in the same vineyard with you. You have fought many battles for all the rest of us in the past, but none bigger nor, I suspect, more difficult to join than this one. Because of what you are and what you have done you can say things that the rest of us may not, and everytime you do, you help all the rest of us. By dignifying the profession you dignify all of us.

I am happier in my work these days because of what you said the other night.

As ever,

Charles

Conhurst, Bill

The Voice of Baltimore

AM 5000 WATTS—600 KILOCYCLES—FM 20000 WATTS—102.7 MEGACYCLES
THE MONUMENTAL RADIO COMPANY
BASIC AFFILIATE—COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM RADIO NETWORK
1102 NORTH CHARLES STREET • BALTIMORE 1, MARYLAND
MULberry 0600

Saturday
Mch. 13, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Newsrooms
New York ;

Drar Ed :

This personal note , from me to you, is late but--

It's a sorta sickening thing to have a man like Mccarthy attack a man like you. Next thing I suppose, he'll have the gall to go after Eisenhower.

People foget that back in the thirties, we were not on to the Russians' slick undercover stuff---using noble sounding set-ups for dirty work and so on. People just forget. McCarthy knows all that of course, but it'sjust his way.

Both myself and Mrs. C (a swell Virginia lady and one of our best followers and admirers, byt the way.) listened to your 7.45 and the Person to Person. Thought your answer to M. was fine. Dignified and to the point and factual. (Typewriter stick, hence the x-out line.)
Nancy--Mrs. C. --clapped her hands at the end and said : "He said just what I wanted him to say." That was anent your saying you are all for right to think and talk about things in the American way.etc.

Thought the Person to Person was grand. Two really big men

I know a thing like this McCarthy attack hurts a little, but I think he's on the way down now. Hope the solid people in Congress have the gumption etc. to see to that shortly.

So, if I may be excusec for saying it, Carry on, Ed, the country and all of us need clear thinking guys like you

(Pardy)

Best Regards
Bill Conhurst

(Bill Conhurst, oh what?)

MARYLAND'S Oldest RADIO STATION

Conkling, James

COLUMBIA RECORDS INC.

A Subsidiary of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

799 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 19, NEW YORK · CIRCLE 5-7300

JAMES B. CONKLING
President

March 10th
1954

Dear Ed:-

I can't let last night's magnificent performance go by without complimenting you in a hundred different ways, both for the job you did and the service you have performed to the American people.

It is too bad that Eisenhower doesn't have your courage and foresight.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Jim

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

j

Daggatt, Walter

WALTER R. DAGGATT
946 RIVER ROAD
FAIR HAVEN, NEW JERSEY

3-11

Dear Ed -

Your Tues. broadcast terrific! With people like you pitching in it looks like the tide has turned - at long last.

Wonderful job - keep it up!

Gratefully -
Walt Daggatt

Danenberg, Leigh

MEMBER ABC

LEIGH DANENBERG
Editor and Publisher

SUNDAY HERALD
No Fear-No Favor
The People's Paper

Dial 4-1161
4-1162
4-1163
4-1164
4-1165
4-1166

ESTABLISHED 1890

299 Lafayette St. Bridgeport 9, Conn.

Personal March 17, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed Murrow:

Congratulations on being initiated into the select circle hated by Westbrook Pegler.

You may get a moment to glance through our last Sunday's city edition, a copy of which has gone forward under separate cover.

There was quite a bit about Murrow in it.

My thanks for your effectiveness and my good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leigh Danenberg

Leigh Danenberg

LD:mes

Dashiell, Fritz

THE READER'S DIGEST
PLEASANTVILLE · NEW YORK

March 12

Dear Ed Murrow:

Thank you for the magnificent job you did on McCarthy Tuesday night. It was just the right treatment to convince the American people and was, I hope, the report which started the avalanche which will eventually smother him.

I have been a fan of yours for years but never have you done better when action was sorely called for. My respects, too, to Alcoa for a real public service.

Sincerely,
Fritz Dashiell

MANAGING EDITOR: ALFRED S. DASHIELL

Davis, Arthur W.

COPY

Aptil 16th, 1954

Dear Mr. Davis,

For the record, I want it to be quite clear that as a modest stockholder in your Company I am just as strongly in favor of Mr. Murrow and against the Junior Senator of Wisconsin now as I was after Mr. Murrow's original television show sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America.

I very much hope that the Aluminum Company of America will continue to stand firmly behind the Columbia Broadcasting System and Mr. Murrow.

I believe we have one thing in common -- a liking and admiration for Jack Levison and the work he does.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

Alfred A. Knopf

Arthur W. Davis, Esq.
The Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

AAK:vlh

cc: Edward R. Murrow, Esq.

Dear Ed - I guess you've seen thousands of these! Arnold

Aluminum Company of America

Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
March 30, 1954

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
501 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Knopf:

We very much appreciate your communication of approval concerning our sponsorship of "SEE IT NOW," which features Edward R. Murrow.

We sponsor this broadcast as a public service, and it has been gratifying to watch the audience growth -- which is currently running between 9 and 10 million per telecast.

Believing that no one has the right to control or influence the news, we do not know nor care to know in advance what Mr. Murrow intends to use on his program. We do offer criticism freely when we do not like the show, and I must say he takes it seriously and well.

No one in the news commentating field can do an honest job and please all of the people all of the time. We realize that Mr. Murrow is doing a top-notch job, and are gratified with the public reaction.

Again, thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur P. Hall

ARTHUR P. HALL

APH:GLM

Davis, Paxton

Office of the Director

Lee Memorial Journalism Foundation

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow :

Like many of my colleagues, I have been disheartened these last few months at what seemed to me the tragic failure of supposedly responsible newsmen to fulfill their moral obligation to the public in the McCarthy stories.

Your outspoken position last week has given me new hope, and I am deeply grateful to you for it.

Yours very truly,

Paxton Davis.

Paxton Davis
Assistant Professor of Journalism

Dean, Vera Micheles

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 5-5740

JOHN W. NASON
President

March 12, 1954.

Dear Ed,

I am late in writing you, and I am one of the unlucky ones who did not see your program Tuesday night, because I was in a part of the country where TV has not yet made its mark.

But, sight unseen, I want to tell you how thrilled I was to know that you did such a masterly job, and how heartening it is to all of us who in many small ways have been trying to stem the tide to know that one of the great media of communications has at last decided to come to grips with the evil forces that threaten to destroy this country. Youwill find you are rallying thousands of people who before had no rallying point for their emotions and opinions - and that is a great blow struck for democracy.

Keep it up!

With best regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Vera

Vera Micheles Dean
Editor

Dilworth, Richard

DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
ROOM 666 CITY HALL
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

RICHARDSON DILWORTH
DISTRICT ATTORNEY
MICHAEL VON MOSCHZISKER
FIRST ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I had the honor of being one of the Commissioners of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission who voted to do you honor this year. I must say I felt extremely proud of my choice when I listened to Senator McCarthy last night.

I tuned in on this morning's hour, and want to congratulate you on your reply to the Senator's charges. I have never seen McCarthy better handled. He is a mighty difficult person to contain--but I think you have done just that.

Sincerely,

Richardson Dilworth

RD:D

P.S. Is it possible to receive a complete copy of your statement in reply to the McCarthy broadcast?

Sent Amcd 4/12

Dixon, Austin E.

LOS ANGELES CITY HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT

Huntington Park High School

6020 MILES AVENUE
Huntington Park, California

RICHARD H. NIDA
Principal

ALEXANDER J. STODDARD
Superintendent of Schools

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It has been a long time since June 1930 and I have followed your career with a great deal of pleasure. I enjoy both of your television programs that get to the west coast. You were never better than last evening, when you showed Senator Mc Carthy in his true light. It is people such as you that will preserve the American way of life - keep it up.

Virginia and I would enjoy seeing you on the west coast. Our present address is 5331 Stillwater Drive, Los Angeles 56, California. If you ever get out our way, please look us up.

Sincerely,

Austin

AUSTIN E. DIXON
Vice Principal

AED:K

Dougherty, C. S.

Criminal Court of Cook County
Illinois

Chambers of
Charles S. Dougherty
Chief Justice

Chicago 8

April 14, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May I tell you how much we enjoyed your program last evening and I know that it must have had a terrific impact on your listening public.

Except for the die hard McCarthyites, of whom there are very few, I have heard nothing but praise for your previous broadcasts presenting McCarthy in his true light.

If enough of our citizens have an appreciation of the benefits of the freedoms guaranteed under our form of government, become articulate I think that McCarthyism and all its works will pass into the oblivion they deserve. As I have told Bishop Sheil today I don't think our citizens this Spring will be listening for the "voice of the turtle" so much as they will be listening for a voice of sanity from Washington.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Dougherty

Chief Justice

CSD/r

Dresden, Donald W.

NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE *for Educational Television*
RING BUILDING · 1200 18th STREET, N. W. · WASHINGTON · 6 · D · C ·

April 8, 1954

Dear Ed:

I'm 100% for you. Night before last, I phoned WTOP here in Washington and CBS in New York to say that I think you are exactly right and that Mc Carthy's attack on you is another example of the foul play that characterizes the rat.

I think all of us who share your opinion about Mc Carthy owe you a debt for expressing so admirably our feelings. Unhappily I think too many Americans fail to see that Mc Carthy is just as potentially dangerous to America as Hitler was to Germany. That is where you are performing a wonderful service: exposing the guy for what he really is. I think this is a tough fight; but I have a lot of faith in the fundamental decency of the American people, and I believe that with the kind of fearless, intelligent reporting you are doing, the right people will win.

It's been a long time since England, Normandy and Germany. It would be good to see you again and lift a friendly glass.

Best wishes, and keep up the fine work.

Cordially,

Don

Donald W. Dresden
Director of Public
Relations

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

copy to: Columbia Broadcasting System - NYC
Aluminum Company of America- NYC

DuMont, Oscar

Coast to Coast
CBS OSCAR DuMONT
Almonesson, N. J. CBS
CBS

April 14, 1954

Dear Ed;

Just a short note to say, keep up the good work.

It makes me feel proud to have my music on the same network.

As ever,
Oscar

Dunn, Ed

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
CENTER OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
PRINCETON, N.J.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed

After watching your program last night I went to bed and slept more soundly than I have for some time. It was good to know that there are still some people who are stout of heart and willing to speak without equivocation.

If you want my vote for the presidency you can have it.

Best wishes

Ted Dunn

Dunn

Ebon, Martin

MARTIN EBON

Romm 5225
500 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N.Y.

New York 36, N.Y.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed is a letter on the subject of Prof. Harold Laski's attitude toward the Communist Party, which I sent to the New York Times. Your research staff will find additional material on this subject in my book "World Communism Today," which McGraw-Hill published in 1948. I am also the author of "Malenkov: Stalin's Successor," which was published last year by McGraw-Hill and the forthcoming compilation of Malenkov's speeches and public papers (New York University Press).

Prof. Laski also wrote, among his other works, a book simply entitled "Communism," which is available at the 42nd Street Library.

If your researchers have any other problems of looking for sources, quotes, etc. they can reach me during the day at OX 5-1930, and at home at KI 9-9285.

Sincerely yours,

Martin Ebon

Martin Ebon

MARTIN EBON

Room 5225
500 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, N.Y.

April 7, 1954

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Mr. Harold Laski, to whom Senator Joseph R. McCarthy has referred (in his broadcast of April 6, directed against Mr. Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System) as a "Communist," was one of the leading figures of the British Labour Party.

Following a temporary strategy of external cooperation and simultaneous secret infiltration, the Communist Party of Great Britain on January 21, 1946, petitioned the Labour Party, alleging that it desired affiliation with Labour. This offer was rejected by the Labour Party, which charged that the Communists really aimed at "breaking up the Labour Movement, so as to increase their own chances of establishing a party dictatorship."

Prof. Laski, then chairman of the Labour Party, reviewed the fundamental differences between the two parties in a special study, entitled The Secret Battalion; he stated that the Communists, through "the conspiratorial side of their work," seek to "destroy the very parties with which they seek alliance in order to command their own ends." Rejecting the idea of Communist affiliation, Laski, said that "they would wreck the Labour Party by undermining its morale and directing the energy of its members to contesting with all their strength the effort of a secret minority within the greater movement from turning it into one more instrument, not of working-class power in Great Britain, but of subservient devotion to the dictatorship of the Communist Party in Moscow."

~~The apparently quite erroneous assumption that Prof. Laski was a Communist~~ has been made by other students of the rather intricate subject of world communism; notably, Mr. Ernie Adamson, when acting as Counsel for the United States Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, ~~[illegible]~~ said on November 8, 1945: "Mr. Laski is, I believe, one of the leaders in England of the Communist movement."

MARTIN EBON

New York, April 8, 1954

Edwards, Bill

Federation of British Industries
21 Tothill Street
London S W 1

Whitehall 6711 : Fobustry Parl London

11th March, 1954.

My dear Ed.

The whole free world owes you a debt of gratitude for taking up the cudgels in the battle with McCarthy.

It looks from here as though you had ruined your chuck forever. I

Congratulate you on your courage — for that you never lacked that quality — and wish you every success.

When are you coming over again?

All the best,

Yours,

Bill Edwards

Elliston, Herbert

The Washington Post
1515 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

HERBERT ELLISTON, EDITOR
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

March 31, 1954

Dear Ed:

May I belatedly enter the volume of congratulations you have had on your McCarthy broadcasts? I should have written to you before. I am reminded of my lapse by Newsweek. You ask, "Would Hitler have been bigger and faster if he'd had TV?" It may be of use to you to read up on what Albert Speer said in his statement to the court before sentencing. He warned the free world of the connection between the growth of penological communication and the precariousness of our freedoms. Look it up sometime.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert Elliston
mw.

Mr. Elliston is recovering from a stroke and cannot sign this letter himself.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Erchul, Fred A.

Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council

CIO

704 WEST WISCONSIN AVENUE
Room 204 West

MILWAUKEE 3, WISCONSIN
Phone BRoadway 2-5811

March 24, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council, CIO, an organization here in Milwaukee County representing approximately 52,000 people, voted at their delegate meeting of March 17, 1954 to commend you for your SEE IT NOW program in which you gave a telecast factual denunciation of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

By your leadership you have given others courage to take similar public stands.

Keep up the good work in exposing McCarthyism to the American public.

Sincerely,

MILWAUKEE COUNTY INDUSTRIAL UNION
COUNCIL, CIO

Fred A. Erchul

Fred A. Erchul
Secretary-Treasurer

FE:a
liu 1738
uoe/cio

Evans, Joseph S.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE

American Embassy,
London, W.1.
March 15, 1954

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

Please disregard my letter of March 11. I have already seen your McCarthy show which the B.B.C. televised on Friday night at 10:30 as an addition to their regular program.

It was quite a job!

I suppose CBS, London is sending you all clippings featuring you in the British press. If not, I suggest you ask them to do so since they make quite a show.

Sincerely,

Joe.

Joseph S. Evans, Jr.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

Farrell, Bill

AFFILIATED WITH
RADIO STATION KWLM
WILLMAR, MINNESOTA
RADIO STATION KTOE
MANKATO, MINNESOTA
RADIO STATION KMHL
MARSHALL, MINNESOTA

KDMA

MONTEVIDEO, MINNESOTA

OWNED BY
MIDWEST BROADCASTING COMPANY
HARRY W. LINDER, PRESIDENT

March 12th 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York.

Dear Sir:

Congratulations on your firm and forthright stand for America against those who would make it a less desirable place in which to live.

Regretfully, I missed your television program of Tuesday March 9th. I have heard and read many good things about your documented, factual presentation.

Isn't it anomalous that to answer such a reckless individual one has to be so factual and show proof when the one being challenged has so little regard for such things.

Your presentation of the true side of the story on your newscast this evening was very good.

My primary purpose in writing, aside from offering my heartiest congratulations and encouragement, is to inquire if there are available any printed copies of your comments of this evening's news (Friday March 12th 1954) and your comments of last Tuesday. I would appreciate very much having a copy if they are available.

My position in this regard may be somewhat contradictory. I am the manager of a small (100 watts) radio station that is affiliated with the American Broadcasting Company. Though our network affiliations differ we apparently have at least one thing in common and that is to curb, at least, the reckless and irresponsible activity of the junior senator from Wisconsin.

Keep up the good work.

Very truly yours,

Bill Farrell

Bill Farrell
Radio Station KDMA
Montevideo, Minnesota.

Fischer, John

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

HARPER & BROTHERS
PUBLISHERS

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

March 10, 1954.

Dear Ed:

For my money your McCarthy telecast was the best program which has yet been presented on television.

Best regards,

John Fischer

Mr. Edward C. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City.

John Fischer/RD

Fisher, H. D.,

H. D. FISHER
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
215 WEST SEVENTH STREET
LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA
TUCKER 7670

March 9, 1954

New address:
2116 S. La Brea Ave.
Los Angeles 16, Calif.
Whitney 6188

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed,

I love you, and am with you 1000%. Keep punching..... and holler if there is anything I can do to help.

Sincerely,

Harold D. Fisher

H.D. Fisher

Floods, The

The Home of The "Great Guys" Gallery

CORRESPONDENT — 4414 SHOALWOOD AVE. AUSTIN 5, TEXAS — SILENT PARTNER

22 March 1954.

Dear Mr. Murrow, —

Would that we belonged to the oil-cattle-cotton-sulphur fraternity or had influence in some other way, in order to do something really worth while in this McCarthy-cancer situation. We surely do not need to tell you what we think of you and have thought, since the days of WW II.

Your photo came into our gallery, 3-12-'45 — over nine years ago. It was sent by Mr. Geo. Crandall — as we believe you were overseas. It wasn't autographed — of course, we wish it were — but we never been willing to mutilate one of your treasured letters by slipping the signature to place on the photo. We still hope that, some day, when you write again, you'll write an extra signature & date below, so we can transfer it to the photo.

But — back to McCarthy. If any thing we can write to anybody, could possibly

...be of any help to you we'd gladly write to any one you might suggest — even to McC. We'd like to let him get our opinion of him. Sometimes we think the best way to delete him would be to forget him & his doings — giving him no publicity whatever. Or — if skilled speakers & writers would concentrate on a barrage of ridicule — it might have some effect.

However, he's so power-mad, everything, even ridicule, would be turned to his advantage by him. He's a duplicate of Molotov in that ability. What stumps us is — what has he on the Congress personnel, that they fear, and so cringe to him? Can it be merely the political mania?

In the end, right must win — that's the Divine law. In conditions as they are in our bewildered McWorld, there's no time to waste. Our one contribution that is always available is the "fervent prayer" of unassailable faith — and that is yours. Anything else is yours, if you suggest it.

From our hearts.

Faithfully,

The Floods.

Folsom, Mark

2464½ S. Barrington Ave.
Los Angeles 64, Calif.
March 21, 1954

Dear Ed:

Congratulations on your standing up to the Big Blow from Wisconsin. We think you're the man to cope with such demogoguery. You have the skill and command respect.

I was particularly exasperated by the slur at the Institute of International Education. It would seem that the Institute's endeavor to encourage international understanding is merely a facade for seditious connivings; therefore, as a corollary, Fulbright Fellows are traitors.

I suppose you are aware that the Los Angeles Board of Education scuttled the UNESCO program here some time ago. I recall that the device of out-of-context readings entered that controversy too, the Hearst papers booming up the so-called evidence on Page One. Another source of agitation was an alarmist housewife, a pawn, who snooped on a classroom and came back screaming that Communism was being taught in the schools. Actually what she had seen was a program encouraging intercultural appreciation: the teacher had invited the students to bring in specimens of their diverse cultural backgrounds (Mexican, Japanese, etc) for classroom display. It's the sort of thing teachers have been doing for a long time. But the Board, or at least the pressure group dominating it, is blind to the meaning of the ESC in UNESCO. I'm enclosing a clip reflecting the issue.

Now I turn this letter over to Hannah, who had good words for your recent demonstration of principles.

All the best,

Mark

I thought we should add our voice to the chorus of approval which sprang up when one man dared to speak up against a wrong which had kept everyone cowed with fear. There are a good many teachers in our schooland elsewhere fortunately who speak up strongly in defense of real Americanism. I have personally seen in the past two years too many instances of a sort of creeping fascism to be easy about the trend of popular thought, but I know there are also thinking and courageous people in every occupation - what they needed was leadership to follow and you gave it.

Hannah Folsom

Burke Plays Stormy Petrel Role at Meeting

The varied subjects of UNESCO, antirabies inoculations and Communism found Member Paul Burke in the role of stormy petrel at yesterday's meeting of the Los Angeles Board of Education.

He took the occasion to denounce statements about him in the public prints as lies, to demand that the board clarify its UNESCO policy and to criticize a pamphlet submitted by Mrs. Edith K. Stafford for distribution among teachers as "a passionate pitch for bigger and bolder legislative investigating committees."

Burke's solo performance, accomplished in a series of statements, motions and militant gestures, heightened the friction between him and the two women board members, against whom he sparred in a preliminary bout last Monday.

Reading Blocked

First, he succeeded in blocking, at least temporarily, Mrs. Ruth Cole's attempt to have an anti-UNESCO letter from the Native Sons of the Golden West read into the official board minutes.

Next he stood up to assail an afternoon newspaper for carrying a story in which Mrs. Cole was quoted as calling Burke a political opportunist.

He ridiculed the paper's stand against antirabies inoculations and its policies on patriotism, then defended himself as a loyal American who has only the best interests of Los Angeles school children at heart. He didn't name the paper.

Counterstatement

When Mrs. Stafford reintroduced her plan to have all teachers read an anti-Communist tract printed by the government, Burke countered immediately with a statement for the record.

"It is an unwarranted invasion of our teachers' professional and personal right of privacy for a board of education to set up a required leisure time reading list," his statement said, adding:

"Teachers are professional persons and first-class citizens in every respect, second to no other group in their loyalty to their country and their alertness to the menace of totalitarianism in any form . . ."

Voting Postponed

The 74-page pamphlet, entitled "Permit Communist Conspirators to Be Teachers?" was first brought in by Mrs. Stafford at Monday's meeting. Burke said he favors making it available but opposes forcing teachers to read it. Voting on the issue was postponed.

Burke also revived his UNESCO policy motion which failed at last Monday's meeting for want of a second.

AIRMAIL

Frank, Jerry

United States Lines

March 16

Dear Ed

Don't let Joe McCarthy stink up C.B.S. He will ruin the station, calling you Edward (a thousand times). He can't talk & will bork everybody

Regards Jerry Frank

Frankel, Lou

WATV
CHANNEL 13
TELEVISION CENTER, NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK
BARCLAY 7-[redacted] 3260
NEW JERSEY
MITCHELL 2-6400

memo

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

I should have written this note of applause at home last night, but I was so stirred by the skill and courage and impact of your program, and of Hollenbeck's newscast that followed, that not until I got to my office this morning could I think about putting these words on paper.

I always knew you had the courage of your convictions and the ability to get to the heart of the most complex problems; but frankly I didn't believe that CBS still had the guts to let you do it. You and your crew, Alcoa and Stanton and Paley, deserve every accolade in the book.

If nothing else, I think you have set Eisenhower an example worth following. Your magnificent presentation on McCarthy ranks with some of the finer words written by the late Justice Oliver Wendall Holmes.

You make me proud to be an American and a broadcaster.

Sincerely,

Lou

Lou Frankel

LF:VK

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Frankel, Stanley

Coronet
MAGAZINE

488 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 22. N. Y.

STANLEY A. FRANKEL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C. B. S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I have never written a fan letter in my life although some of the things you've done have deserved accolades.

Last night's McCarthy show topped them all and your sponsor, your network, and you deserve all the praise and gratitude a people in danger can bestow.

Thanks for your superlative degree of both competence and courage.

Sincerely,

Stanley Frankel

SAF/el

3/12/54

Friedman, Joseph

Dear Mr. Murrow,

The facts which have so recently come to light concerning the dubious activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy and his staff are, I believe, a tremendously needed ray of truth in this confused "communist" issue.

As a CBS employee and aware citizen, I should like to extend to you my sincerest thanks and congratulations for the service you are doing in the interests of truth and morality.

Sincerely,

Joseph M. Friedman

CBS, Inc. Personnel Dept.

Furst, Peter

WAXMAN PUBLICATIONS, INC.

Los Angeles REPORTER Beverly Hills REPORTER Park La Brea REPORTER
Wilshire REPORTER Pico REPORTER

Executive Offices:
REPORTER BUILDING
8300 W. THIRD STREET
LOS ANGELES 48, CALIF.
PHONE: WEbster 3-7291

March 11,1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Allow me to express my heartiest appreciation of your television program, on the McCarthy issue, last Tuesday. Everyone I know here feels the same way and all are most gratified by the courage you displayed in presenting it. Chet Huntley last night devoted his entire broadcast to your TV show; almost every news broadcast I heard Wednesday had some comment on it, and friends here at CBS report they have received literally hundreds of calls congratulating them and asking for a rebroadcast.

Again, thanks--also for your recent note.

Best regards,

Peter Furst

PETER FURST

AL S. WAXMAN
Editor-Publisher

CBS TELEVISION

Pete

Office Communication

to: Mr Edward R. Murrow

from: Pete · 15 Van.

Dear Sir

This is the time for men of Good Will to stand up to be counted. I rise to salute you, for your Selflessness in taking on the "Bully Boy of our Times".

This Wisconsin Hitler, this Murderer of Legal Ethics, this Senator, who does violence to the whole concept of Due Process of Law, this megalomaniac who has done so much to destroy this beloved land of ours, must be stopped at all cost.

McCarthy cannot succeede, he cannot paralyze or cripple us with fear if we have the Courage, the Will to meet him head on.

Hence I say, Let's at him for if we falter we have no right to our Great American Heritage

With Confidence — the right letters do our part — Respectfully

~~Pete Apollis~~

203

Segal, M. N.

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

11 March 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now" - Room 1704
485 Madison Avenue
New York City 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow;

The letters et al that you have received on the Mc Carthy program are in the thousands, but in a rare spurt of letter-writing, I should like to add my two cents' worth.

The show was excellent, and it can only be hoped that it may be the beginning of the end for a small, but very despicable character; unfortunately, as the junior senator from Wisconsin well realizes, he has five more years to run on his term of office. I can only hope that you will not at any time in the future take in your horns, and that many others not inclined to do so now will speak up loudly.

Again, for the "See It Now" program of 9 March 1954 a very loud bravo.

Cordially

Murray N. Segal

Murray N. Segal

ex msgr, now a 'd. a.'

mns

Gange, John

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION
1785 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Office of the Executive Director

March 23, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is a rather belated note to tell you how very much I have enjoyed your programs, particularly in the last few weeks.

I had the good fortune to listen to your brilliant presentation of McCarthyism on the night of March 9th with DeWayne Kreager. After the program he told me a good bit about your days together at Washington State College and I found it extremely interesting to learn that you had been at Washington State College. I taught one year at the Eastern Washington College of Education at Cheney (1936-37) before going on to join the faculty of Princeton University. I still have a fond recollection of many pleasant days spent in the State of Washington.

With very best wishes and hearty congratulations on the good work which you are doing to reveal to Americans the need to take stock of their own principles, to reinvigorate their courage, and assume the full responsiiblities of citizenship.

Cordially yours,

John Gange

John Gange
Executive Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow, Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

JOHN W. GARDNER
119 BRITE AVENUE
SCARSDALE, NEW YORK

Gardner, John

March 10

Dear Ed

I saw your program on McCarthy. It was excellent! You have my vote and support and wholehearted admiration.

Don't bother to reply to this.

Hope to see you soon

John Gardner

Gehrke, Ted

Wall Flame Oil Burners — Oil Furnaces — Heating Oils — Oil Boilers

Leonard Gehrke Fuel Co.

McC program

Congratulations

PHONE
TR. 1296

6126 N. E. 60th at N. E. Lombard
PORTLAND 13, OREGON

TIMKEN
Silent Automatic
HEAT

Portland, Oregon

March 15, 1954

Dear Mr. Ed Murrow:

My parents went to the same college you did, Washington State; I think my mother was even in your class. I am their only child like your son is your only child---except I am nearly fifteen and a Sophomore in Grant High here in the City of Roses. I cut my teeth listening to your broadcasts and I worried and wondered how you could hold off so long in telling Mc Carthy off.

In my own small world, I used every chance to speak out against the witch-hunting practices of Mc Carthy----especially when he crucified Bishop Oxnam-----I used the man for every theme and current events talk that I could manage. All the time I kept wondering how long you could stand to let this man go on ruining good people with half-facts or worse, out and out lies.

Finally, you spoke out. I am proud that you did and relieved. When Mc Carthy pulled out the "Moscow-student-committee" our family thought for a split second that he was going to accuse you of being friendly to Moscow---(Idaho)----and he would not have been above using even something like that for his self -publicity.

Wall Flame Oil Burners — Oil Furnaces — Heating Oils — Oil Boilers

Leonard Gehrke Fuel Co.

PHONE
TR. 1296

6126 N. E. 60th at N. E. Lombard
PORTLAND 13, OREGON

My parents have always taught me to read --read---read all sides of a question---to think about the things I read and then to decide for myself what is right. Sometimes I get very confused and things are far from clear as to who is right, who wrong.

BUT IN THE CASE OF MR. MCCARTHY, I FELT THAT HIS WAY WAS ALL WRONG RIGHT FROM THE FIRST----and a lot of the kids feel the same way. We aren't top heavy with learning but we can smell an show-off a mile away and we can soon tag a phoney.

Thank you for renewing my faith in your courage and in the honesty of the men we listen to on the air and see on television.

Sincerely,

Ted Gehrke

4/20/54
Gellhorn, Martha

Dear Ed;

I should have written you long ago to express my admiration and thanks; emotions which are obviously shared by most of the civilized world. I missed your program about McCarthy, but feel I have seen it, from reading of it and ~~xxx~~ hearing of it. I did see McCarthy's reply and I think he is far worse and far more dangerous than I had realised (he, personally; everything he does and stands for and produces has from the beginning seemed to me as bad as it is possible to get.) I had not understood that he was as clever as he is; and around now, I am willing to think he makes Goebbels look very old-fashioned and inefficient.

(Anyhow) This must all be loathesome to you like taking a long slow bath in a specially nasty type of mud; it is quite awful that civil courage should be the hardest kind there is, and therefore the rarest. This sort of battle has nothing to recommend it (no ~~xxxxxxx~~ scrambled eggs and jolly talk when the kites return; no buddies; nothing.) You are infinitely admirable, really; I can't tell you how proud I am about you.

And what sickens me and what I can't get over is how this monstrous man, McC., has managed to gain his strength through terror. I begin to feel ~~kinder~~ less snotty about Germans and Italians, remembering that they had gone through wars and economic defeats, and were unemployed and crazed and that they

had ancient bad habits of accepting tyranny and that, also, they had operational concentration camps. Without any such goads and excuses, this perfectly recognizable evil seems to flourish in America; it is as if willingly great numbers of Americans enjoyed hypnotizing themselves into fear and its ~~xxxxx~~ inevitable offshoot which is insane bullying. I cannot understand it, nor forgive it; the feelings aroused are not pity but contempt.

Anyhow there you are, and I bet you are sick and tired of having to fight the same kinds of rot, under different names, all your lifes and you are a very good man to go on doing so.

Blessings,

Martha Gellhorn (Matthews)

G2, Albany
Piccadilly, W.1.

April 20

Gildersleeve, Dean V.C.

March 23, 1954

Dear Dean Gildersleeve:

I regret that this must be merely a hasty note to acknowledge yours of March 12.

I am most grateful to you for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve
Navarre
Bedford Village, New York

dm

Correspondence to
Mr. Shute

Gittinger, Wm. C.

WILLIAM C. GITTINGER
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

Wednesday

Dear Ed

Magna Carta Semper
Cum Laude

Faithfully.
Bill

Glenn Jack
McC
prgm
Congrats

JACK GLENN
INCORPORATED 9 Sniffen Court • New York 16, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 9-1254

15 March, 1954

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed,

When I used to argue with you on the Board of the Overseas Press Club I certainly didn't dream that one day I'd be writing to you as one of the major heroes of the American Scene. But so you have become, and every thinking American must feel deeply a sense of gratitude and admiration for both your courage and your journalistic perspicacity.

The timing of your McCarthy show was wonderful, and the timing of the other anti-McCarthy developments during the week so extraordinarily effective that those of us on whom final frustration had begun to nibble felt again the almost forgotten sensations of hope and faith that the American way might some day be revived.

On March of Time in its days of vigor I had the privilege of exposing with the camera such sinister ambitions as those of Huey Long, Gerald Smith, Fritz Kuhn, Father Coughlin, et al. We realized in those days the potential propaganda power of the camera, and we tried to use it well. But whereas our product reached the public only once a month and could be seen only by paying admission, yours goes once a week right into the living rooms of the nation, free to all and inspiring to those who treasure liberty. And of course this brings up a rather frightening responsibility for you and the Aluminum Co. of America and CBS -- for all television: The tremendous power of TV as a propaganda medium has been historically demonstrated; what happens if the Murrows should be supplanted by the Fulton Lewis Juniors? God forbid!

I believe when the history of these sordid times is written your name will shine high on the list of those who implemented [redacted] faith without fear. As a former newspaperman myself, I am not easily

given to hero-worship, and while none of us are saints, you're the smartest journalist around these days, and my battered hat is off to you. It's a pity you did not get decent support from the administration in what could have been the climax of the growing drama of Anti-mccarthyism (the Nixon speech), but which turned out to be an unctuous half-hour apologia for a timid president and an insult to the intelligence of the nation's people. Nixon's snide insinuation that those of us who hate equally Communism and mccarthyism would somehow be comforted if the fight against Communism were lessened will not be lost on those who want to wear no label except that of American. It's not that we want to see the fight against Communism lessened -- it's that we want to see the fight against mccarthyism won!

I'm tired of both Republicans and Democrats and their idiotic juggling of our Freedoms. Why don't you and Adlai Stevenson form a third party (and this from a man who voted for Eisenhower!) ? I'd vote for a ticket reading "Stevenson and Murrow". Sounds stupid? Not at all.

Meanwhile, I hope none of us will forget that McCarthy is still around, and that he, like any skunk, is capable of sending up an awful odor even after he is dead. Sadly enough, that odor may persist for the rest of our generation.

Warmest thanks again, Ed, to you, the Aluminum Co. of America and the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the best of everything to you.

Cordially,

Jack Glenn

JG/s

Gluskin, Lud

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
6121 SUNSET BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA
HOLLYWOOD 9-1212

OFFICE OF
LUD GLUSKIN
MUSIC DIRECTOR

April 7, 1954

Dear Ed:

I shall feel very proud and honored if my name could be included on your list of friends.

Congratulations!

Sincerely,

Lud

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Goetz, Mrs Wm

300 DELFERN DRIVE
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA

April 2, 1954 -

Dear Ed -

I have to write this to you before I can go to sleep tonight — to tell you that Bill and I think you are the most courageous, the most brilliant of men -

For weeks now we have been trying to see your March 9th program - We missed it because of the hour of a wedding. It was finally set up tonight and so, we took Slim and Leland with us and hiked over to C. B. S.

That you dared to do it

at all — and then did it so magnificently, so devastatingly! There should be at least trumpet fanfares, a touching of the shoulder with a sword's fine edge for you — In their place, please accept Bill's and my gratitude, along with millions of others — and eternal admiration —

Edie —

Gold, Harold

MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM · INC
WORLD'S LARGEST NETWORK
1440 Broadway, New York 18, N.Y. Telephone: ~~[illegible]~~
LOngacre 4-8000

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I would be remiss in my responsibilities to my own conscience if I failed to express my appreciation for your documentary on the McCarthy technique last night. You and Mr. Friendly are to be heartily congratulated for one of the finest editorial presentations I've ever seen on television.

It was quite pointed and couldn't possibly have been more fair to the Wisconsin Senator --- since you used his own words to tell your story. You were a bit unfair on one point, though. You offered him rebuttal time --- even before he had a chance to yell for same. But for that you should be receiving the thanks of every reporter, editor and headline-writer in the business.

Last night's show was even more enjoyable than your editorials on the Radulovich case in Michigan and the American Legion-A.C.L.U. squabble in Indiana. Again, my thanks for a most enjoyable half-hour and the realization that despite the hue and cry we're really living in a democracy.

Most sincerely,

Hal Gold

HAROLD GOLD,
Editor,
Press Information Dept.

HG:dc

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WESTERN UNION

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

Goldwyn Sam (58)

201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA804 PD=WUX LOSANGELES CALIF 12 602PMP=

ED R MURROW=CBS=

1954 MAR 12 PM 10 06

IT WAS A MASTERFUL JOB OF DEFLATION WHICH YOU CONTINUED TO DO TODAY. MY WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS=

SAM GOLDWYN=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Goodwyn, Samuel, Jr

SAMUEL GOLDWYN, JR.

March 11, 1954

Dear Ed:

Just a note to congratulate you on your very fine "See It Now" last Tuesday night. It was a wonderful and very courageous show and made me very proud to be a friend of yours.

Also my belated thanks for the nice plug that you gave me on the "Person-to-Person" that you did with my Dad.

All goes well with me. I am doing my pilot film next week and hope to be back in New York around the middle of April.

Jennifer joins me in sending our love to Janet.

Again, many congratulations.

Sincerely,

Sammy

Samuel Goldwyn, Jr.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Grady, Henry F.

HENRY F. GRADY
1101 GREEN STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 9, CALIFORNIA

April 14, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I wish to congratulate you and your sponsors for your very fine program. I particularly admire the way in which you have handled McCarthyism.

These are trying days for our country and you and your sponsors are making a contribution to real Americanism.

Literally hundreds of my friends listen to your program and applaud all you say.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry F. Grady

Henry F. Grady
Former Ambassador to India,
Greece and Iran

HFG:bd

Gray, Gilson

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Gilson Gray 3/31/54

Ed -

Haven't wanted to barge in on your already overloaded time, but do want you to know that nobody — just nobody — could possibly be prouder of you than

Jick Gray

Gray, Wm. P.

LIFE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EDITORIAL OFFICES

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Last night, after hearing your show, I sent you a one-word wire: "MAGNIFICENT".

Today I would like to add only that the elation I felt over your performance was the sort that I felt on V-J Day. I think you dropped the atom bomb where it belonged; I think old Joe has lost his war against the American way.

With admiration, congratulations and best regards

Sincerely,

Bill Gray

William P. Gray

WPG:rj

PRO-311F

Green, Gerald

"today" NBC TELEVISION

GERALD GREEN

3/10/54

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May a newsman from a rival organization express his admiration for a magnificent job last night?

You gave the whole news business a tremendous lift.

Sincerely,

Gerald Green

Gerald Green
Managing Editor
NBC TV - "TODAY"

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Greet, Cabell

CBS RADIO

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Cabell Greet March 14, 1954

Dear Ed

We are all very proud of you.

I wonder if Senator McCarthy asked somebody to look up Louis XIV and tell him about him.

What a dangerous man, McCarthy--a cross between a crustacean and an octopus. That was a nice comment in ~~London~~ the Guardian, to the effect that perhaps your Heroism will make bravery fashionable. I hope so.

The fumes of the fight seem to have distracted the country form worry about the depression.

If you're cooped up by rain on a Saturday afternoon, I recommend our Farm News at 3:30 with Claude Mahoney. Quite an account yesterday of the Danish (and Norwegian) hogs. Seems they provide more rare meat and 4 to 6 more chops. Complete with sound effects.

Yours for radio and TV Cabell

Gustavson, R. G.

RESOURCES FOR THE FUTURE, INC.
706 CAFRITZ BLDG., 1625 EYE ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-3694

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655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 14, 1954

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Murrow:

In your broadcast the other day you stated that you had joined the distinguished company of the Washington Post, The Christian Science Monitor, and The Milwaukee Journal. Let me say that I for one would like to join your distinguished company. Your friends are legion. I hope you realize it.

Cordially,

R G Gustavson

R. G. Gustavson

We have a mutual boss in Bill Paley. I was tempted to say "Dear Ed" + sign this "Gus"

THEATRE NETWORK TELEVISION, INC.
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22 • PLAZA 3-3464

Halpern, Nathan

April 6, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

One of my Chicago friends bestirred himself sufficiently on the McCarthy subject to write a letter to the editor of the Chicago Daily News which published same. He has sent it on to me with a note that perhaps there were some ideas in it that might be of use to you. Attached is a copy of the letter to the editor.

In case you forget, I am going to call you in another day or so on the circus for Casey and you as discussed Monday at lunch.

Sincerely,

NLH:d
Enc.

NATHAN L. HALPERN

Dear Editor:

Is there a lesson for all of us in the recent Army - McCarthy controversy?

The wheel of fortune turns and suddenly the Senator is the accused. His critics will claim that he has rather belatedly called for the right to counsel; the right to cross-examine; the right to air all the facts; and other legal rights such as the presumption of innocence till one is proved guilty. Will not the question be asked - has the Senator thus pleaded guilty to the charges made against him in the past? Aren't these the rights he's been accused of denying to others?

These are important parts of the Bill of Rights and our Constitution. These are the pillars of American justice on which the land of the free and the home of the brave depend.

There should be no question that despite any previous action by the Senator these rights should not be denied him.

Nor should they be denied to any alleged communist or to any suspected atheist or any alleged murderer. These American rights are for all Americans, popular ones and unpopular ones, redheads and brunettes -- yes, regardless of race, color or creed.

More important than any defendant or any single accusation, it is still the first principle of American justice that it is better for a dozen wrongdoers to escape punishment than for one innocent man to be unjustly damaged.

The Senator still makes one mistake, however - the call for the lie detector. It has never been accepted by our courts as the final judge and jury. There is no mechanical short cut to justice. No Geiger counter can separate the guilty from the innocent. No electronic machine can preserve the civil rights of Americans. Our legal and constitutional processes are our only real protections.

It is an over-simplification to excuse our unfairnesses and prejudices on the grounds that we are engaged in so-called "rat hunts." We don't burn our cities to destroy rats nor dare we burn our traditions and charters in attempts to capture human wrongdoers.

There have always been some sort of "church mice" even in our temples. The real issue, however, is - are we continuing to build great cathedrals dedicated to the teaching and development of human dignity and man's virtues in a free and liberty-loving society.

Very truly yours,

Halpern, Nathan

THEATRE NETWORK TELEVISION, INC.

515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22 • PLAZA 3-3464

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

You were magnificent last night. I don't see why it should be necessary to say that you were also courageous - but that seems to be a sign of the times.

I feel indebted to you just as a plain, ordinary citizen of this country. And I hope that you will pass on my congratulations to your sponsor and network.

My very best to you.

Very truly yours,

Nate

NATHAN L. HALPERN

NLH:d

Hanna, Michael

AM 870 KC — 1000 W

FM 97.3 MC — 40,000 W

CBS

W · H C · U

ITHACA NEW YORK

4-8-54

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

We were going to send you a telegram but we decided to do a piece on the air instead and send you a copy of it, as evidence of our great admiration.

The writer of this piece, Charlie Chatfield, was, you may recall, one of the $500 winners two years in a row in the Weekly Press contest which you judged one time. You can see why we hired him.

I am sending this on behalf of the entire staff at their request.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael R. Hanna
General Manager

MRH ehc
encl

6

. . . Distinctive, effective stations serving a loyal audience . . .

AM 870 KC — 1000 W

FM 97.3 MC — 40,000 W

CBS

W · H C · U
ITHACA NEW YORK

Wednesday - April 7, 1954

Now for the letter to the editor written by WHCU newsman Charlie Chatfield, who says:

We are going to discuss today that very important matter of telling the truth. Each one of us places a value on truth...and each one of us relies upon devices to measure it. The doctor measures diagnosis with the aid of a stethoscope; the machinist judges his piece of steel by using micrometers; the homemaker relies upon the oven thermostat to tell her when the cake is done.

For almost 20 years, the American people have relied upon Edward R. Murrow as a leading instrument for gauging their judgment on foreign and domestic affairs. And now that Senator McCarthy has impugned Murrow's loyalty, it is time for us to re-check our bearings.

When a cake burns or a piece of steel doesn't take accurate shape, we do not at first discard the oven thermostat or the set of micrometers. The first thing we do is take another reading. And since Murrow has been depicted as a friend and sympathizer of Communism, it seems unlikely that fair-minded Americans will discard their instrument of veracity on world affairs before they take a second reading.

Possibly more than any other man, Murrow has been responsible for the development of informed and honest analysis to news events. He is the man who made us understand the Battle of Britain and the fallacy of isolationism.

Murrow is the man who developed the best news gathering system in Europe, the man responsible for telling us what Hitler was up to when Anschluss came to Austria and the German troops marched on Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Murrow is the man who went to Korea to report to Americans what their armed forces were actually meeting in the field.

Murrow is the man responsible for the series, "This I Believe", the one-post war effort to reaffirm belief in religion and moral precepts.

To this reporter, if Edward R. Murrow were soft to Communism as Senator McCarthy has charged, he would have compiled a 20-year record far different in all respects. Communism does not thrive where men strive to tell the people of developing events. Communism has no place for persons who pronounce the religious and moral truths they believe, for remember the only faith expounded by Communists is not to God, but to the State.

On the basis of a long record, consistently expressed, the facts indicate that few men have advanced as much as Murrow the principles of the American way of life.

Yet by the measurements Senator McCarthy used last night, it is not enough to apply a keen mind and talent, a fighting heart and devoted soul into the battle against Communism. One must publicly proclaim to the world, "I hate Communism, I fight Communism, and anyone who fights another way is soft toward it."

Murrow, like many other American leaders of opinion, IS guilty of pegging McCarthy as one who gives comfort to the enemy. Those who heard James Reston speak in Ithaca this week were exposed to the same reasoning.. for Reston told how reckless investigations have weakened the foreign and civil service, and how the rest of the free world is distrustful of American leadership.

Those who heard Arthur Dean speak at Cornell's Farm and Home Week recall his grave warning of peril to southeastern Asia, at a time when official Washington is enmeshed in the business of investigating whether someone's secretary was a Communist five years ago.

By McCarthy's yardstick, these men are soft toward Communism.

And last night, McCarthy injected more fear and confusion among the American people with his innuendo that the development of the H-Bomb was delayed 18 months because of Communists in government. Such a premise overlooks completely such facts that scientists and officials were plagued with questions of the workability of such a weapon, and the matter of morality in ordering its development. By McCarthy's yardstick, the scientists, National Security Council, Atomic Energy Commission and cabinet must likewise be considered soft toward communism.

It would seem that a paramount issue for the American people to decide is what type of yardstick they want to use in fighting Communism. If we choose to distort, smear and confuse...to spread fear and vilification...if we subvert the principles of the American way to a mere mouthing that we hate Communism, then we should value the measuring stick which Senator McCarthy uses.

But should we agree that the Senator's measuring stick does not relfect American freedoms and principles which once were viewed by the rest of the free world with respect, then we can only judge that more is needed in our arsenal fighting Communism than press clippings from the Daily Worker which attest the Communists hate McCarthy as much as he professes to hate them.

A greater weapon in our arsenal than hate, is truth.

Very truly yours,

Charlie Chatfield

Harden, Gene D.

HICKORY HILL BROADCASTING COMPANY | Thomson, Georgia

1240 KILOCYCLES 250 WATTS

EDGAR H. KOBAK
General Manager

Earle St.
Rt. 3

Dear Ed:

Was'nt Going to bother to congratulate you on swell job you have always done until PIP SQUEAK Lewis Jr. attacked you.

Sincerely,

Gene D Harden

Gene D. Harden

Harris, Eric

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Mr. Ed Murrow
Mr. Fred Friendly
from: Eric Harris - 15 Vanderbilt

March 18, 1954

As a member of the Maintenance Department, directly concerned with the "See It Now" show, I should like to take this opportunity to express to you and Mr. Friendly my very sincere feeling of pride. It is a real pleasure, as it has always been, to have any connection with the show, no matter how insignificant the connection.

As a two-time refugee from Hitler and Totalitarianism (Germany 1933 and Austria 1938) in addition to various concentration camps), I feel deeply aware of the potential dangers, McCarthyism constitutes to the ideals for which America stands and stood especially in the eyes of those who entered this country as immigrants and selected it as the home for their children.

Eric Harris

50

Harvey, Frank

FRANK L. HARVEY
DRAKESTOWN ROAD
HACKETTSTOWN, NEW JERSEY

April 7, 1953

Dear Ed,

We heard McCarthy last night. After the honest sincere talk by Mr. Eisenhower, it made us want to throw up. We are sick of this poisonous McCarthy and his personal inquisition. We are sick of Cohn and Schine. We did not ask for them. We wish they would shut up and go home.

Ike told us the FBI is our official agency to search out Communists and render them harmless. If we think we know one, Ike said, call the FBI. That sounds simple enough. Somehow I don't feel we have need of McCarthy. Keep up your brave fight against this opportunistic ambitious politician whose only stock in trade is suspicion and fear at a time when we stand on the threshold of atomic horror.

Hats off to you and CBS, Ed. If you guys are Communists I'm the Prince of Wales grandfather!

Sincerely
Frank Harvey
Frank Harvey

Mr. Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
New York City

Hayward, Leland

LELAND HAYWARD

655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
TEMPLETON 8-5100

March 16, 1954

Dear Ed:

Just a brief note to tell you what a great man I not only think, but, know you are. I thought this for many years but the latest escapade of yours only strengthens my convictions.

You can only emerge from all of this as even a greater person in all our lives than you already are.

Affectionately,

Leland

Mr Edward Murrow
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

LH:p

Herald Tribune

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
230 WEST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK

April 8, 1954

Dear Ed:

Not that you need any endorsement from small fry like me, but for my own pleasure, let me set down my hearty congratulations on the result of your latest hassle with the Monster. You have done one of the greatest jobs that workmen in words have done in my memory. I am proud to know you.

Yours affectionately,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue, New York

Herzig, Herbert

THE CENTURY ASSOCIATION
7 WEST FORTY-THIRD STREET
NEW YORK 36, N.Y.

3/18/54

Dear Mr. Murrow -

I happened to see you enter the Club - and felt I had to take a moment to tell you: You're TOPS! The job you've been doing on TV - especially recently - is the essence of integrity, maturity, decency -

well, if I were more articulate, I wouldn't have to sum up my thoughts with the word 'ineffable'. You are my (and many others') ideal of a solid citizen ... I wish I - and others - had a little of your courage and strength.

This is my first 'ham' letter - but I confess I'm not ashamed.

Respectfully yours,

Herbert Herzig

550 - 5th Ave NY 36

Dear Ed, you are 10 right — "the

(?) Hinckley, Bob

March 19, 1954

Dear William:

The thing you all did, - C.B.S., you, and particularly Ed Murrow, - in tackling the McCarthy problem in the courageous and forthright way you did, has restored confidence in all of our freedoms and in the dignity of the individual.

You have given new hope and heart to every citizen in the land, - regardless of political or religious affiliation. It's this kind of courage and integrity that has made our country what it is.

The Bible has a verse for it. As an old Mormon missionary I am reminded of "The Second Epistle of Paul The Apostle to Timothy," Chapter 1, Verse 7:

> "For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

Faithfully,

Hon. William S. Paley
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Bob, you are so right — we fail fault him not in our stars but in ourselves." Would that more of us could approach your effectiveness! Now Power to you!

Bob Hinckley

Hooser, G.A.

G.A.Hooser.
R.R.#2 Cloverdale
British Columbia. Canada.
March 14th 1954.

Edward R.Murrow Esq.
% C.B.S. New York. N.Y.

Dear Mr Murrow:-

Being long time friends of your parents we have been following with very keen interest your discussions anent Mr McCarthy. Being a transplanted American I naturally try to keep abreast of affairs in the U.S. and for years we have tuned in your broadcasts every day. We have been alarmed by the placidity of the American people in their acceptance of McCarthyism and their seeming blindness to its similiarity to Hitlerism. In fact using McCarthy as a symbol for Hitler and Fulton Lewis as a Dr Goebbels and the V.F.W. as Storm Troopers, you have an identical set-up.

I am not a crank about this Mr Murrow. I am a veteran of World War One and have been totally disabled ever since it finished. Both of our sons were in W.W.2 serving in the Canadian Navy, and both of them suffered too in that scrap. So we do not want to see any more strife. From the foregoing you will see that my wife (bless her) has had plenty to put up with. We are not complaining, and there is nothing that we want --- except to have the freedoms that we fought for and the right of free speech. This we seem to be losing. We have not seen you parents for some time, your dad being bedridden and me being confined close to home also, but from friends who do visit us we have gotten the impression that they do not feel free to express themselves. Their theory being that if they do not agree with the Republican Party they will be classed as Commies. Mr Murrow such a state of affairs in a supposedly free nation is wrong. I listened to your Vice-President Mr Nixon, last night on the radio (not having television) and I was amazed to hear him say that the U.S.A. with all its shouting had weeded out only 2400 employess who were considered non-security. I was amazed, because last week in the House of Commons at Ottawa, the government was asked how many Canadians had been dropped as security risks and the answer was over 3000, and that from a nation of only fourteen millions. But my point is there was no ballyhoo and no playing to the gallery. No one, not even our Members of Parliament can find out who these people are. To my mind that is a much better way than smearing their names all over the press, because once smeared they can never live it down. That is enough of this. I feel so strongly that I could go on indefinately. We know you are swamped with letters etc. so we do not expect any reply. But we did want to assure you that we are with you at all times. Knowing your parents, we know that no child of theirs can go very far from the right path. But we had to let you know how we felt.

Americans in general not your parents

I am sorry about your dad, and sorrier still that I cannot get to see him. I must tell you a story about him. When your brother Lacey was called up. He had bought a new Cadillac. He wrote your dad to get it and look after it. Your dad went to Spokane and getting the garage man to show him how, he proceeded to drive off. All want well until he came to a stop light. He stopped all right, but he could'nt get started again. Finally a young policeman came over to him and said "what's the matter Pop ? Having trouble?" "Yes replied your dad "I can't get the***/// thing to go." Said the cop "Just take your foot off the brake pop and she will roll. " He did, and it did. He was so mad that he did'nt stop at hom, but drove right up here to show me the infernal gadgets that the younger generation were inflicting on the world. At that time he was driving a very ancient Chev and I had an old Stude of the same vintage. We both agree that we like the old things, but I hear that both of your parents enjoy seeing you on the T.V. Let me close by wishing you and yours the very best of wishes and praying that you will always keep up the fight for freedom. We have written you mother . Keep up your radio programs as that is our only means of hearing you We get you every night at 5.00 p.m. P.C.T.

Best of Wishes to you and your staff and family.
Yours.

G.A.Hooser

P.S. This is the first letter I have ever written about anything of this kind. excuse the mistakes. G.A.H.

Hoover, Larry

LARRY HOOVER
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

March 16, 1954.

Dear Ed:

While this Abercrombie & Fitch "A & F Hunter" knife is being mailed out to promote LIFE's story on the Sporting Goods industry this week (which I am not sending you), I felt that it might come in particularly handy for you right now.

I must admit, however, that you are doing a wonderful job with the needle-sharp "scalpel" you already have in hand.

Good-o!

Best regards,

Larry

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York

LARRY HOOVER
9 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Wednesday,
March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

Last night television journalism made history. Before the Jack O'Briens, the Fulton Lewis's and the other pea brains, including the bourbon boobs who underwrite them, confuse the issue, I want to tell you how much I admire you, your staff, CBS and ALCOA for "See It Now's" brilliant tele-portrait of McCarthy.

Whether or not McCarthy decides to answer himself - I can't believe he would be so foolish - you booted home a winner. I have heard nothing but praise for the show which apparently had a large audience; not since the Ford anniversary tv show have I heard so much comment.

It would be too much to hope McCarthy will see himself "as others" see him, but we can hope that you opened some eyes, stiffened some spines and pried open the repository for the responsibility for the likes of McCarthy in countless "ourselves" across the land.

Leadership is a lonely business at times, and without yours in this case the job would never have been done; it is so easy to say "no" or "it's too complex to explain" or "let's see what develops."

So, again, bully for you!

Best regards,

Larry

Hough, Henry B.

VINEYARD GAZETTE

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HENRY BEETLE HOUGH
Editors and Publishers

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March 17, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow,-

A word of congratulation, cordial and sincere, on your treatment of McCarthy and McCarthyism. I should like to subscribe to all that John Crosby wrote on the subject in his column. He did not overstate the case.

With admiration and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Henry Beetle Hough

THE PITTSBURGH HOUSING ASSOCIATION

SUITE 306, CIVIC BUILDING
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J. Alfred Wilner

•

Bryn J. Hovde
Executive Director
Roland M. Sawyer
Assistant Director

COurt 1-6010
Ext. 305-309

March 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

We are sure enough going to have to buy a TV set after all. We listen to your broadcast on the radio whenever we can at home. But today, invited by Alcoa, I saw the film of your TV broadcast on McCarthy.

What an incomparable job you did that evening! It will, I think --and hope--go down in American history as a public service of national and international significance. At last it begins to appear that McCarthy may have reached the zenith. If that prove true, what a sigh of relief we shall heave!

You get thousands of these letters, I know. But this one is special. I do not usually write fan-mail. But to you, Ed, who have made me so proud to be your friend from the time we served together on the I. I. E. I have to extend my encouragement and my

Warmest regards,

Bryn.

Bryn J. Hovde

BJH:rw

MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY CHEST

H. V. H.

New York 15, N.Y.

Dear Ed-

I have just watched your sane and decent summing-up of McCarthysim- and I have to restrain myself in order not to write you an out and out love letter. It was such a fine show! And you did it without abdicating your ideals of fair play. So many people have felt so achingly frustrated at not being able to stand up and scream about this man- and your show sent them all to bed feeling ever so much better...And you did it all without raising your voice!

Yrs. HVH.

Residence 1751 Seminole - Detroit 14 Michigan

Howland Clarence

Here → C. 6 Wing
Room 623
August
Thirty
1954

THE VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States
Service Office—Room C-233

Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
New York City
N.Y.

My dear Mr. Murrow: I hope for a long, long time the People - the unnumbered numbers and especially the inarticulate, will have an advocate of your ability - experience, courage, stamina and integrity - we cherish and praise you for your exposure of McCarthyism.

The continuity of our American Institutions requires men like McCarthy to be put in their correct category, machination of the Jesuits have no place in this century. Jefferson planned for no return tickets for tyrants - nevertheless they are in places of too much power.

I am sixty-five - surgery for Endo carcinoma of rectum 1953 - Recurrence 1954 with infiltration into bladder - my days are numbered - but

I would enjoy a fight to take the Junior member out of our Senate - I think the skids are under him for a trip to oblivion - or across the River Styx

More power to you - is my prayer - John 16:13 "When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth."

Exceptions prove the rule - in all our struggles for the Bill of Rights. I am,

Yours very respectfully - bidding you a warm farewell - and long life.

Clarence W. a. Howland
World War 1 - 374 1774 serial.

P.S Mr Murrow - Could I have one of the photographed rugs with Chinese proverb like Mary Martin used in T.V. I will be here for another month

C. W. a H

Hospital Room 623 - C. 6 Wing
Dearborn
Veterans Hospital
Mich

Jarrett, C. Scott

W C H L

VILLAGE BROADCASTING COMPANY ☆ CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

DURHAM ROAD + 1360 K C + 1000 WATTS + TELEPHONE 9-2261

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
and
Mr. Fred W. Friendly
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Three weeks later the congratulations still go, on two more counts:

1. Your guts re: unbiased freedom of expression;
2. Your faith that the truth will out.

May I suggest reference to the current issue of the Progressive published in Madison, Wisconsin. Used it to good advantage in today's commentary devoted to some of the ways McCarthy has been of help to the Kremlin. The program carried another big fat plug for Murrow and Friendly.

Keep pouring it on!

Sincerely,

C. Scott Jarrett

C. Scott Jarrett
Vice President

THE REV. CANON THOMAS E. JESSETT

5903 FREMONT AVENUE – SEATTLE 3, WASHINGTON

Jessett, T. E.

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York.

Dear Mr. Morrow:

More years ago than I like to remember we were fellow-students at Washington State College under Ida Lou Anderson, whose family are still close friends of ours. I have a copy of the memorial you so kindly financed in her memory.

This letter is just a line to express to you my support of your stand against Senator McCarthy. I feel certain that you have a tremendous well-spring of support from those many Americans who desire to see fair play and law once more dominant in our Congressional investigations. These are days when men must stand up for their convictions, and you are doing just that. My congratulations!

With every good wish to you in the continuance of your career which I have followed since your "This is London" days, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Jessett

Columbia University
in the City of New York
SCHOOL OF LAW

3/27

Dear Ed:

Just another indication of support.

With best wishes,

Phil Jessup

Jessup, Philip C.

Columbia University Bicentennial
Students' Conference on Rights of Free Americans
March 28, 1954

The Effect of American Security Measures on American Foreign Relations

By

Philip C. Jessup

We should understand what we are discussing. By "American security measures" we mean measures for internal security. We want to examine their impact on our international relations. These internal "American security measures" are of two kinds. One kind is the standard long-established operation of the government to protect itself from spies and saboteurs. This a necessary and normal function of government which has been well handled for many years. Maybe numbers don't lie, but those who quote numbers may. In spite of "agonizing reappraisals," figures finally extracted from government witnesses show that few if any spies or saboteurs have been newly discovered. The legitimate search for others must of course vigilantly continue. If the part of the Government charged with this function is not also utterly disrupted as other parts have been, the job will continue to be done successfully. This contributes to the totality of national security.

The other kind of security measures which, with shame, we must admit now carry the label "American," are very different. They have no roots in our constitution, law, character or tradition. To air on television undisclosed and unproved charges against an unidentified one of three persons in the District of Columbia named Annie Lee Moss, has no bearing on security. It has a bearing on America like the bearing of a millstone around the neck. These egomaniacal antics, as Senator Flanders has pointed out, divert us from serious consideration of the dangerous world problems which face us.

Our security is not promoted by publishing without authorization Army intelligence reports on our actual enemy; by disrupting vital military scientific work at Ft. Monmouth; by trying to discredit our Army; by destroying the morale of the devoted men and women who have given their lives to the Foreign Service; by undermining the church, our educational institutions, the radio and the press; or by turning every man against his neighbor through sowing the seeds of suspicion and distrust.

This partial list of the evils recently perpetrated in the name of American security measures reads like a blueprint of a Kremlin program. Actually it is taken from the apocryphal Americana of McCarthyism.

It is this perverted kind of American security measures which I will discuss in terms of its impact on our foreign relations.

It was "Only Yesterday," in the words of Frederick Lewis Allen, that A. Mitchell Palmer made a kind of name for himself with his hysterical persecutions in the 'twenties. "A cloud of suspicion hung in the air," writes Mr. Allen, "and intolerance became an American virtue." At that time too, organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Federal Council of Churches were pointed to with alarm. "America," wrote Katherine Fullerton Gerould in Harpers Magazine in 1922, "is no longer a free country in the old sense." But there were men like Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Evans Hughes and papers like the New York World who dared to speak out. The hysteria of the postwar era subsided and we Americans were again, as we were born, free.

In those days America was also busy rejecting Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations. Our foreign relations were submerged in isolation. The Kaiser's Germany was humbled in defeat, Bolshevik Russia was torn and still weak; there was no new enemy confronting us on the world stage. We

had reneged on our world leadership and it made no great difference if other countries were nauseated by our local hysterics.

Today the picture is very different. America, thank God, has not abdicated. Democratic and Republican Administrations alike identify the United Nations as the cornerstone of our foreign policy. We are the leader of the free world. We stand strongly across the path of the great and ruthless power of a highly developed Soviet Union which has risen from the ashes of Nazism as the director of the new world communist menace. What we do, but especially what we are, is the concern -- the legitimate concern -- of peoples everywhere who are, or who yearn to be free.

In Western Europe are some of our strongest allies. Most of them know by personal experience the methods of totalitarianism which accompanied Hitler's armies of occupation. It is not surprising that the New York Times correspondent reports from Paris that Frenchmen see "McCarthyism as a manifestation of native fascism"; that they "have doubt of the ability of the United States to assume leadership of the free world." It is not surprising that the Times correspondent in Bonn reports that "Germans inevitably draw a parallel between McCarthyism and Hitlerism." It is not surprising that the Times correspondent in London reports that "an ambassador from a member nation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization declared that 'the dangerous reluctance of France and Italy to vote for a European Defense Community which is an instrument of the United States' can be explained by the growing fear that fascism is coming to America and that E. D. C. is a step to war." On last November 17th Dr. W. A. Visser't Hooft of the Netherlands, who is the administrative head of the World Council of Churches, told ninety American Protestant leaders that

"irresponsibility in the United States, as indicated by McCarthyism, looms as large in the Western European mind as the threat of aggression from the East." So-called American security measures are clearly doing Malenkov's work for him.

Europeans, Latin Americans and Asians will agree, as do I, with one statement of Secretary of State Dulles in his article in Foreign Affairs just published: "We want to end this era of danger . . . The way to end the peril peacefully is to demonstrate that freedom produces not merely guns, but the spiritual, intellectual and material richness that all men want."

Who believes that the highly publicized capture of the scalp of a "pink army dentist" reveals that our freedom has produced "spiritual and intellectual" or even "material" richness? Even though the team was at least 50% well-heeled materially, who would select to tour Europe as exemplars of our spiritual and intellectual attainments Messrs. Cohn and Schine?

On May 19, 1953 President Eisenhower said " . . . no nation is secure whose Government does not command respect at home and honor abroad." An essential American security measure is therefore to put an end to the identification with the United States Government of a symbol of disrespect of our great traditions and of dishonor to our reputation as the home of the free.

The critical problem of American foreign relations today, acknowledged and avowed by this as well as by the preceding Administration, is the maintenance of our leadership in the free world. As Secretary Dulles recently said: "The United States has inherited a responsibility for leadership . . . " His predecessor in office, Mr. Dean Acheson, pointed out that

"We will continue to be accepted as the leader only if the other countries believe that the pattern of responsibility within which we operate is a responsibility to interests which are broader than our own."

Our national defense depends upon our relations with our allies in whose territories we have bases. If they reject our leadership we have only two alternatives. One is to lose the security which as we are told depends on the capacity to retaliate. The other alternative is to go in for the massive ground forces and ruthless domination by which the Soviet Union maintains its bases on the territory of unwilling satellites. Once we adopt the pattern of totalitarianism we will have lost our national soul and "What is a man [or a nation] profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" We may create a sense of dependence through our wealth and our stockpile of atomic and hydrogen bombs, but that is very different from leadership.

We appeal to the other peoples of the world when we remind them of what we stand for in terms of human decency and progress. For that, we rely on quotations from Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln rather than from Henry Ford and General Patton. If other peoples become convinced that we have foresworn our tradition of freedom, we will have lost the capacity to lead. If we lose the capacity to lead the free world, we will have lost the capacity to retaliate against the enslaved world of the aggressor.

Foreign relations are carried on by people. President Eisenhower said at his press conference three days ago that the success of an army depends upon its morale. It is equally true that the success of diplomacy depends upon the morale of those who are waging the campaigns from our State Department and in our embassies and missions abroad. The famous letter of the five ex-ambassadors and the recent statement of former Ambassador George

Kennan bear striking testimony to the damage which has been done to that morale by so-called "American security measures." The damage is not irreparable; much could be regained by an early and forthright vindication by the Secretary of State of that distinguished Foreign Service Officer, John Paton Davies, a man who was ready to sacrifice personal interest to comply with his obligations as an official of the United States.

The battle against aggressive international communism is being fought daily all across the free world in foreign offices and in the minds of men. There have been notable victories and some setbacks in that long campaign. The Truman Doctrine for Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, Nato, and the instant resistance by the United Nations to armed aggression in Korea, made the aggressive tide roll back. The forces which Soviet communism can mobilize within the United States are minimal compared to their still existing strength in such of their hunting grounds as the jungles of Indo-China, and the Communist party in Italy.

We would fire a gardener who drove a steam-roller over the flower beds in order to crush a Japanese beetle, but some people would apparently try to defeat the Soviet Union by dropping a hydrogen bomb on the Department of State.

The Kremlin uses insidious tactics, often of diabolical cleverness. They have tried to appropriate to themselves the mantle of peace and to cloak us with the shroud of the warmonger. A recent column in the Times reports that the Communist Information Bureau has sent out a directive which would support and encourage McCarthy's campaign to prove that anyone who opposes his methods is a communist. This is in line with communist tactics in Europe: in West Germany a neo-Nazi newspaper was started with a subsidy from the Communist Central Committee in East Germany; in Italy the Communist

Party financed a magazine written by and for the remnants of Mussolini's fascists. Naturally one must refuse to surrender the fight for the preservation of our national interests through peace abroad and through free democracy at home in face of the effort of the communists in Moscow or the scaremongers in Washington to try to pin a red label on those who defend these vital causes.

Our leadership of the free world is about to be put to a severe test at the conference which is soon to meet at Geneva. Our representatives in those negotiations will labor under a heavy handicap. As they argue our points with the representatives of friendly powers it is inevitable that the latter will be saying to themselves: "Does the representative of the United States honestly believe that, or is he just afraid of McCarthy?" The considered view of the Secretary of State of the United States of America is weighty and influential. A barker for a Senate sub-committee side show adds weight only to the sly arguments of the communist representatives. In a contest for driving wedges to split the free world coalition, a McCarthy may succeed where a Molotov will fail. One hopes that the able performance at Berlin will be repeated. Much may depend upon what happens in Washington in the meantime.

Perhaps it will be thought that these matters of which I have spoken should, on this occasion, have been discussed with scholarly detachment, using symbols for names and abstract principles instead of facts. In less dangerous times that might be true. Today the free use of knowledge is a necessary measure of American security and there is need for blunt speech.

The situation is dangerous, but it is not desperate. It calls for neither complacency nor despair. It is probably true that some of our

friends in other countries are unduly disturbed, because they have no power to influence developments in this country and lack confidence that we will influence them in the right direction. Their worry and distrust are facts affecting our foreign relations and we can not overlook these facts. The persons conducting our foreign relations can not overlook them. There is reassurance in the fact that we have faced similar difficulties in our history and have surmounted them. We will do so again. It is good to find that a brilliant former Attorney General of the United Kingdom on returning home after a visit here to participate in our Bicentennial Program was able to say: "We sometimes disapprove of the things they [the Americans] say and the methods they adopt, but in the end they always do the right thing."

We may well hope that our Government will act upon the advice of Secretary Dulles in his address of January 12 when he counselled reliance on "conduct and example [which] shall continue as in the past to show all men how good can be the fruits of freedom."

Johnson Carolyn

175 LUCKIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

LAMAR 3620

March 24, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was with interest, eagerness and appreciation that I viewed your recent telecast devoted to honest factual reporting on the McCarthy subject.

Unfortunately there has been much suppression of the truth on this subject, both by newspapers, radio and TV.

Thank you from someone who enjoys an honest presentation of facts, be they popular or not.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Johnson

Carolyn A. Johnson
Editor

CAJ:jm

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

September 8, 1954

Dear Joe:

For the past few months I have been trying to put together two half-hours of television and five fifteen-minute periods of radio time each week, and this is literally my first opportunity to say my thanks for your gracious communication regarding the television program we did in regard to the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

I trust you will not regard this long delay as any indication of any lack of appreciation on the part of myself and my colleagues for your thoughtfulness in sending us an encouraging word.

It is our hope that future programs may merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,

E R Murrow

Mr. Joseph E. Johnson
Room 1114
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Jones, Maitland

Sullivan, Stauffer, Colwell & Bayles, Inc.
437 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 16

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

It is amazing to find that now the term "jackal" has become a word of distinction.

I'm proud to include myself in the pack under your leadership.

Sincerely,

Maitland Jones

Maitland Jones
Vice President

MJ:acm

Jordan, James

13 March

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I remember with pride the night you spent in my exec's pit in korea. It was the first night the First Marine Provisional Brigade landed in August 1950. That was the night you wanted to contact General Craig but Brigade headquarters was having a little battle of their own and you consented to spend the night with my battery.

I'm writing to tell you how much I enjoyed your program on Senator McCarthy. As you pointed out, this is no time to remain silent, however, we in the military service are limited as to the political action we can take.

In my opinion, McCarthy is the most dangerous threat to our way of life in the history of the United States since our independence. Most McCarthy supporters do not subscribe to his methods, but feel they are necessary. Their thesis is that we have to chose between McCarthy of communism. This I do not believe.

I have faith that the American people can resist any threat from internal communism. Sometimes, however, that faith is shaken a little when I see otherwise intelligent Americans willing to turn our freedom over to a would-be tyrant like McCarthy.

Congratulations again on your fine and brave stand, and be assured that I will do everything in my power (and within existing regulations) to fight McCarthy and all he stands for. We all detest communism both internal and external, however, McCarthyism is not the only alternative. As President Eisenhower pointed out, we have sufficient investigative and law enforcement bodies in existence. If they do not do their job, then make them. If they cannot do their job within the framework of the constitution, then change the constitution but do it legally. McCarthy evidently feels that he should be given special dispensation wo operate in violation of the constitution, and gives as his reason the gravity of the communist situation. The con-

stitution is the instrument which protects us from the dangers of communism, and the dangers of McCarthyism.

I have heard many people state that they hope that some one will assasinate McCarthy. I hope McCarthy will live to a ripe old age as an example to the american people and to the world that our democratic system is the best type of government to maintain freedom of the individual and guarantee the rights and dignity of man.

I hope this doesn't seem presumptuous, but since you accepted my hospitality in Korea, I hope you will be able to do it again, this time in my quarters here at Quantico. If you are ever in this vicinity, my wife and I will be honored if you and your family will accept this invitation.

Yours Very Truly,

Jim Jordan

Major James D. Jordan
Qtrs. 412, MCS
Quantico, Va.

Junger, Mort

mort junger advertising

511 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 2-6750

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

After last night's broadcast, it is apparent that every effort in fighting the danger of mccarthyism must be strengthened.

Congratulations again to you.

Sincerely,

Mort Junger

MJ@bl

Kamerow, J. A.

J. A. KAMEROW
SOUTHERN BUILDING
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

April 16th., 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

Attached you will find a copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. Wilson (President of the Aluminum Company of America).

I want to congratulate you upon the stand that you have taken in the entire matter and would like you to know that nine out of ten people that you might come in contact with feel the same way as I do about this matter.

With all good wishes for continued success.

Sincerely yours,

JAK:ajh

J. A. KAMEROW

C O P Y

April 16th., 1954

Mr. I. W. Wilson, President
Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Wilson:-

The press, this morning, indicates that the stockholders of your company are a bit uneasy about the controversy between Senator McCarthy and Mr. Edward R. Morrow in which Alcoa appears to be involved.

I do not think that there are an intelligent people who would construe "See It Now" as reflecting the opinions of your Corporation. Certainly, there are no people in Washington who believe that Mr. Murrow is in any way connected with Communism or that he ever was connected with any subversive organization. Mr. Murrow appears to be doing an excellent job of reporting and that is appreciated by most Americans. I can not conceive how any harm can befall Alcoa by remaining the sponsors of this program. It does seem odd that the gentlemen from Texas and from other parts of the country do have a way of effecting any program where the spotlight is upon the junior senator from Wisconsin. You will recall that, while Adams Hats have canceled their contract with Drew Person, they stated that McCarthy had nothing to do with it. Millions of people believed and still believe that the Adams Hat people were being blackmailed into such actions. I do not think that your great Corporation should find themselves in that position and I would like to counsel with you not to discontinue the program because of any pressure that may be brought to bear along those lines.

Sincerely yours,

JAK:ajh

J. A. KAMEROW

Katz, Arlene (?)

CBS RADIO

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

THOMAS MEANS

Director of Promotion Service
CBS Owned Stations

April 8, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In the December 26, 1953 issue of the New Yorker, there is an article entitled, "PROFILES -- The World on His Back," by Charles Wertenbaker, who in discussing you says:

"Among the public men who have commended Murrow for his fairness is Senator Joseph McCarthy."

I don't know in what speech or statement Senator McCarthy said this, but you undoubtedly do. It seems to me that it might be worthwhile to publicize this.

Sincerely yours,

Arlene Katz

Arlene Katz

Katz, Stanley

LEBER & KATZ

advertising

TWO SEVENTY PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK · TELEPHONE PLAZA 8-3310

MARCH 10, 1954

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
CBS-TV
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEAR ED:

MAY I ADD MY VOICE TO THE ACCOLADES THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED AND WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE FOR YOUR SUPERB AND FORTHRIGHT PROGRAM OF LAST NIGHT.

I AM SURE THAT YOU HAVE SHOWN THE WAY TO A GREAT MANY AMERICANS WHO HAVE FOR TOO LONG HESITATED TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN CONNECTION WITH THE MC CARTHY ISSUE.

THERE ARE MANY I AM SURE, WHO, LIKE MYSELF, DETEST COMMUNISM AS DEEPLY AS DOES SENATOR MC CARTHY, AND HOWEVER, ARE AS DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE UNWARRANTED METHODS BEING USED BY THE SENATOR.

ONCE AGAIN, MY CONGRATULATIONS FOR HELPING TO CLEAR THE AIR AND THE MINDS OF A GREAT MANY AMERICANS.

CORDIALLY,

Stanley

STANLEY H. KATZ

SHK:A

Keith, Lyle

LAW OFFICES OF
KEITH, WINSTON & REPSOLD
SPOKANE & EASTERN BUILDING
SPOKANE 4, WASHINGTON
RIVERSIDE 8001

LYLE KEITH
PATRICK H. WINSTON
NELSON B. REPSOLD
JOHN T. DAY
E. LAWRENCE WHITE
CHARLES J. SCOTT

March 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

For several weeks I have been intending to write you a note congratulating you upon your annual receipt of miscellaneous awards for superiority in both AM and television news reporting. Late as it is -- congratulations.

More prompt than the foregoing congratulations am I in congratulating you upon your courageous barrage aimed in the specific direction of the junior senator from Wisconsin. I have long held the opinion that McCarthy and his methods pose the most potent threat to a healthy democracy. Keep up the battle.

Sincerely,

Lyle

LK:bc

Keller, Helen

ARCAN RIDGE
WESTPORT, CONN.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

Words cannot express my high admiration of the valiant attitude you have adopted in the present crisis of American history.

I am with you heart and soul in your defiance of hostile elements that would impose the yoke of fear upon a free people. You are right -- there can be no neutrality in matters concerning freedom any more than in other matters which regard public welfare, and that is possible only when voices speak out against the vicious endeavors of demagogy.

Also I should like to salute your sponsors, the Aluminum Company, who have so bravely stood behind you in your supreme adventure.

With warmest congratulations, I am,

Cordially yours,

Helen Keller

March thirteenth, 1954.

Kelman, Wolfe

כנסית הרבנים באמריקה

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

NORTHEAST CORNER, BROADWAY AND 122ND STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

RABBI IRA EISENSTEIN, PRESIDENT
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

RABBI HARRY HALPERN, VICE-PRESIDENT
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

RABBI JACOB AGUS, TREASURER
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RABBI NORMAN SALIT, COUNSEL
LAWRENCE, NEW YORK

RABBI MAX D. DAVIDSON, COMPTROLLER
PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY

RABBI WOLFE KELMAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

March 10, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Although I am writing this letter in my personal capacity, I rather suspect that many of my colleagues share my attitude.

I want to congratulate you on your very courageous and dignified television program about McCarthy. It is a tragic barometer of our times that your sober expose of a charlatan and a demagogue is a sign of courage. Nevertheless, in times like these it is good to know that a man of your good will and passion for freedom can speak to millions of our fellow Americans to bring them the truth as you see it.

With every best wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

W Kelman
Wolfe Kelman

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mk

Kern, Janet

Chicago American

EVENING AND SUNDAY

326 W. MADISON ST.
CHICAGO 6, ILL.

TELEPHONE
ANDOVER 3-1234

March
25
1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I have held off writing you, knowing that your office would be inundated with mail.

I do, however, want at least to tell you how great your historic "See It Now" show on McCarthy was.

Believe me I would have liked to shout the praises of this show from the house tops. It's not to my credit that ~~but~~ I must be numbered among those radio-TV editors who kept expedient silence by taking refuge in the traditional rule that critics should stay clear of Politics.

Sincerely,

Janet

Janet R. Kern
Radio-TV Editor

DP

King, Jean P.

KLAS TV Channel 8

OFFICE AND STUDIOS AT WILBUR CLARK'S DESERT INN

P. O. BOX 711 - LAS VEGAS, NEVADA - PHONE 7138

NETWORK AFFILIATES: CBS, ABC, DuMONT, NBC

April 7th, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

CBS-TV wired us your statement from your "SEE IT NOW" broadcast of April 6th concerning Senator McCarthy.

Inasmuch as we do not carry your show here, I read it in detail and, also used the CBS statement on my local news show.

Just a note to let you know that KLAS-TV and the undersigned are behind you.

When this mess is settled why don't you hop out here to this fabulous city for a short vacation with us.

Sincerely,

KLAS - TV

Jean Paul King

~~Jean Paul King~~
General Manager

JPK:gw

Kintner, Robert E.

March 11 1954

Dr Frank Stanton
President
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22 New York

Dear Frank:

I think you have done a grand job, not only for the broadcasting industry, but also for the entire country, in Ed Murrow's outstanding program relating to Senator McCarthy. I wanted to congratulate you, Bill, Ed, and Fred Friendly, on this outstanding portrayal. My only regret is that a program of this caliber, integrity and farsightedness was not broadcast by the American Broadcasting Company.

As you know, I am a great respecter of the leadership of Bill and you in our business, and I think that this is another example of the character and integrity of CBS.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Bill Paley and Ed Murrow.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert E Kintner

A.B.C.

cc: Mr William Paley
Mr Edward Murrow

Kirby, Edward M

GREATER NATIONAL CAPITAL COMMITTEE

Washington, D. C.

CONVENTION AND TOURIST BUREAU
WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE • 1616 K STREET, N. W.
STERLING 3-3535

GRANVILLE GUDE
Chairman

CLARENCE A. ARATA
Executive Director

April 8, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Ed:

You don't have to hear from this Ed to know what I think about you...

I just wanted to let you know that my admiration for you has grown from the first time I met you in Algiers, later in London, New York and Washington.

As an oldfriend--and an old Army guy, I rise to salute you.

As ever, faithfully,

EDWARD M. KIRBY
Public Relations Counsel

EMK/jem

Kirschner, Dorothy

TO Ed Murrow

FROM Jerry Maulsby 3/12/54

Add to the pile:

Mrs. Dorothy Kirschner Earle, 330 E. 71 St., RH 4-5846, a lady with aged but elegant speech whose failing eyes prevent her writing a legible letter, who wants Mr. Murrow to know that she has the greatest respect for Mr. Murrow and WCBS and only scorn for Mr. Lewis and that creature. If ever a fund is raised to sue them she would feel privileged to be allowed to contribute to it. Our great president is so wise and statesmanlike in allowing that man to hang himself and not martyrizing him by silencing him.

(What this company needs is more telephone extensions.)

J.

Kreager, H. Dewayne

H. DEWAYNE KREAGER
706 ALBEE BUILDING
15TH AND G STREETS, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

If Ida Lou Anderson were alive she would have been very proud of you last night, as, I am sure, were all of your old friends.

For twenty-four years, since first meeting you in the upstairs hall at our Kappa Sig house in Pullman, I have been proud to at least be acquainted with you, and in knowing somewhat of your background, your family, and your own personal success story. Never has that pride been so rewarding to me as during your magnificent job last night on your McCarthy broadcast.

To those of us who have essentially the same background as you, and who in our own way also have tried to be of public service over the years, it is inspiring to witness your courage--your willingness to deliberately use your own well-earned prestige and substantial personal reputation in the cause of American freedom.

Most sincerely,

Dewayne Kreager

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Kriendler, Maxwell

Jack & Charlie's
"21"

MARCH 10TH, 1954

DEAR ED:

CONGRATULATIONS ON A GREAT JOB WELL-DONE! WE NEED MORE OF YOUR KIND OF THINKING AND EXPRESSION TO DISSIPATE THE FEAR OF MCCARTHY.

MY VERY BEST WISHES ALWAYS, TO YOU AND YOURS.

SINCERELY,

Max

MAXWELL A. KRIENDLER

MR. EDWARD R. MURROW
C/O CBS-TV
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Kroeger, B.

The Duquesne Times Publishing Co.

BERNARD KROEGER
PRESIDENT

PUBLISHERS—PRINTERS
34 N. FIRST STREET
DUQUESNE, PENNSYLVANIA

TELEPHONE
DUQUESNE 47776

March 17, 1954.

Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasing System,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I should feel remiss in my civic responsibility as a publisher were I not to acknowledge the splendid reporting on Alcoa's recent TV programs.

While you are to be commended personally for your unbiased presentation of the "McCarthy case", I think the Aluminum Company of America which makes this wonderful program possible, is equally deserving.

As a small town publisher of a weekly paper, no one understands better than I, the importance of the work you are doing, thanks to Alcoa.

Without appearing to be presumptuous, and as one small voice crying in the wilderness, please keep up the good work regardless of what obstacles certain well meaning individuals may toss in your path.

Every evening, after work, I stop at the same emporium for my daily ginger-upper and am happy to report that you succeeded wherein I failed. Prior to last night's broadcast another Murrow apostle and I found it impossible to convince the boys that you were right and McCarthy wrong. Thanks to last night's superb program, only one die-hard remains in the McCarthy corner.

Am eagerly awaiting your April 6 broadcast.

Very truly yours,

Bernard Kroeger

THE DUQUESNE TIMES.

Have just read a letter from the society editor of the Melbourne, Florida newspaper in which she writes:

"Did I tell you I met Carl Hubbell, He's director of our Farm Club set-up for the Giants. And Senator McCarthy's brother just bought 200 houses over at Patrick Air Force Base."

While this is probably general information I pass it along for your consideration.

Kugle, Bill

BILL KUGLE
DISTRICT 21
GALVESTON, TEXAS

THE STATE OF TEXAS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
FIFTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE
AUSTIN, TEXAS

COMMITTEES:
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS
CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE
JUDICIARY
GAME AND FISHERIES

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Only rarely have I taken my pen in hand for the purpose of conveying a thought to a public figure such as yourself. However, your fierce loyalty to the principles upon which our country was founded has stirred my heart. It is a tragedy of our times that the villification of Senator McCarthy finds a substantial acceptance by persons with limited understanding of American constitutional government. Accordingly, you have demonstrated a rare type of courage in crossing swords with this dangerous demagogue. You have clearly won the day. Accept my commendation and best wishes.

Very truly yours,

Bill Kugle

Bill Kugle

bk/nmf

Kupcinet, Irv

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
211 W. WACKER DRIVE, CHICAGO 6, ILL.
AN DOVER 3-4800

March 11, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed,

I'd just like to add my congratulations to the thousands of messages you undoubtedly have received as a result of Tuesday's telecast. It was one of your finest and in my book your shows always excell.

I'm also inclosing two photostats of columns of mine which were written a few days prior to the election last year. They too, deal with Senator Joe. I think you will find them of interest.

My very best wishes for your continuing success and again, my congratulations on a superb show.

Sincerely,

Irv Kupcinet

IK:jk

KUP'S COLUMN

KUPCINET

OF ALL THE STATEMENTS, true or false, hurled by Sen. McCarthy in his widely ballyhooed "I'll-tell-all-about-Adlai Stevenson" speech here Monday night, the one he definitely never should have made was his invitation to the press to inspect the documents, pamphlets and photostats he offered as proof of his charges. As McCarthy spoke, he waved these papers for his audience to see and exclaimed in a challenging voice, "I've got the proof right here and the press is invited to examine them." He never should have said that, because some members of the press accepted his challenge and what they discovered on close inspection of these documents bore little relation to the charges made by the senator.

LET'S TAKE ONE of the major points in McCarthy's speech. That was the one in which he first held up a picture of a desolate looking barn and then another photo to show the elaborate furnishings inside this barn. This, according to McCarthy, was the secret headquarters of the Institute of Pacific Relations. And then came a photostat of a letter—a letter, according to McCarthy, which his investigators dug out of the secret files of the IPR.

SEN. McCARTHY

AND THEN, WAVING the photostat as proof, McCarthy stated: "This shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson as a delegate to the Mont Tremblant conference in Canada, called to determine our postwar foreign policy in Asia. Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor and Coe has been named under oath before congressional committees seven times as a member of the Communist Party. . . . Why did Hiss and Coe name Adlai Stevenson as the man they want? I don't know."

NOW LET'S EXAMINE the photostat of that letter, containing such damaging evidence. What does it show? It was a two-page letter, written by a Joseph Lockwood, an official of the IPR, to a man identified only as "Bob," discussing possible speakers for a conference. And the only reference to Stevenson comes in a brief paragraph on the second page, thusly: "In the field of foreign relations, I understand from Hiss that there are several good assistants working under Navy Sec. Knox, one of them an Adlai Stevens." This misspelling of Stevenson's name by a person who obviously didn't know him was the lone—THE ONLY!—reference to the Democratic candidate in this "devastating" bit of photostatic evidence. Damaging, isn't it?

BUT THAT'S NOT ALL this "revealing" photostat unveiled for reporters. If McCarthy had read the next paragraph of this same letter, he would have noted the name of one of the nation's most respected publishers also was listed as a possible speaker because of his qualifications in foreign relations—Gardner (Mike) Cowles of the newspaper and magazine chain. Cowles, a personal friend of this reporter, is as far removed from communism as McCarthy usually is from the truth.

NOW LET'S TAKE McCarthy's implication that Stevenson WAS in Chicago on Nov. 12, 1946, and DID introduce Hiss at a Northwestern U. lecture. Stevenson already is on record with proof that on such a date he was busy with UN affairs in New York. McCarthy, in the part of his speech that ran too long for radio and TV, admitted that "whether Stevenson introduced Hiss is unimportant, but I was curious so I made some checks as to his [Stevenson's] veracity."

McCARTHY THEN RELATED THAT HE examined a Chicago afternoon newspaper of Nov. 11, 1946, the day before Hiss was scheduled to speak here, and found a notice in the paper saying that on the next day, Nov. 12, Stevenson was scheduled to give a lecture at 4:30 p.m. at the University of Chicago. "If Adlai made that speech at 4:30 p.m., then he was IN Chicago on that day," charged McCarthy, leaving the obvious implication that Stevenson was in Chicago and was able to introduce Hiss earlier that same day at Northwestern. . . . "And here are the facts," bellowed McCarthy. "Stevenson was paid the sum of $250 for appearing that day at the University of Chicago."

BUT WHAT ARE THE FACTS? Reporters who had accepted McCarthy's challenge to inspect his documents asked for proof. And the only "proof" was a notarized statement from a Henry A. Heinly, a Chicagoan, who had taken it upon himself to search through the Chicago newspapers in an effort to dig up evidence that Stevenson had introduced Hiss at the Northwestern lecture. It was Heinly who found the Chicago newspaper clipping referred to in the above paragraph—not McCarthy.

IN HIS NOTARIZED STATEMENT, Heinly pointed out that he had visited the office of the Walgreen Foundation at the U. of C. and talked to a secretary there. His direct quote: "The secretary told me that the Stevenson speech had been published in a book . . . and a few minutes later she went through the files and said Stevenson had been paid $250 for the speech on that day." The reporters pressed McCarthy and his investigators for further proof. Did they know Heinly? Had they checked the secretary of the Walgreen Foundation? Had any additional evidence been uncovered to show Stevenson was present that day? The answer to each question was the same: No. And on this flimsy evidence, McCarthy made his "accusation."

NOW LET'S DO A LITTLE checking of our own. James G. Kerwin, a political science professor at the U. of C., is chairman of the Walgreen Foundation. And here is his story, in effect:

Heinly, posing as a Northwestern U. student, a personal friend of Gov. Stevenson and a worker for the Volunteers for Stevenson (he really piled it on!), went to the Walgreen Foundation office and made inquiry about the lecture Stevenson had delivered Nov. 12, 1946. Kerwin dug into the files and produced a copy of the university's official calendar which showed that Stevenson had delivered his lecture on Nov. 21. The calendar carried this note: "Postponed from Nov. 12." The $250 check presented to Stevenson also carried the Nov. 21 date.

SEE NOW WHY JOE McCARTHY never should have invited the press to examine those "documents of proof" he was waving to his audience? And why every accusation he makes must be subjected to close scrutiny?

See Kup on WBKB (Channel 4) at 11 nightly.

KUP'S COLUMN

KUPCINET

THE "CASE" against Sen. McCarthy of Wisconsin will now be resumed without further ado, inasmuch as he has let the news seep out that he will give his "I'll-tell-all-about-Adlai Stevenson" speech of last week one more twirl Monday night, this time on a network radio broadcast. According to the announcement, McCarthy is giving this repeat performance because his radio-television time ran out on him last Monday night, when his speech originated in the Palmer House, and apparently he feels too many listeners missed too much of his "well-documented" material.

IT IS THE SINCERE HOPE of this reporter that McCarthy has checked his facts since last week, for we have shown what a soft touch the senator is for any one who troubles to check his documents. The papers, documents, photostats, etc., which he waved with such austerity for his television audience last Monday night proved to bear little relationship to the charges McCarthy hurled at Stevenson. And if he intends to follow the same script this Monday night, we should like to turn the spotlight on a few more "well-documented" McCarthy "facts" which the intervening week has given us time to check.

LET US PICK UP WHERE WE LEFT OFF last week by examining this statement in McCarthy's speech: "In his (Stevenson's) biography, we find on Page 73 that in the summer of 1943, after Mussolini's government had fallen, Stevenson was given the task of formulating America's postwar policy toward Italy. Truman, in speaking before an Italian group in New York on Columbus Day of this year, confirmed this fact. Gen. Bedell Smith, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, in his book and on Pages 35 and 37 of his sworn testimony, told what that policy for Italy was—namely to 'connive' to bring Communists into the Italian government and to bring the Italian Communist leader, Togliatti, back from Moscow. . . . I do not know what their defense of Stevenson's plans for foisting Communists upon the Italians will be."

NOW LET'S DO SOME DISSECTING: On Page 73 of Stevenson's biography, written by Noel Busch, this appears: ". . . Stevenson headed a foreign Economic Administration mission which had three objectives. One was TO REPORT on how best to keep the Italian economy going and the Italians from starving, while the Allied armies fought their way to the richer industrial North. Another was TO REPORT on how to re-establish local government in a nation where all the experienced administrators were presumably Fascists. The third was TO REPORT on what elements could be counted on to help with these objectives."

THE CAPITALIZATION OF THE WORDS, "TO REPORT," is ours—to show how McCarthy can twist black into white, even off the printed page. Stevenson was not sent to Italy to formulate policy—but TO REPORT on conditions in Italy, obviously for those who had the graver responsibility of formulating policy. A little more careful reading by McCarthy could have established that difference very easily—if McCarthy wanted to establish a difference.

GEN. SMITH

NOW FOR PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S PART in "confirming" this "connivance," as McCarthy put it so glibly. What did the President say in his Columbus Day address in New York? A search of the New York Times reveals the complete text of that speech and here is Mr. Truman's reference to Adlai Stevenson: ". . . He was sent by President Roosevelt TO SURVEY (our caps again) the condition and problem of the Italian people in the liberated zone. He found them without transport, without enough food and fuel and suffering under a terrible inflation. Yet, in spite of their misery, he recognized in the Italian people their underlying courage, their hope, their eagerness to help the Allied cause. He recommended that they be treated, not as former enemies, but as valuable and useful co-workers in the fight for freedom. . . . Adlai Stevenson's plan for what ought to be done in Italy contained the seeds that eventually flowered in the Marshall Plan for the defense of Europe against communism."

TIE THAT ONE, IF YOU CAN, for twisting the facts, and any resemblance between President Truman's exact statement about Stevenson and McCarthy's "connivance" is strictly coincidental.

NOW LET'S JUMP to Gen. Bedell Smith's book, as mentioned in McCarthy's speech. On pages 18-19 of "My Three Years in Moscow," the general writes:

"Viewing events in retrospect, it is as easy now, as it was difficult then, to appreciate the nature of Soviet political aims in Italy. We of the West were determined to establish a democratic government with as broad a base as possible and this made it easy for us to accept Communist participation in the Italian government, and even to accept, and indeed to facilitate, the return of the Italian Communist leader, Palmiro Togliatti, who had been in Moscow.

"The Communists were the hard core of the Partisan movement, and their initial participation in the reconstructed Italian government was on a co-operative, collaborative basis."

THE ABOVE, MIND YOU, comes not from Stevenson, but from Gen. Smith, a man recognized for his present Communist-fighting values. Where, then, did McCarthy get his facts that our government's policy was to "connive" to get Communists into the Italian government—a policy he so erroneously attributes to Stevenson? The answer to that question begs another question: Where does McCarthy get most of his facts?

AS GEN. SMITH POINTS OUT, the Communists at that time were the hard core of the resistance in Italy to the Nazis, the common enemy. No one, excepting perhaps McCarthy, needs be reminded that the Russians were our allies in this period of history. And is it necessary to ask what Gen. Eisenhower was doing while the Communist leader Togliatti was being brought back to Italy? Why, Eisenhower was "collaborating" with a Red—Marshal Zhukov, the Russian army chief—to squeeze the life out of the Nazis!

KUP'S COLUMN

KUPCINET

An official protest by **Sen. McCarthy** (R-Wis.) against the CBS and NBC networks should be in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission any hour now. But sources close to the Wisconsin senator have informed this reporter that "McCarthy is just going through the paces because he realizes he doesn't have a leg to stand on in this case." McCarthy summoned his Washington attorney, **Edward B. Williams,** to help him draft the letter of protest to the FCC, which includes a repetition of his publicly stated charge that he "was personally attacked by **Adlai E. Stevenson** on radio and television and is not being given an opportunity to reply."

WASHINGTON OBSERVERS REPORT a "distinct cooling off" toward McCarthy in the last week by persons usually standing at his side. This includes the so-called isolationist wing of the Republican Party, composed largely of Midwesterners. One member of this group, who long has looked favorably on McCarthy, remarked the other day that "mentally and physically Joe has taken a terrific beating and he needs a rest—a long rest—more than anything else."

ED MURROW, WHOSE TV blast at McCarthy Tuesday night created a furor, is upset about only one follow-up story in the press: A report that **Bill Paley**, head of CBS, told him to "tone down" his attack. Murrow vehemently denies Paley made any such suggestion. . . . Personal to **Joan Benny** and her groom, **Seth Baker:** You have a perfect example after which to pattern your marriage. **Jack Benny** and his **Mary Livingston,** after 27 years, are still one of Hollywood's "ideally married couples."

JOAN BENNY

A RECONCILIATION IS in the making for **Dorsey Connors** and **Jim Bannon** of the TV lanes. "Our separation was just a matter of two careers in one family," Dorsey told us, "and that takes a lot of readjustment. But I'm sure we can work it out." . . . **Don Cherry,** the singer and amateur golf champ who's visiting in Chicago, has been burning up the wires to his ricochet love, songbird **Peggy Lee.** (Or isn't three long-distance calls to Hollywood in four hours burning up the wires?)

CHICAGOANS WITNESSED this example of how the U.S. armed forces' no-segregation policy is working out: An Air Force pilot visited here one day this week and, upon arriving in town, he immediately phoned the family of his navigator. The family invited him out to the house for a chat—an invitation he promptly accepted. What makes the story significant is that the pilot is a white boy from Virginia and the navigator is a Negro, whose family lives on the South Side.

ONE OF CHICAGO'S UNSUNG HEROES, Carl Becker, will be honored at a testimonial concert at Thorne Hall on April 4. Becker is a modern **Stradivarius** who makes and repairs, with delicate precision, the musical instruments used by such figures as **Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, Isaac Stern, Nathan Milstein** and **Gregor Piatigorsky.** None of these artists ever comes to Our Town without visiting the aging Becker. **Dr. Maurice H. Cottle** is chairman of the testimonial, sponsored by the Midwest Music Foundation.

THE BIGGEST NAMES in the auto industry will gather under the same roof Monday night, when the Chicago Automobile Trade Assn. celebrates its 50th anniversary at the Palmer House. Among those present will be **Paul Hoffman** of Studebaker, **Harlow Curtice** of General Motors, **L. L. (Tex) Colbert** of Chrysler, **James Nance** of Packard, **Ernest Breech,** executive veep of Ford, and **Edgar Kaiser** of Kaiser-Willys. . . . The new U.S. solicitor general, **Simon E. Sobeloff,** will be feted April 11 at the Morrison Hotel by the American Jewish Congress.

THIS NEW CATCHY TUNE, "Goombye, Goomba" (ah, there, **Martha Raye**!) caught the fancy of the Music Operators' Convention at the Palmer House. It was recorded by **Tony Romano** for Vito Records. Romano, a well-known accordion player, is blossoming out as a singer for the first time. He traveled the globe during World War II as a member of **Bob Hope's** troupe. . . . The story of Chicagoan **Ben Lipsner's** efforts in founding Uncle Sam's airmail service is now in the Congressional Record, thanks to **Rep. Hoffman** (R-Ill.) Lipsner, then an Army captain, was ordered by **President Woodrow Wilson** to organize what eventually became the world's first airmail system.

SPIKE JONES

PARDON A PERSONAL NOTE, but in reply to many inquiries: No, we have no association whatever with coffee grills or cafes bearing our name. (And never will have!) . . . **Tommy Ferris,** the Singapore's piano player and owner of the largest collection of old-time music in Chicago, surprised **George Jessel** the other night. He came up with a song, "My Mama's Baby Boy," which Jessel sang 'way back in 1920. . . . The popular **Sam Workman** obviously expects a "few pals" to show up for his 25th anniversary in business on Thursday. He's rented the grand ballroom of the Conrad Hilton for the occasion! . . . **Spike Jones** wires another **Liberace** gag: "My son, **Spike Jr.,** has quit studying piano—he's now taking candelabra lessons!"

See Kup on WBBM-TV (Channel 2) at 10:45 nightly.

William LaHaye
Kenyon & Eckhardt Inc.
247 Park Ave.
N.Y. 17, N.Y.

My dear Ed:

Thanks from my heart. I've never been so proud of you. You and Fred did a magnificent job and it was all too short. Don is to be congratulated, too, for his addenda.

Jack and I listened and looked and learned. You were very brave and oh, so right.

Love always

William

March 10-54

Landay, Jerome M.

March 10, 1954

Jerome M. Landay
85 Perry St.
New York, N.Y.

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

As a newer and younger member of the same profession, and as one of the many in the business who claim you as an alter ego, I'm breaking my vow of never writing "fan" letters long enough to send along hearty congratulations for proving that radio-TV news can and occasionally DOES have guts. Your Tuesday night program was the very peak of good, tough, and intelligent journalism. While it might have come far sooner, long before the press decided to start the ball rolling, the fact that it did come, with all stops pulled, is a cheering fact.

While I may be a bit too rash in my young age to fully appreciate expediency and practical pressures in such a controversy, I do feel that no reason at all was sufficient to justify a "hands-off" policy on the McCarthy issue for as long a time as it did. You proved it yourself Tuesday night in your masterful presentation of just how dangerous the junior senator is.

At least, the lid is now off ... the anti-McCarthy bandwagon is finally rolling ... the Senator is beginning to cook in his messy pot ... and Ed Murrow was there to light the match. I trust that in future programs, you'll never forget one of the cardinal ABC's of athletics ... after a hefty swing, never forget the follow-through. Otherwise, you lose much power and more distance.

Sincerely,

Jerome M. Landay
Tex & Jinx Radio Staff
NBC

Larrabee, C. B.

PRINTERS' INK PUBLISHING COMPANY

205 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

C. B. LARRABEE
PRESIDENT & PUBLISHER

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Unfortunately, I was not able to see the telecast last night. Of course I read about it in the papers. And, of course, it was the usual combination of misrepresentation, meaningless truth and long distance conclusion jumping. But you must have expected that.

The purpose of this letter is only to add my voice to those who are offering their support in this fight. You are up against a tough antagonist as you knew when you took him on. You will face dark days ahead. He cannot afford to let you alone.

I hope and believe that CBS will back you. And I hope and believe that you will not lose your courage or your faith in the principles for which you stand.

Sincerely yours,

CBLarrabee

CBL:EH

1

La Vove, Art

PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS SYSTEM
P. O. BOX 10278, LOS ANGELES AIRPORT STATION
LOS ANGELES 45, CALIFORNIA
TELEPHONES: OREGON 8-2561 · ORCHARD 7-8121

April 5, 1954

Dear Ed:-

As one of your numerous and loyal "flushables" please permit me to add cheers and ardent support to your campaign to restore honor and integrity to our Government.

Our slogan is "Murrow For President".

Regards,

Art La Vove

Art La Vove

Mr. Edward Morrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Lawrence, Wm et als -

CBS TELEVISION

Office Communication

to: Messrs Murrow & Friendly

from: Mr. Jacobson March 17, 1954

Thought you would like to know that among the congratulatory calls received last night after "See It Now" were calls from Robert Sherwood, John Crosby, Sidney Fields and William Lawrence of the NY Times.

DJ:bmt

50

Lazare, Jack

wnew 565 fifth avenue / new york 17, n.y.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed;

Many thanks for the service you and Fred Friendly performed last night on your show about McCarthy.....and it was a service, elegantly done, thoughtfully presented; and in one fell swoop legitimizes the heretofore untapped reportorial potentialities of TV.

You've made the industry grow up with one show. I'm happy I'm a part of the business.

Congratulations again.

Most cordially,

Jack Lazare.

Rebe:
or
Dorothy —
PLEASE SEE
that Mr. Murrow gets this!
Thanks.

108 west 14 street
new york 11, n. y.

Mr. E
CBS
485 M
New Y

Dear

This
getti
job y
night

Every
about
grate
Syste

I enj
Room

I sho
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broad

Someh
appro
left.

Thank

Leighton, Mary

et
y.

Jeff Markell
associates

chelsea 3-3142

March 10, 1954

Ed Murrow

Madison Avenue
York, New York

r Mr. Murrow:

s is just a brief note (and I'm sure you'll be
ting millions of them) to tell you what a wonderful
you did (and Mr. Friendly) on SEE IT NOW last
ht.

ryone I know has been calling up excitedly to talk
ut it. Americans all over the country must be
teful to you and also to the Columbia Broadcasting
tem.

njoyed meeting you two weeks ago at the Barberry
n very much indeed.

hould be very interested in seeing if Sen. McCarthy
es you up on the offer of time to answer your
adcast.

ehow or other it begins to look like the time is
roaching when McCarthy will not have any answers
t.

nks again for your efforts.

Sincerely,
Mary Leighton
Mary Leighton

Jerry D. Lewis

Lewis, Jerry D

March 8th.

Mr. Edward R.Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York City,N.Y.

My dear Mr. Murrow:

In our business,it is the habit to call people by their first names,or less,but after tonight's "See It Now" show,you will always be Mr. Murrow to me. Before my typewriter took me to California,I,too, roamed the Colbee-Louis & Armand-Swiss Inn range. It was my misfortune that we never met,a misfortune I am desolate about this evening.

Your broadcast on Senator McCarthy was superb. That was to be expected. After all,it was a Murrow show. What made it a giant stride in TV's coming of age, though,was that this was a sponsored show. Having labored these many years for sponsors who trembled at a line about a man slipping on a banana peel because it might alienate members of the Allied Friends of Fruit,I must also ask you to share these frenzied congratulations with Alcoa. If I ever make as much money as Mr. Hunt (R.,Texas),I will,out of sheer gratitude to them,build a bridge to Japan. All aluminum,of course.

I know that you probably will not get to see this letter,because your mail after tonight's show will be of tremendous volume,especially from the Hate Paraders. I write it gladly,anyway,for at least it will enable whichever secretary is keeping score to mark this up as a loud "aye".

Ifyby some chance,you have an autographed photograph,I should appreciate the honor of framing it and placing it on my wall. I don't want it so that visitors will mistakenly place me in your circle of friends. I want it because every once in a while,when you're agruing with your conscience,it's a great aid to look at a symbol of courage and decency,to look at the picture of a man of talent who in this moment of crisis stood up so he could be counted.

With repeated thanks for tonight's show, and for so many others in the past,I am,

Sincerely,
Jerry D. Lewis

1027 Corsica Drive,Pacific Palisades,California.

LIBERAL PARTY

NEW YORK COUNTY

Liberty Party

160 WEST 44th STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y. • LUxemburg 2-1100

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BERNARD GELBARD

FOR RELEASE - March 12, 1954
A.M. & P.M. Papers

At a New York County, Liberal Party, Executive Committee meeting on Thursday, March 11th, it was unanimously resolved that a vote of congratulations be extended to Edward R. Murrow and The Aluminum Company of America for the stand they took against Senator McCarthy, and the things he stands for.

MURRAY BARON, Chairman
Liberal Party, New York County

Lilly, Joseph

JOSEPH LILLY ASSOCIATES
145 EAST 54th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
•
PLaza 5-3079

March 16, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I feel deeply indebted to you as a citizen for your courageous and intelligent handling of the McCarthy situation. I think that everyone who believes in freedom is in your debt.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph Lilly

cc; Columbia Broadcasting System

Lubin, Isador

ISADOR LUBIN
45 EAST 65TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

RHINELANDER
4-7640

March 15, 1954

Dear Ed,

Carol and I tried to get you the other evening at the end of your broadcast. Evidently we were only two of the ten thousand others who went to the telephone at the end of your broadcast. You did a superb job and you deserve the gratitude of all decent people.

I thought you might be interested in the attached carbon of a letter I sent to Mr. Wilson today.

Sincerely,

Lube

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

March 15, 1954

Dear Mr. Wilson,

I am not in the habit of writing letters to people whom I do not know. Yet, I cannot resist the temptation to write to you and tell you how grateful I, as an American citizen, am to the Aluminum Corporation of America for having Mr. Murrow present his McCarthy program under your auspices. I sincerely feel that your organization has made a great contribution to the furthering of the fundamental decencies of American life and to the protection of our Bill of Rights.

You and your company are to be congratulated and deserve the commendation of all free peoples.

I have run across many people who did not see the program and have expressed regret for having missed it. Is there any possibility of its being rebroadcast.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Irving Wilson
Aluminum Corporation of America
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

155 East 49th. Street,
New York.

Luker, Norman

24 March.

Dear Ed ,

Last night's programme on the BBC gives me a second chance to do what I meant to do two weeks ago and never got around to - that is to say thank you for the pleasure you have been giving this family these many months. The days when you wondered if news had any role on television at all seem as remote as the crystal set and we are as grateful as you must be gratified that (to use a BBC idiom) you decided to have a go.

As you see we are back in New York but no longer in broadcasting ; I have joined the Technical Assistance Administration at the UN , as interesting a job as one could wish.

If you ever have a minute to spare either in 49th. Street or at the UN a drink awaits you.

Please remember us to your wife.

Good luck,

Yours ever,

Norman

Mr. Edward R Murrow,
CBS.

Norman Luker

McDonald, D. J.

United Steelworkers of America

1001 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

METROPOLITAN 8-6929

March 11th, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate you for your wonderful expose of McCarthy. I believe it will have a very great influence on the general public and will help to clarify the role McCarthy is actually playing.

We all hope for your continued success.

Sincerely yours,

David J. McDonald

DAVID J. McDONALD
President

McEwen, Robert W.

HAMILTON COLLEGE

CLINTON, NEW YORK

THE PRESIDENT

March 10, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Congratulations on your excellent job on "See It Now," Tuesday evening, March 9. The program is not aired in Utica and our TV set brought me only a blurred picture from Syracuse, but the sound was clear. I regard it as a major contribution to a battle in which we are all engaged.

I am sure the following is no new idea though the wording may be different. The tendency of the Liberals is to play down the reality of the Communist menace within our walls. It is certainly not as great as many fear-mongers would have us believe. However, the fact that it is played down by the Liberals provides a weapon for people like McCarthy. Isn't it time that somebody tried to do a factual story not only on the number of Communists but, so far as our knowledge permits, on the extent to which the Communist movement in America is in a position to cripple our defense effort, throw actual monkey wrenches into our industrial machine, function effectively in the event of a national emergency.

I believe that there is some such threat. I think it is a small one. But insofar as it is real, all of us as a people ought to be bending our efforts to get at it. And as we do, we undercut the opportunity for McCarthy and his ilk to lump together as Communists, fellow travelers, people who are soft on Communism, everyone who has had an idea to the left of Herbert Hoover in the last twenty years.

Cordially,

Robert W. McEwen

Mc

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

RWM:mac

Mack, Charlie

HEARST METROTONE NEWS, INC.

NEWS OF THE DAY

EDITORIAL OFFICES AND STUDIO
450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK

WASHINGTON OFFICE
% M. G. M. EXCHANGE
1005 NEW JERSEY AVENUE
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.
PHONE: DISTRICT 0254

March 11,1954.

Mr. Ed Murrow
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

The vicious, vile accusation of Mr. McCarthy only proves how rapidly this demagogue's brain is deteriorating. Your listening public and legions of friends shall never doubt the Americanism, courage and integrity of Edward R. Murrow.

Please count me in if I, in my small way, can be of any assistance in making this tyrant eat his words.

With my very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Charlie Mack

Magee, Elizabeth

NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE

FOR FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

348 ENGINEERS BUILDING • MAIN 1-1175 • CLEVELAND 14, OHIO

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Last night, for the first time, Cleveland viewers were privileged to see your program "See It Now." Station WEWS presented the film of your March 9th program preceding the McCarthy answer. You have rendered a tremendous public service not only in your expose of the McCarthy tactics but in other issues which you have presented with fearlessness and with great effectiveness. I want to express my profound gratitude to you for this service.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth S. Magee

Elizabeth S. Magee
General Secretary

ESM/jbr

John Howland Lathrop, *President*
Hyman Schroeder, *Treasurer*
Mrs. Richard A. Zwemer, *Recording Secretary*

Mrs. Thomas F. McAllister, *Chairman, Board of Directors*
L. Metcalfe Walling, *Vice-Chairman*
Walter Frank, *Vice-Chairman*

Major, Ralph

Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.

ELdorado 5-5800

383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York

Advertising

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Despite the fact that you are inundated with congratulatory messages on last night's broadcast, I can't refrain from throwing my own personal applause in your direction.

The story you told has needed telling for several years now, Ed, and I salute you for having the courage to do it.

I know you're busy, Ed, so don't bother acknowledging my note. But I do insist on the privilege of buying you a drink the next time I see you.

Cordially,

Ralph

Ralph H. Major, Jr.
Director of Public Relations

RHM:bg

GENE MALECKI
5816 N. DETROIT AVENUE
PORTLAND 11, OREGON

GENE MALECKI

Malecki, Gene

April 6, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

May I add my compliments to your already overflowing load for the outstanding job your doing on both radio and television. I not only speak of your expose of McCarthy but the revealing news you bring a hungry American public who wants and needs the true facts.

I am very sorry that we did not meet each other while you were in Portland. Your good friend Tom Stoddard is also a friend of mine and we think alot of Tom here in Portland. He probably is the most busy man in Portland today with another duty just blessed on him as chairman of the city boxing commission.

It was my good fortunate to meet Tom Stoddard while he served as March of Dimes Chairman for Multnomah County in 1953, doing a great job. My position is that of State Representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and thus the obvious reason for my working closely with Tom.

I wonder if I could ask a favor of you personally? I would greatly appreciate an autographed photograph of yourself to hang in my office. Trust you know how why I feel compelled to have your photograph hanging in my office and will always appreciate your kind consideration in honoring my request.

Thank you kindly and may good health be with you always.

Sincerely,

Gene Malecki

Gene Malecki

Marshall, Jack

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

Dear Ed,

Thanks -

Jack Marshall

Martin, Andrew

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS TV
Hollywood, Calif.

Dear Ed:

I am sorry to admit that I am one of the many thousands, perhaps millions of people, who missed your original Tuesday night television broadcast where you unpacked a bag of facts about Senator McCarthy.

The tremendously enthusiastic discussion of this broadcast on our lot makes me feel completely left out of it because I hadn't witnessed it.

May I and five other directors of this lot join our voices with the others in asking you and CBS to make a rebroadcast possible. I do not know whether your broadcast was taped or kinescoped, or whether it was on film, but we will be most appreciative if it were rebroadcast.

Your,

Andrew "Bundy" Martin

NO AGREEMENT OR ORDER WILL BE BINDING ON THIS CORPORATION UNLESS IN WRITING AND SIGNED BY AN OFFICER

JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING COMPANY
WBT WBTV
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
CHARLOTTE 3-8833

Mayes, Doug

March 9, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed,

All I can say is AMEN! Your "SEE IT NOW" tonight was the best yet.

More power to you.

Yours truly,
Doug Mayes
Doug Mayes
WBTV News

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

Melby, Ernest O.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System Co.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your telecast of last night about Senator McCarthy was a masterful job. It was discerning, well balanced and informative as well as extremely effective in helping people to think their way through the problem presented by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. Congratulations on a great service to the American public.

I suppose that in university faculties one might expect to find more than ordinary support for a broadcast such as yours. Nevertheless, I have talked to many people this morning and all who saw you on Channel 2 last night are enthusiastic over your presentation.

The materials you have been presenting, including last night's spots from the McCarthy hearing and the situation arising over the Civil Liberties Union in Indianapolis are of course exceptionally effective teaching material. Is there any possibility that at least some of these pieces might be released as educational materials for use in school and college classrooms?

With much appreciation, I am

Cordially yours,

Ernest O. Melby

Ernest O. Melby

mm

Menken, Jules

10 THURLOW ROAD.
LONDON. N.W.3.
HAMPSTEAD 6760

20th March 1954

My dear Ed,

Of course my support is not worth a feather in practice, but I should like you to know that in this fight I am with you morally all the way. If there should be anything I could do from or on this side which would be helpful, you have only to let me know.

As always,

Jules

Jules Menken

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

LOOK

Mich, Daniel D

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., MUrray Hill 8-0300*

DANIEL D. MICH, *Editorial Director*

April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Paley:

After the vicious attack made on Ed Murrow last night, it seems to me more important than ever for those of us who believe in free speech and a free press to stand up for him in every way we can.

Personally, I am ready. Please let me know whether there is anything I can do.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. William S. Paley
Chairman of the Board
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

cc Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Minoff, Philip

CUE

The Magazine of New York Living

CUE PUBLISHING CO., INC. • 6 EAST 39 ST. • NEW YORK 16, N. Y. • LEXINGTON 2-5300

Mar. 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow,

My sincerest hope is that this mash note will be redundant--that it will say nothing that hasn't already been said to you in thousands of other letters you've received today.

Your "See It Now" treatment of Senator McCarthy last night was a superlative job of reporting, editing and editorializing. Bravo!

It almost pains me to say that it took courage to showcase the truth, as you did (it really should take no courage at all) but the fact is that yours was the most outspoken statement either radio, TV or the White House has ever made on the McCarthy issue.

Congratulations to you and the entire staff. It's nice to breathe again.

Copies to:
Dr. Frank Stanton, CBS
Fuller & Smith & Ross

Most cordially,

Philip Minoff

Philip Minoff
Television Editor

OFFICES OR REPRESENTATIVES
IN EVERY STATE

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
160 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 38, N.Y.

INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION COMPANY INC.
160 BROADWAY, NEW YORK

Mitchell, John J.

FOR LAWYERS

United States Corporation Company

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33 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
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TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 2-3332

L. K. EDMONDSON
CHICAGO SECRETARY

March 17, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear, dear Ed Murrow -

I love you, I LOVE you, I LOVE YOU!

Last night's "See It Now" was perhaps even superior to last week's.

Keep it up, please - our country needs it.

With undying affection,

John J. Mitchell

John J. Mitchell

Morehouse, Ward

WARD MOREHOUSE
169 EAST 91ST STREET
NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Merely to add another tally to the growing number of "pros" and "cons", I should like to express my approval of your presentation on Senator McCarthy and my lack of approval of his "rebuttal" yesterday.

Yours sincerely,

Ward Morehouse

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Moritt, Fred G.

THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

FRED G. MORITT
11TH DISTRICT

280 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY, 7

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is the news!

As we say in Brooklyn - the bum we heard last night was lousy.

The only McCarthy whose Hooper rating may exceed yours, is not a Democrat, nor a Republican, but the original charter member of the 'splinter' party, named Charlie - I think his leader is a fellow called Edgar Bergen.

My friends and I heard the broadcast. They were a mixed group - political, non-political, etc. Their reactions, chronologically, were as follows:

(a) Resentment at his crude name-calling.
(b) Amazement at his talking down upon the people as though they were of kindergarten mentality.
(c) Boredom.
(d) Complete disregard of what he was saying.

The most pertinent remark was - "How did that bum ever get into the United States Senate".

Alot of people are beginning to say: "Hooray for the red, white and blue" again, instead of the - shhh white and blue.

It is my considered opinion that you should be taken seriously on the national ticket in 1956.

God spare you, bless you and may he give you renewed strength and courage to keep up the good fight for common decency and for the preservation of our great American heritage.

Very respectfully yours,

Fred G. Morritt, M.D.

FGM:BW

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Murphy, Walter

3/10/54

Dear Ed:

I imange you have seen the enclosed by now -- but I thought I'd send them along anyway just in case x

Best,
Walter Murphy

MEMO *from* ***Charles Crutchfield***

Dear Ed -

This man heads one of the largest chain of textile mills in the world.

When you get time you should write him personally

Charlie

WBT —•— WBTV
CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

Myers, A.G. ✓

TEXTILES - INCORPORATED

GASTONIA, N.C.

A.G. MYERS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

March 10, 1954

Mr. Charles H. Crutchfield,
Vice President & General Manager,
Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Co.,
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Charlie:

As a rule I always see Ed Murrow's program, "See It Now," which I enjoy very much, but last night's program I enjoyed more than usual in that he covered a subject that is of so much interest to the public in general at this time, and he did it so well. He certainly showed McCarthy up in a true light and I think it should do a great deal of good with the public, at least with those people who saw it.

McCarthy is a publicity hound. He cares nothing for anybody or any party, but only for gaining publicity and notoriety for himself.

I talked with a number of people today, and those who saw it were very high in their praise of the program. Incidentally, the Gastonia Chamber of Commerce and the Rambling Rebs are sending the CBS a congratulatory telegram.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

"AG"

AGM/H

Nason, John W.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATED

345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. OXford 7-2432

JOHN W. NASON
President

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Congratulations on your program yesterday evening on the subject of Senator McCarthy. You did a beautiful job of setting the record straight in the face of all of the Senator's confusions and obfuscations. We need more of this kind of honesty and courage, and we need more people who are prepared to stand up and be counted, as you stood up last night, for the basic principles of our form of society. Both you and Alcoa deserve our gratitude.

Yours sincerely,

John W. Nason

John W. Nason

JWN:FA
cc: Aluminum Company of America

National Broadcasting Company Staff

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

NBC SPOT SALES

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I trust that NBC will not consider me disloyal for saying that you made a substantial contribution to our country last night.

Please count this among the thousands of letters which I am sure you will receive praising your courage. And that goes for your network, too.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Golden

Richard W. Golden
Manager of Sales Development
and Research

RWG/bn

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

March 9, 1954
11 p.m.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed,

Thank God someone has had the guts !

Words fail me in my congratulations on your job on the McCarthy issue tonight. It has put new heart in another newsman. Thanks.

Cordially,

Chet Hagan

Chet Hagan, Producer
NEWS OF THE WORLD

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

March 10 1954

Mr Edward R Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York New York

Dear Mr Murrow:

Your SEE IT NOW last night was something not only to be remembered, but to be cherished and commended.

It was journalism at its finest, vividly reported and dispassionately presented.

In an era of "more heat than light" -- your report on Senator McCarthy was a beacon that probed far, and proved what many have heretofore been reluctant to acknowledge. And in an age where few are able or dare to speak out in defense of the fundamental freedom with which we tamper .. a thinking, courageous spokesman has taken a stand.

My personal thanks.

Sincerely,

Vernon Lowell

Vernon Lowell
Advertising & Promotion

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

Merchandise Mart, Chicago 54, Illinois

SUPERIOR 7-8300

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought the Jeffersonian strain had died out. Apparently it hasn't. Your analysis of McCarthy and his methods was heartening to all of us who think television and radio must fulfill their responsibilities as mature media of communications.

I quit CBS some years ago in a fight with Les Atlass over a program called REPORT UNCENSORED. Atlass wanted to censor it. Apparently the Atlasses are dying out.

Sincerely,

Ben Park

Ben Park
Networks Program Manager

BP:saw

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N. Y.

NBC FILM DIVISION

CIRCLE 7-8300

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Please add my wife and myself to those whose full support you won by your forthright "See It Now" show on CBS last night.

The network's courage to be outspoken on McCarthy and give prominent statement to our opposition to his type of Inquisitorial mind is worthy of highest commendation.

Congratulations,

Mr. & Mrs. Robert R. Rodgers
64 Stuart Street
Waldwick, New Jersey

RRR:PH

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

March 8, 1954

Mister Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Than you. Braadcast news assumed its full maturity tonight. Your program made me a little happier to be in the same business with a man who's willing, anxious might be a better word, to be a man.

I'm getting verbose and fancy....what I mean to say is, GOOD SHOT!

Sincerely,

Bill Ryan

Bill Ryan
Writer
NBC News

Savage, David

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

DAVID SAVAGE

DIRECTOR OF FILM PROCUREMENT

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I am embarrassed to admit that I haven't found the time to write you and tell you how great I thought your program on McCarthy was last week. I am sure that every variation of congratulations and best wishes and laudatory exclamations have been heaped upon you by the score by this time, so I will simply tell you what a tremendous and courageous, and at the same time wonderful job, it was.

Sincerest congratulations to you and all of my other former associates at CBS (Dan Friendly, etc.) who make up your fine team. And, of course, continued success to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

David S.

David Savage

DS:KS

Traverse, Claude

NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Building, Radio City, New York 20, N.Y.

CIRCLE 7-8300

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow and
Fred Friendly Productions
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow and Mr. Friendly:

I have long intended to write in praise of "See It Now" and "Person To Person" but have neglected it. At the risk of being a traitor to my own company, I must say I find them high at the top of my television viewing pleasure.

After your show of last night on McCarthy, I feel I not only wish to convey my congratulations but that I must do so. Perhaps in this case an equal credit should go to the Aluminum Company of America. I hope that public reaction to your shows will give courage to other sponsors.

Sincerely,

Claude Traverse

Claude Traverse
NBC Color Unit Manager

Ned

Private

April 14th, 1950.

BADMINTON 236.
TORMARTON.
BADMINTON.

TORMARTON COURT,
BADMINTON,
GLOS.

My dear Ed,

Having listened to the B.B.C.'s repetition of your piece on Mr. Castley and to his utterly uncompanionable and venomous reply, I must send you a line to say how greatly, like all your many friends over here, I honour you for the stand you have taken and how wholeheartedly I pray that you may successfully tread the reptile under foot. The Shucar technique is the hardest of all to meet; but you have done splendidly despite the difficulties,

and I trust the new senate investi-
-gation into Mr. Carthy's charges
against the Army may help the
good cause on. Anyhow, all the
power that the right can give to
your crusades spears and con-
-fusion to the dirty dragon.

I suppose he would number me
amongst the Communists if he knew
that I had broadcasted joint talks
with Hastie during the war!

Love to our beloved Janet. I
hope we shall see you both again
very soon, and Casey too.

Always yours,

Ted R.

Newman, Ed

105 Latymer Court
London, W.6, England
12 March 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, 20, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Ed:

I just wanted to add one more to the thousands of letters you've been getting, and to say that I think you are doing a wonderful job.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Ed

Ed Newman

P.S. Flo Peartwishes to subscribe to the above sentiments, too.

Nichols, Osgood.

COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATES, INC.

Public Relations Counselors

23 WEST 45TH STREET, NEW YORK 36, N.Y. CIRCLE 7-0480

March 11, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Tell Kay that I like her advice. When I saw that you were going to do in McCarthy, I took a nap after dinner so that I could do him in with you and still catch my early train from Wilton Wednesday.

Just take the best thing that has been said in the best letter you have received and add my name to it.

The attached speaks for itself.

Warm personal regards,

Jim

OsgoodNichols/bg

Enclosure

March 12, 1954

Mr. Arthur V. Davis
Chairman of the Board
Aluminum Company of America
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Davis:

A rose to you, Sir, for Murrow.

It's one thing to put on a program like Tuesday night's (and there have been many others) yourself. It's quite another thing to have the courage, within the context of the present atmosphere of timidity, to risk the retaliation at the marketplace of an emotionally aroused minority in order to support something that someone else has to say.

I have long felt that the American people will reward courage rather than punish it, provided it is honest. But the majority of industrial sponsors on radio and television have not seen it that way.

Perhaps the response to Murrow's program will stiffen their backbones. This would be a significant contribution to our country's future. Without in any way detracting from Murrow, who needs no encomia, this particular contribution would have been made by you.

Cordially yours,

OsgoodNichols/bg

CC: Edward R. Murrow

Oberlin Richard

BARRY BINGHAM
President

MARK F. ETHRIDGE
Vice-President

LISLE BAKER, JR.
Vice-President and Treasurer

WHAS INC.

LOUISVILLE 2, KENTUCKY
TEL. WABASH 2211

VICTOR A. SHOLIS
Vice-President and Director

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

The enclosed letter was opened in error -- and since the mistake was made, I compounded the felony by glancing at it.

And I warmly echo the sentiments, except mine would be considerably more profane and infinitely less devout.

When you sailed into McCarthy, we in this business who are arbitrarily confined to straight reporting must as a man have raised our voices to shout, "at last." And certainly after walking for long with bowed head and shuffling gait -- because of you and your restrained but decisive attack -- we can again square our shoulders and hold up our heads.

Your little report last Friday very neatly turning the tables on Joe was superb.

Congratulations and good luck.

Sincerely,

Dick

Richard Oberlin
News Director
WHAS WHAS-TV

RO:swh

Enclosure

HY-LAND LAKES PARISH
ELCHO, WIS.
J. P. PENNINGTON

Mar. 12, 1954.

Mr. Ed. R. Murl, News Reporter,
Louisville, Ky.

Dear Sir,

I have just finished listening to your News Report answering Sen. McCarthy. Your evidence was most conclusive! Keep it up! How we need others to have the courage to do the same. I am thankful for the Army report today - their specific data on the Stevens, etc. controversy.

McCarthy went in by the smallest margin of any senator with the Eisenhauer landslide; a smaller one than he carried for the previous primary. Had we had a little more time it would have been still smaller!

Keep up the good work! May God bless you. If ever we needed prayer it is now.

In Him,
for a better world
in which to live,
and for Eternity,

Mrs. Helen Pennington

Ohrbach, N. M.

ohrbach's INC. NEW YORK NEWARK LOS ANGELES

OFFICE OF THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

UNION SQUARE
NEW YORK 3

March 11, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am sure thousands have written to you endorsing your wonderful half-hour Tuesday night over CBS. The portrayal and the interesting way in which the whole program was set had everyone in my presence spellbound, and the courage of your conviction was a great compliment to you. I think you have done your country a great service, and may I be one of the many people to compliment you.

Very sincerely,

Nathan M. Ohrbach

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

DAILY
NewsLife
427 NORTH CANON DRIVE · BEVERLY HILLS

DWIGHT L. OLIVER
NEWS EDITOR

CRESTVIEW 6-2341
BRADSHAW 2-3411

DAILY
News Life
EVENINGS MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY

CRestview 6-2341
BRadshaw 2-3411

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LOWELL E. JESSEN, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
CHAS. L. NICHOLSON, GENERAL MANAGER

427 NORTH CANON DRIVE · BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA

Oliver, Dwight

March 10, 1954

Howard Kany
Director of CBS Telenews
New York, N.Y.

Dear Howard:

I can't speak for the newspaper, but as for myself and the rest of us on the staff, we thought Murrow's story of McCarthy was not only terrific but long needed.

I always catch his programs because Murrow is in a class by himself when it comes to presentation and interpretation, but his coverage of Joe was the most pungent on the subject I have heard.

It seems like Ed really took the role of a somewhat timid President should have taken to do a job millions of Americans have been crying for somebody to do.

Let's have more of it and a repeat of this one if possible.

--

On another topic, Bill Stewart, formerly U.P., in LA, tells me he's now with CBS newsfilm in Hollywood. Seems like a nice guy.

Best Wishes,
Dwight Oliver

Dwight

March 29, 1954

Mr. Dwight Oliver
News Editor
Daily NewsLife
427 North Canon Drive
Beverly Hills, California

Dear Dwight:

It was mighty thoughtful of you to write about the Murrow broadcast on McCarthy. I'm sending your letter along to him.

Al Keller will be in town tomorrow on a tour of VA hospitals with the AMVET commander, and I'll be sure to tell him I've heard from you.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Howard L. Kany

HLK:jc

bc: Edward R. Murrow

Orr, Leonard

1333 MEDFORD ROAD
WYNNEWOOD, PENNSYLVANIA

Dear Ed,

I agree with John Crosby in paying tribute to a courageous man. Everyone should feel indebted to you. Your strong, intelligent action has encouraged others to speak out. Your program was the beginning of the end of McCarthy, I believe.

Incidentally, if McCarthy had gone back a little farther into your past — 1932 in Ariz —

lis have found you were considered on the conservative side (almost reactionaries at times) by your fellow students.

I saw Sidey Wilson the other day. She looks healthier and happier than she has in years.

Sincerely,

Leonora Alexander Orr

March 14th

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

September 9, 1954

Dear Mrs. Overstreet:

For the past few months I have been trying to put together two half-hours of television and five fifteen-minute periods of radio time each week, and this is literally my first opportunity to say my thanks for your gracious communication regarding the television program we did in regard to the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

I trust you will not regard this long delay as any indication of any lack of appreciation on the part of myself and my colleagues for your thoughtfulness in sending us an encouraging word.

It is our hope that future programs may merit your approval.

Sincerely yours,

E R Murrow

Mrs. H.A. Overstreet
King's Crown Hotel
420 West 116th Street
New York 27, New York

Overstreet, Bonaro

TELEPHONE
UNIVERSITY 4 2700

KING'S CROWN HOTEL

OPPOSITE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

420 WEST 116TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

April eighth

Dear Mr. Murrow –

I think Ed Morgan has already transmitted to you our admiration and gratitude – but we feel the impulse to write this letter to say in person how deeply we are "for" you and for the brave and necessary job you are doing.

If sanity returns

TELEPHONE
UNIVERSITY 4 2700

KING'S CROWN HOTEL

OPPOSITE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

420 WEST 116TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

to the American scene, as it surely will — to replace hatred and fear — you will be one of the reasons.

Our profound thanks, to you and to CBS.

Sincerely,

Bonaro Overstreet
(Mrs. H.A.)

Parker, Rev. Everett

COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH PROJECT

of the BROADCASTING AND FILM COMMISSION

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Conducted under the supervision of YALE UNIVERSITY DIVINITY SCHOOL

409 PROSPECT STREET · NEW HAVEN 11, CONNECTICUT · STATE 7-3131, EXT. 2474

REV. EVERETT C. PARKER, *Project Director*
REV. DAVID BARRY, *Research Consultant*
DR. DALLAS SMYTHE, *Research Consultant*

March 10, 1954

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DR. PAUL VIETH

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I am sure you must be deluged by congratulatory letters and telegrams on last night's broadcast of "See It Now." However, I am going to add my word of appreciation for the excellent job you did. I thought you were fair in choosing the documentary material. You certainly were clear and concise in your own interpretation.

The program was certainly one that needed to be done to let the American people know exactly what Senator McCarthy is saying and doing. You and the Columbia Broadcasting System are to be complimented for upholding the best traditions of good reporting and of responsibility of our communications media to the public.

Sincerely,

Everett

ECP:at

Passman, Otto E.

OTTO E. PASSMAN
5TH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

JULIAN P. LANGSTON
SECRETARY

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1018 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

HOME OFFICE:
120 WALNUT STREET
MONROE, LA.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE:
APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
TREASURY
POST OFFICE
FOREIGN AID

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I viewed your television program of March 9 where you successfully and ethically brought to the attention of the American people certain pertinent facts relative to Senator Joseph McCarthy's inconsistencies.

I also viewed Joseph McCarthy's program of April 6 and detected again his unethical, untruthful and un-American attack on you. I personally resent this attack because I have followed your work for many years and I know that you are an outstanding, patriotic American.

I love America; I consider that I am a good American and I shall not take a back seat to anyone relative to my patriotism. My life's record speaks for itself. I have never been afraid to speak the truth and to take a position on any issue where I had principle and facts on my side, having no fear of the ultimate consequences.

To my way of thinking, McCarthy is a menace to our country and the time is overdue for red-blooded, patriotic Americans to make it possible for all Americans to know this man for what he is before his uninformed followers increase to a number sufficient to do untold damage.

If there should be any move to raise a fund to properly expose McCarthy's un-American, unethical and demogogic actions, then I shall be pleased to make a One Thousand Dollar contribution to the fund with the understanding that I shall make an additional contribution if needed.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation for your courage in pointing out to the American people actual facts with respect to Senator McCarthy's inconsistencies.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Otto E. Passman

OTTO E. PASSMAN
Member of Congress

Air Mail
Special Delivery

Patrick, Ted

HOLIDAY

A CURTIS PUBLICATION

Ted Patrick, *Editor*

724 FIFTH AVENUE
New York 19, N. Y.

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed Murrow:

I would like to add my thanks and compliments to you for the now famous McCarthy show.

Aside from the usefulness of it, it was intelligently and impressively done. I think it is a commentary on the situation today that it is necessary to commend a man on his courage for speaking up for decency and truth, but unfortunately it does take courage. I hope the program is repeated.

Very truly yours,

Ted Patrick

TP:MK

Patterson, Alicia

Newsday Garden City, Long Island, New York, *Telephone*, Garden City 3-1234

Alicia Patterson, *Editor and Publisher*

March 22, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is my first rave letter since I sent my heart to John Barrymore many years ago.

I saw the kinescopes of your two shows on McCarthy and Annie Lee Moss on Saturday morning. Each was in its way a brilliant and effective feat of journalism. As a newspaper woman I salute your skill. As a "bleeding heart" I thank God for your courage.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Alicia Patterson

Alicia Patterson

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Perkins, Milo

MILO PERKINS
1200 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

March 20, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Milo asked me to send you the enclosed copies of letters he has written for your information.

I have been conducting my own little private "Gallup poll" these last few days on the Murrow-McCarthy controversy. I have been delighted and amazed at the reaction of the maids in the hotel, the man who washes my hair, the man at the newsstand. Until you entered this mess it was a question of McCarthy against someone they didn't know -- they have not been sure that the wild charges weren't true. But they feel that they have known you for fifteen years - you have talked to them night after night. And they know out of their knowledge of you, as a friend and a fair person, that you are no Commie. Therefore, they question other assertions that they had never questioned before.

As I told Janet yesterday, you really took on an assignment when you started this and all of us are grateful to you for your courage.

Milo joins me in sending our best.

Sharon.

March 20, 1954

Mr. Frank Stanton
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have written to the Aluminum Company of America for you to note.

My admiration of CBS is absolute!

Yours,

Enclosure.

March 20, 1954

The Aluminum Company of America
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Since the Ed Murrow broadcast on McCarthy, I have heard a dozen folks praise your firm for the moral courage you showed in being a sponsor for this program.

The discussion which it has aroused throughout the country is our democratic way of developing understanding in an area where we have found it difficult as a people to be objective. Growth of this discernment is far more important to the country than what happens to Senator McCarthy. Unless we deepen our understanding another McCarthy could easily arise. If we deepen it, we shall realize a little more profoundly as a people that good ends are not reached by bad means.

May I take this chance to express my personal thanks to you.

Sincerely,

Quinn, James

ROSS ROY, INC. ADVERTISING

307 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS

March 17, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Vice President
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

You and Alcoa and CBS are to be congratulated on the magnificent shows of the past two Tuesday nights. I hope that you will continue this documentary-type exposition of the smear technique employed by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. You are performing a service for our country by getting behind the headline copy of the newspapers which is often so misleading as to context.

Ed, I recently had occasion to read the entire text of a speech made by Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School before (I believe) the West Massachusetts Bar Association. He made the speech in mid-February and it was reported in one of the publications of the Harvard Law School. (It was not the Harvard Law Review but rather some 4-page publication in a newspaper format.)

The subject of Dean Griswold's speech was the meaning of the Fifth Amendment. I am neither a lawyer nor a Harvard man--only an American citizen--but Dean Griswold's speech opened my eyes to the purpose of the amendment. In substance, without mentioning McCarthy by name, Dean Griswold pointed out that taking refuge in the Fifth Amendment does not, per se, condemn an individual nor should it, per se, stamp an individual as a criminal or subversive.

McCarthy has, through his charges of "Fifth Amendment Communist", in my opinion, held the Amendment up to ridicule.

I think it would make good TV copy, in your current mood(which I like) to read the Fifth Amendment to the American people...and to interpret its true meaning in the light of Dean Griswold's comments and your own broad knowledge of constitutional law. Lord save me from trying to suggest any "improvements" in SEE IT NOW; this is merely a suggestion that may have some widespread appeal to an incensed and more enlightened public which, by and large, shares my view that you should be commended for taking McCarthy to task.

May I wish you and Alcoa and CBS continued success.

Cordially yours,

ROSS ROY, INC.

James F. Quinn

JFQ:jr

Quinn, Wm,

JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING COMPANY

WBT WBTV

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

CHARLOTTE 3-8833

March 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The enclosed is a letter received from a viewer which I pass along to you without comment.

However, speaking for myself, may I offer my own congratulations for the courage and insight you demonstrate on "See It Now", especially the last two programs.

Cordially yours,

William Quinn

William Quinn
TV Program Director

Enc.
WQ/bjp

Ralph —?

THE READER'S DIGEST
PLEASANTVILLE · NEW YORK

Mar 10th

Dear Ed Murrow —

Magnificent!

My deepest personal respect + gratitude for your great report —

Ralph E. Henderson

MANAGING EDITOR, BOOK DEPARTMENT: RALPH E. HENDERSON

Randall, Robert I.

Germonds Road
West Nyack, New York

March 9, 1954

Mr. Norman Ober
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Re: McCarthy

Dear Mr. Ober:

The Columbia Broadcasting System is to be congratulated on its refusal to succumb to the tirade of McCarthy in the matter of granting time to him.

Certainly, the willingness of your company to accord time to the Republican Party is evidence of a complete adherence on your part to the policies laid down by the Federal Communications Commission and a desire to be fair.

My only fear is that, under pressure from McCarthy and his influential supporters, you will reverse your position and give time not only to the Republican Party but to that vicious bully as well. For you to do this would be truly a tragedy - a further surrender of decency and democracy to demagoguery and and hate.

Very truly yours,

Robert I. Randall

Robert I. Randall

Redway, B.S. ✓

BRAYTON S. REDWAY, D. D. S.
630 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

March I2, I954.

Mr. Edward R.Murrow,
% Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I was sorry to have missed your program on Senator McCarthy last week but I am glad to know someone has the courage to speak up to him.

If you are a Red then I must be one also. Please don't back down!!

This is the first time in my life that I have ever written to a commentator, but I feel very keenly about this situation.

Very sincerely,

Brayton

Reyes, Benn 7

Benn F. Reyes

16 March 1953

Dear Ed:

Realizing how tired you must be of the stock platitudes, just add this letter to the pile that expresses admiration and tacit approval of your bringing to book that aberration that calls itself McCarthy.

One can only hope that the economic pressures that can be levelled in this competetive society wont eventually "get" to CBS and to that wonderful ALCOA!!

!!Los Valientes no mueren!!

Benn Reyes

ROOM 1620 · 919 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

Rich, S. Grover

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
BUILDING 402

April 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Now that some of the excitement and the volume of your fan mail has perhaps somewhat subsided, I should like to add my congratulations for the courageous way you have handled the "McCarthy affair." I think that he has at last bit off more than he can chew.

It was just about a year ago that you did me the honor of quoting an article of mine on your radio program. I am taking the liberty of enclosing something else I have recently written, which I am sure you will find apropos to your recent controversy with Senator McCarthy. Following his cherished principle of guilt by association, he has done his feeble best to paint you as a fellow traveler. You might find useful, therefore, the statement of Herbert Philbrick, who led "3 Lives" and has reported: "According to leaders of the Communist party, McCarthy has helped them a great deal. The kind of attacks he has made do three things that the comrades like: they add greatly to the confusion, putting up a smoke screen for the party and making it more difficult than ever for people to discern just who is a Communist and who is not; they make the party appear a lot stronger than it is; and they do considerable damage to some of the 'stupid Liberals' whom the Party hates."

The basis of my enclosure, you will note, follows this line of thought to its ultimate conclusion, indicating that Senator McCarthy may be far more a subversive than the so-called "subversives" he so vigorously attacks. I hope you find it of some use to you.

At any rate, let me once again pay my humble respects to your courageous fight; I look upon it as the beginning of the end for the junior senator from Wisconsin.

Very sincerely,

S. Grover Rich, Jr.

Enclosure

S. Grover Rich, Jr.
Associate Professor of
Political Science
University of Utah

P. S.

The Philbrick quotation can be found in his book, though I picked it up in Anderson and May, McCarthy; The Man, The Senator, The Ism, page 244.

MC CARTHY--THE REAL SUBVERSIVE

In connection with the Army investigation recently, that much discussed Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy, said, "If a stupid, arrogant or witless man in a position of power . . . is found aiding the Communist Party he will be exposed." Many of the Senator's opponents attribute at least some of these characteristics to McCarthy himself; if not stupid, arrogant, or witless, he is at least in a position of power, aiding the Communist party and should be exposed.

But how aiding the Communists, you ask; this is indeed an amazing accusation to make of Senator McCarthy, of all people. The answer is simple and straightforward: he is precisely what he accuses so many others of being--a subversive who is, if unwittingly, aiding our enemies. First of all, what <u>is</u> a subversive? As described in an elementary textbook on International Politics, "the subversive operator works to undermine the citizen's faith in his government and in his fellow citizens, to create in society an atmosphere of distrust and discouragement. . ."[1] This definition was not written with Senator McCarthy in mind, but certainly the shoe fits. Subversion is the undermining of the citizen's faith in his government and its leaders--in his church, schools, political parties, courts, the Armed Services, and the other institutions of his society. Senator McCarthy and his cohorts

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[1]Harold and Margaret Sprout, <u>Foundations of National Power</u>, pp. 41-42.

have attacked all of these. The Army is accused of "coddling Communists;" the chief justice of the Supreme Court has been attacked as "un-American" and holding subversive convictions; one of our two great political parties has been accused of "twenty years of treason," and the loyalty of distinguished leaders in both parties impugned; our schools and universities and educational foundations are pictured as hotbeds of subversion; the clergy has been attacked; the loyalty of the press has been questioned; respected commentators are labeled "left wing;" the United Nations is no more than a plot against the Constitution. Finally, the whole of the United States government is pictured as being riddled with spies, traitors, and "security risks." What is there left for the average citizen to believe in? There is hardly anything else to attack. No Moscow agent could have done a better job of subversion--of creating distrust in the fundamental institutions and leaders of American society than has Senator McCarthy.

The irony of all this is twofold: first, it is done in the name of Americanism, with the professed goal of exposing subversives; second, these wild accusations are classic examples of Communist propaganda techniques, for in most cases they have only the slightest relationship to the facts. It doesn't seem to matter that the American Civil Liberties Union has gone to the aid of the Ku Klux Klan (or even Senator McCarthy himself for that matter[1]); the A.C.L.U. is still attacked as a Communist front. It doesn't seem to matter that the Army found nothing

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[1]When station KING-TV in Seattle cancelled, on grounds of possible libel, a speech by Senator McCarthy.

relating to espionage at Fort Monmouth; that of the forty-odd Signal Corps employees called before the McCarthy committee, not one was accused of treason or espionage and not one pleaded immunity under the Fifth Amendment. The public impression is nevertheless that the Signal Corps laboratories were infested with spies and "5th amendment Communists."

During the period of the war, when most of the espionage is said to have taken place, both the government agencies accused of harboring spies, and those responsible to prevent espionage, were largely headed by distinguished Republicans. If espionage did take place, no one is more to blame than J. Edgar Hoover. The O.S.S., where accusations of espionage have been made, was headed by William Donovan. The Army was under the control of Henry L. Stimpson and the Secretary of Navy was Frank Knox. The First Secretary of Defense was James Forestal. The State Department, it is true, was under the leadership of a Democrat, but Cordell Hull was hardly less conservative than his Republican colleagues.

Yet all this is swept aside, the Democratic party is labeled as the party of treason, and the war-time climate of opinion is completely overlooked. Yet would things have been any different had the Republicans been in office? Wendell Willkie, their candidate in 1944, defended Communists before the Supreme Court. Governor Dewey won the 1948 nomination from his major contender largely because of their public debate in Oregon during the primaries, when Dewey argued that the Communist party should not be outlawed.

We may take humorous delight in painting Senator McCarthy as a subversive, and it seems no more than just retribution. Yet to those who see the real significance of McCarthyism, the issue has a deeper meaning. Can any honest critic, granted his patriotism, be called "subversive" in a truly democratic society? We must renew our recognition that society is kept stable and healthy by reform, not by thought police. This, in turn, calls for the vigorous free play of so-called "subversive" ideas, for every idea subverts the old to make way for the new. To prevent "subversion" is to prevent peaceful progress. The key to the success of the American way--so vociferously championed by the Senator and his supporters--is to be found in the constant and vigorous "subversion" permissible only in a democracy.

Here lies the real danger of McCarthyism. It is regrettable but in the long run not too important that the Senator has attacked the Army or the State Department. But in stifling the free flow of ideas and the vigorous conflict of opinion--the real American way--Senator Mc Carthy is destroying the very essence of democracy. This is the real subversion.

NOTE: This has not been published anywhere

S. Grover Rich Jr.
Asso. Prof., Political Science,
University of Utah.

Reitman, Alan

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March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
CBS-Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I believe Pat Malin has been in touch with you to express the ACLU's official thanks for your splendid program last Tuesday evening, but I wanted to add my personal appreciation for your magnificent service. It was a truly stimulating evening, one that made me feel proud of the way in which the television medium could be used to educate public opinion on crucially important issues. But, the medium would be nothing without the courage of people like you and Fred Friendly who, believing strongly in their convictions, have the courage to express them. When this whole episode of demagoguery is passed, the American public will properly remember your contribution to restoring reason and sanity to our national life.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Reitman

Alan Reitman
Assistant Director

AR/km

Robertson, Milton

wnew 565 fifth avenue / new york 17, n.y.

April 7th, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow
CBS Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.

Dear Sir:

I am quite sure that your evaluation of Macarthy was not due to any desire on your part to suddenly become the father image of a hopeful America....but there you are pop....in the wonderful and painful tradition of the man who dared speak first, for the millions who were either inarticulate or plan scared.

Last night, we saw the result of your gallant gesture to allow the junior Senator a chance to rebutt. He rebutted in the shape of the swastika and a black wind is now ripping across our country. I read your statement in answer to Macarthy's filmed address. As a member of your family, I take it upon myself to make a number of suggestions which perhaps you have already thought about and even resolved. If resolution is the case, then know that we who believe in your esential truth, versus his essential lie are standing by to march with you and to assert with you our faith in an America that he would stifle.

You speak with the gentle rule and the concept of the Scout who above all cherishes honor. To cherish honor to the point where one avoids the direct blow to blow contact with the enemy is to almost chance the defeat of the honor itself. Our world too often does not listen to wisdom, but to sounds that are calculated to arouse emotional mayhem.

While it is true that the intellectual liberal will nod sagely and agree profoundly with your words and thoughts...the average man, taken in by the big lie and the Orwell extravaganza, hears only that which either touches his imagination, or corroborates what he falsely believes to be the facts.

In your response to Macarthy's...Laski attack you stated that Laski was a friend who was dead, and a Socialist. You ignored the vicious statement of Macarthy that Laski is a noted Communist leader. Too many Americans will only remember that Macarthy was right, and that you only attempted to qualify Mr. Laski's negative political premise by swinging from Socialist defense rather than by the direct statement that Macarthy is a liar...and that Laski was a profound anti-Communist!

Macarthy must be blasted in the manner that he attacks. Not with the lie, but with the same energy and belief. Not with the distortion, but certainly in a manner that shows the detirmined fist behind the not too polite word. We can continue to genuflect and observe in the new egg head tradition, and find our egg heads beaten in by the man who uses only the club.

I have written, and telegrammed CBS and Alcoa and am encouraging hosts of others to do so. I believe sadly that Macarthy will have rallied his followers to an attack against you and CBS and probably Alcoa. We must rally back in return. So...pop....pull the ships out of their moth balls....please push decorum slightly to the rear and demonstrate that it is worth getting mad for the sake of America....for I do believe that unless this menace is halted now.... we are moving into an age that spells wave man for our country.

Sincerely,

Mutter Robertson

1130 on your dial

24 hours a day

SCRIPT DIRECTOR

Rosenberg, Meta

128 So. Bedford Dr.
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Dear Ed:

It was with gratitude and rising hope that we watched your show on McCarthy. Your's is a wonderful voice in the land; we need it. Congratulations to Alcoa.

Rosey joins me in sending our very best to you.

Sincerely,

Meta Rosenberg

Rosenman, Samuel

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN
575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22

March 12, 1954

Dear Ed:

Here I am carefully scanning the newspapers to see what response your splendid broadcast had -- and not doing anything myself about it. Therefore this note of congratulations.

You are carrying on a gallant fight on the side of the angels!

Affectionately,

Sam

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Ross, Don

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want you to know I thought your McCarthy program was superb.

Sincerely,

Don Ross

Don Ross

cc Aluminum Co. of America

MADELINE D. ROSS 136 EAST 36 STREET NEW YORK 16, N. Y. Ross, Madeline

Wednesday
2.24.54

Dear Ed Murrow,

You were wonderful tonight on McCarthy. I have yet to note a better job of walking on eggs while doing a 100% slugging job! Many thanks - you came as an antidote to the horrible report of Stevens's throttling.

My kindest regards to you and the beautiful secretary - Miss Mac.

Cordially,

Madeline

Written in haste - as most fan letters usually are.

Rosten, Leo

Look

COWLES MAGAZINES, INC., LOOK BUILDING, 488 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

LEO ROSTEN
Board of Editors

Thursday 10

Dear Mr. Thurmond:

If I had any prize's handy, you'd get them all for the McCarthy show. I send you more than my thanks and congratulations. We are all in your debt.

Leo Rosten

A. B. RUDDOCK
650 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES ~~14~~ CALIFORNIA
17

for 21
Ruddock, AB

111 E 70

April 27, 1954

Dear Ed:

I don't know whether Joe McCarthy allows you any free time for lighter thinking, and I will try not to be a pest about the Bohemian Grove, but if you feel you would like to attend this year, and find you can do so, let me know. As usual it is the last two weeks in July.

I admire your blood pressure control; I can't say that I am doing so well myself even though not in any way in the line of attack.

Sincerely,

Albert Ruddock

Mr. Ed. R. Murrow,
CBS
New York, N. Y.

Ryan, Bertha

TERMINAL SYSTEM, INC.
NEW YORK 19

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

1775 BROADWAY

April 7, 1954.

My dear Mr. Murrow:

After last night's broadcast, more than ever, Edward Murrow stands out like a shining star.

My congratulations to you, C.B.S. and above all, your sponsor Alcoa, who, I feel sure have gained the respect of all good Americans.

Yours very truly,

Bertha N. Ryan

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

R/S

March 13, '54.
Schieffelin, Bill

1220 PARK AVENUE

Dear Ed -

Well Done!

Bill Schieffelin

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CHICAGO 1 · 333 No. Michigan Avenue

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Of 14 people at a committee luncheon meeting today, 7 saw your McCarthy broadcast. The remaining 7 were envious and eagerly asked for the details of a presentation which we, the lucky 7, called the greatest.

I said that I intended to send you and your associates my compliments on your courageous and masterful handling of the McCarthy issue. They asked me to include them in my message. So, if you are tabulating the mail, count this letter as 14 votes for Murrow, Friendly and Alcoa.

Sincerely,

D. G. Schneider

Vice President

DGSchneider
jh

Ed -

Schorr, Daniel

Daniel Schorr says American correspondents in Venezuela heartened by the accounts of the See It Now broadcast.

John Merriman

Schroth, T.N.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

MANAGING EDITOR

March 10th,
1 9 5 4

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed:

You did a magnificient job on McCarthy last night and you should be proud of it. We need more frank talk of this nature concerning the Wisconsin thug. Congratulations.

Sincerely yours,

Tom Schroth

Thomas N. Schroth

M

Secondari, J.

Another quotation from Caesar, this time through Cicero:

"And in falling - should I fall - I shall have the satisfaction that I acted as Caesar, and they act as themselves."

Christ! What else is there to say?

Bey

John Secondari

Charles Hollmann
GENERAL MANAGER

MANILA HOTEL

OVERLOOKING THE MANILA BAY — "THE ARISTOCRAT OF THE ORIENT" — CABLE "MANHOCO"

Thanks, Don

Manila, Philippines

March 22

Dear Ed,

I've always thought you were a real salesman, but from more than 10,000 miles you look especially good. The wisdom and courage of your recent broadcast as reported in New Zealand, Australia and here make me proud that the substitute and the country have a guy like you.

Sincerely and admiringly

Don Shank

Shapiro, Shap

Look

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., MURRAY HILL 8-0300*

S. O. SHAPIRO, *Vice President*

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Ed Murrow:

May I be among the thousands to congratulate you on the magnificent job you did on your McCarthy program. It was courageous (it is a shame that one has to say that) and it was great showmanship.

It is the best thing that has been done in telecasting since the medium came in.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely

Shap Shapiro

Shaw, Bruno

BRUNO SHAW

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210 West 78th Street • New York 24, N. Y.

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed,

Congratulations on your superb broadcast this evening during which I had the great pleasure of hearing you take apart and expose that not-so-shining luminary of the Senate, Joe McCarthy.

It was a splendid job.

Very sincerely yours,

Bruno

Shipler, G. E

The
CHURCHMAN
118 EAST 28th STREET, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 9-8040

April 14, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Under separate cover I am mailing you a copy of our 150th anniversary issue of The Churchman, which perhaps you would like to see. If you want a quiet laugh in an unlaughable world of the moment, I suspect you would get it from the piece, "Happy Birthday," by Halford E. Luccock of Yale Divinity School.

I have been intending to add my word of very genuine congratulation on the thrilling job you have been doing. Would that there were more to "go and do likewise!" I have no doubt that you have inspired many who would wish to do so.

My pleasant evening with you and Mrs. Murrow in London in the autumn of 1943 I still remember joyfully--including the salted nuts from home!

With gratitude for your prophetic job in an unprophetic day, and with warm good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy Shipler

Guy Emery Shipler

FOUNDED 1804

Shute, Ben

CARLTON HOUSE

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Tuesday evening
April 13, 1954.

Dear Ed,

I have just finished watching this evening's "See It Now." Congratulations! You and the whole program were excellent — most effective. The combination of Al Rosenthal, the Bishop and your reply was, it seemed to me, perfect. And as I write this, the 11 o'clock news on the local station here includes your new award for "See It Now", immediately followed by a personal appearance by Hall of Alcoa to say how proud the sponsor is of the program, "presented as a public service." Such timing!

With all the best,

Ben Shute

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Sims, Lester ✓

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LESTER SIMS
Gen. Prof. Mgr.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed your frank and honest program of last night. I am sure you will be getting millions of letters similar to this, and also feel that your sentiments are those of all the real red-blooded Americans in this country.

Keep up the good work. Both the CBS network and yourself are doing a great service to this country.

Cordially yours,

Lester Sims

LESTER SIMS
Gen. Prof. Mgr.

LS/ms

Singer, Jules B.

JULES B. SINGER
151 EAST 80TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK

June 8, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Morrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I am not accustomed to writing letters to senators, representatives, presidents, public figures - either to pat them on the back or to aim a little lower.

However, I felt that I had an obligation to write you in connection with your McCarthy broadcast and the senator's answer. This is simply by way of a vote of confidence in you and what you stand for and a vote against the senator's tactics of answering an argument by attacking the character of his opponent.

I realize that this letter comes a little late, but this is one case where I thought better late than silent.

Sincerely,

Jules B. Singer

jbs
jt

Sloane, Allan

Dear Ed:

This is only to let you know that all I have and all I can do are yours for the commanding.

In utter respect and proud admiration,

Allan

Allan Sloane

Singleton, Lucile

TO Ed Murrow

FROM Lucile Singleton 4-7-54

You'd better order yourself one of these temples - or get a film of this one and show it on all your TV programs. I could use a door or two, or even an altar, from such.

d. Wis.
ELECTION
E PEACE
F99

THE TEMPLE OF BECHRAJI
in Baroda, India
IS USED NOT FOR PRAYER
BUT FOR CURSING ALL ENEMIES
OF THE RULER!
TEAMS OF HOLY MEN HAVE MUTTERED IMPRECATIONS DAY AND NIGHT FOR 58 YEARS

John Caswell Smith
411 Broadway
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Smith, John C.

411 Broadway
Cambridge 38, Mass.

April 5, 1954

Dear Ed,

This is a just a note to tell you I've been keeping up with your radio broadcasts (we don't have T-V) and that I am happy for the recognition that continues to come your way. I'm increasingly disturbed over the ponderousness of the current hearings in the Army-McCarthy affair, and I've been wondering what has happened to Senator Dirksen's "oilcan" that he referred to some months ago.

I'm still at Bennington College and still enjoying it very much. I'm on sabbatical leave this semestre and have had time to do some leisurely thinking, which is an important aspect of the teaching life. I'll probably not be any brighter when I return in September, but my general perspective may be in better shape.

Please give my best to Janet and Casey. Your young man must be quite big by now. Ours has been in the Navy for three years and has about one more to go. He droppped out of college (Colby) to enlist and, while he now feels it was a good idea, this last one is apparently the toughest from the standpoint of his impatience to start living a "normal life".

All the best to you, personally and professionally. I've been ever so reluctant to intrude upon your busy life and the leisure which must be very precious to you whenever you have it. Nevertheless, I can't help dropping this note to remind you I'm still very much "in your corner".

Sincerely,

Smitty

Spaeth, Carl

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

March 17, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Just a brief note to add to the many thousands of messages that you have had in support of and admiration for your position on the Senator from Wisconsin.

As you have said so often, it is a tragedy that time and resources of so many Government and private groups have had to be concerned with McCarthy. Unfortunately, however, all that we are trying to do in the main effort can be destroyed unless leaders like yourself speak out as you have done.

I know that I speak for hundreds of people in this community, both "town and gown," when I say:

"Carry on!"

Sincerely,

Carl

Carl B. Spaeth
Dean

CBS:ls

Stanley, Paul

CBS TELEVISION

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

April 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow,

A brief note to tell you how completely I agree with you, with what you are doing and the way you are doing it.

I should like to add my name to the long list who stand ready and willing to help you in any way necessary.

It is an honor to be associated with the same company in which you hold so high a position.

Most sincerely

Paul Stanley

Paul Stanley
"Studio One"
Associate Director.

CBS RADIO

Sterling, Philip

Office Communication

to: Edward R. Murrow

from: Philip Sterling

March 15, 1954

All the words that could be drawn on in admiration and support of your two McCarthy broadcasts have been pretty well used up by now. All I can say is that still another individual subscribes to them.

I would only like to add, as a company employee, that every once in a while something happens at CBS that makes me a little chesty about saying I work here, if anybody asks me. This is such an occasion.

You are right that we are not descended from fearful men, a fact which makes more regretable the undercurrent of apprehensiveness which seems to have crept into private as well as public utterance, thinking, action. There is an all too common feeling today that blessed are the non-controversial, for they shall inherit tranquility, no matter who inherits the earth. It is not presumptuous for me, as a listener, to say that you have made an inspiring contribution, by example as well as by word, toward reversing this trend. I think there is rejoicing in whatever heaven Heywood Broun and the other great journalists of the past have gone to. Best wishes.

P.S.

672

Stevens, David H

888 San Antonio Place
San Diego, California
March 17, 1954

Dear Ed:

This copy of a letter sent to President Eisenhower on February 10 has in it the proof that we are on the same side. This you know without such evidence, but perhaps not the basic fact that in my twenty years with the Rockefeller Foundation no one was more highly regarded than you by everyone in that organization.

If the letter can be useful in any way, you are free to use it. I am sending it as a sign that a lot of people are counting on you to speak for them.

Since leaving New York for Wisconsin, I have worked each winter in libraries on this coast or in New York City. This Harper circular shows what I have been doing. I wish there were more effective action possible toward the repair of losses in political affairs rather than in higher education.

Don't trouble to acknowledge. Good morning, and good luck.

Cordially yours,

David H. Stevens

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting
East 52nd Street
New York, New York

COPY FOR MR. MURROW

888 San Antonio Place
San Diego, California
February 10, 1954

Dear Mr. President:

Two news items of this week call for durable criticism. I believe that nothing can overrule the truth in them, and that the American people are asking how these two facts appear in the same source - this administration, ours as well as yours.

Your talk on religion in national life is the first item. The second is the press conference last night faced by Senator McCarthy.

The clipping bureau will supply the evidence on these points: that he is contemptuous of due process of law, as shown in his answers to Paul Price; that he uses tactics that are without honor toward the individual and toward the welfare of this country; and that the Republican organization using him as a weapon cannot faintly know the harm being done by their tactics, provided they look into the future of this nation at all.

People do not despair of the future of this administration, but as these methods continue they will come to despise it.

Most sincerely,

David H. Stevens

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D. C.

HARPER & BROTHERS
51 EAST 33RD STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

PUBLISHERS
SINCE 1817

What is the function of the humanities in contemporary education, and how can they be taught and utilized to best serve the needs of our changing world?

Here, at last, is a forthright and convincing plea for greater emphasis on the study of the humanities in our colleges today. In this timely new volume, a life-long scholar and spokesman for the humanities presents a powerful analysis of their important role in contemporary society...

THE CHANGING HUMANITIES
An Appraisal of Old Values and New Uses

By David H. Stevens
Former Director for the Humanities, The Rockefeller Foundation

This inspiring book describes the value of increased study and research in the humanities - language, literature, history and philosophy. The author discusses this point of view not only as a means to maintain the liberal tradition in our country, but as a way to establish greater understanding among the nations of the world.

Dr. Stevens suggests methods for teachers and administrators to strengthen college curricula -- to reestablish a more equitable relationship between liberal arts courses and the scientific disciplines, so heavily emphasized in recent years. In clear and concise terms, he provides insight and information on how to teach humanistic studies - how to maintain a proper balance of studies among the several humanities - and how to create a working interplay of research, teaching, and interpretation dealing with the personal values in life.

All college teachers will find THE CHANGING HUMANITIES of great help in their grasp of the teacher's role. It analyzes such important questions as:

- How have methods of teaching the humanities changed over the past fifty years?
- What are the possibilities for creating a greater and more integrated role for humanistic studies in the college curriculum?
- What is the best way to teach survey courses to fulfill their purpose of orienting students to the various humanist subjects?
- What are the special problems involved in teaching such subjects as art history, literary criticism, music theory and composition?
- Which areas of humanist studies are most important to our future as a nation with increasing international obligations?
- How can the professional humanist cooperate most profitably with the social scientist and the physical scientist?

(over, please)

In praise of this outstanding book...

"This is an encouraging book...there is much here of interest for teachers...for librarians, for young people hesitating before the call to make scholarship the business of their lives, and for the general reader who cares about freedom of thought and the supreme worth of individual experience."

--Nathan M. Pusey
President of Harvard University

"'The Changing Humanities' is as significant for noble evaluations and wise observations as for a vast and ordered outlay of fact--kept always in perspective."

--J. Frank Dobie, Author and Teacher

"Every foundation officer ought to sleep with a copy of 'The Changing Humanities' at his bed's head and contemplate it prayerfully before making his next grant."

--Louis B. Wright, Director
The Folger Shakespeare Library

"'The Changing Humanities' is an impressive demonstration of the continuing vitality of the humanistic idea in American education during the past half century...There is a philosophy of education in this book. And a lot of practical wisdom which suggests agenda for the humanities during the next half century."

--Professor Charles W. Hendel
Dept. of Philosophy, Yale Univ.

An appraisal of the past and a guide to the future role of the humanities...

THE CHANGING HUMANITIES gives you a brilliant survey of changing attitudes toward humanistic studies in American universities during the past fifty years, and goes on to point up their new importance in furthering the liberal tradition. Here is a most valuable book for all educators who believe in the importance and value of inspired study of languages, history, philosophy and literature. Take advantage of our offer...

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Examine this outstanding new book without obligation. Mail the enclosed postpaid order card for your free examination copy. If you order six or more copies you may keep the examination copy FREE. Otherwise the price of the book is only $4.00 less your professional 20% discount.

Fill out and mail the enclosed order card - today - for your copy of THE CHANGING HUMANITIES.

Sincerely,

Richard Abbott

RA:T
Enclosures

Richard Abbott
HARPER & BROTHERS

Stevenson, Burton

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY OF CHILLICOTHE, OHIO

10 March 1954

BURTON STEVENSON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
MAYOR
23 ½ SOUTH PAINT STREET

PHONE 5766

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Nothing short of constant repetition of the theme of your excellent Alcoa Telecast March 9th, will accomplish the necessary objective of quieting the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

We midwesterners look to you and spokesmen of your stature for leadership in these critical times.

Congratulations to you and Alcoa for striking hard at the really dangerous enemy of America.

Cordially,

Burton Stevenson

Burton Stevenson
Mayor

BS/wb

Stix, Thomas L.

Circle 7-2690

THOMAS L. STIX & J. G. GUDE
30 Rockefeller Plaza
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

You certainly had a wonderful show last night and you are to be congratulated, as I am sure you are being. If I may quote this morning's Variety: "This guy Murrow rates a fanfare."

Sincerely

Thomas L. Stix

Stone, Shepard

SHEPARD STONE

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

I didn't see your show the other night because I don't have enough money to buy a television set, but from the papers the next morning I take it you have rendered another service to the country. Congratulations.

By the way, I understand Janet was over at the apartment one night with Kitty Galbraith and my wife. Maybe sometime we can arrange to sneak in on one of these gatherings.

Sincerely,

Shep

Shepard Stone

N.Y.C.

SS:m

Strauss, Ted H

COLUMBUS 5-0402

HEARST METROTONE NEWS, INC.

NEWS OF THE DAY

450 WEST 56TH STREET
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

March 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
Room 1704
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

So McCarthy calls you a "leftist"! Well, nuts to him!!! From someone (and his wife) who has a pretty direct interest in "See It Now" (see letterhead), heartiest thanks for your marvelous show this past Tuesday night. You performed a great service for all those who are aching, by this time, to see some honest, forthright opposition to Demagogue McCarthy!

Keep up the swell work!

Very truly yours,

Ted H. Strauss

Ted H. Strauss
News Desk

A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Release

Sullivan, Geo. I.

WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR., M. C.
5TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA OFFICE:
UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
9TH AND CHESTNUT STREETS

COMMITTEE:
ARMED SERVICES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, D. C. April 7, 1954.

Mr. Edwar R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting Company,
New York,
N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

You have made us proud of American telecasting. It has been an old device of Der Wisconsin Fuhrer to hold up documents, none of which were impounded and examined as to their accuracy. In last night's telecast this phoney business was made possible by Low Blow Joe's having his job filmed off-station. Certainly you are going to demand that he produce his "exhibits".

This son of a bitch may have to be shot yet. America is bigger than this agent of evil who, alas, plays up his Catholicism. As Steve Mitchell so well says, "he can't transfer his character to my church".

Please don't grow weary with the biggest job any telecaster could be called on to perform.

sincerely,

Geo. I. Sullivan

Geo. I. Sullivan
Of Congressman Green's Staff.

Swing, Betty Gram

B. GRAM SWING
WESTPORT, R. F. D.
CONNECTICUT

Dear Ed;

I was so moved on Tuesday night by your last statement on "See It Now" that I wanted to rush from the room and let my tears flow as they would, but my neighbors let me say what I felt and agreed that you were superb and without a doubt our biggest hope of deflating the influence of that rattlesnake McCarthy.

I have been writing far afield on the campaign to congratulate Alcoa in Pittsburg- yes, from Mass. to Ky. and Vt. to Oregon and I am sure we will get results. One southerner wrote me that I was not to worry as soon everybody would agree that McCarthy was and - quote-"Nothing but low-

down pig-sty shanty Irish. I loved thatone.

Now I am planning ways and means to help our one Woman Sen. stay in Washington as it seems she is to be his next target and that is just a pity. I shall of course do this sub-rosa as Yankees resent outside influence as much as do southerners-- but we will get that guy yet-- all those of us who lived in Europe and watched the rise to power of those insidious dictators- who have wrecked the world. I cannot begin to tell you how proud I am of you and your enormous courage.

I hope you have time to see my good friend and neighbor Gus Simons. His wife is a beautiful Canadian and my close friend- her grandfather was chancelor of McGill Univ. All the best to you and Janet and Casey--

Afftly Betty G.S.

P.S.

Swope, H. B. ✓

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

11 March 1954

Dear Ed Murrow:—

You did yourself and all who agree with you proud in your McCarthy program. It was truly firstclass.

Warm congratulations,

H.B.S.

Edward R.Murrow, Esq.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Taplinger, Sylvan

HIRSHON-GARFIELD
INCORPORATED
Advertising

745 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

It has been a long time since we have had personal contact, but I want to take this opportunity of adding my voice to the thousands who must be expressing appreciation for your brilliant documentary on Joe McCarthy.

My only regret is that you did not have time enough to use even more of the material you must have had at hand.

Thanks again for the great service you have done this country. I also want to say it is nice keeping in touch with you, even though it is through the medium of television.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sylvan

Sylvan Taplinger
Radio-TV Director

ST/e

Taylor, Harold ✓

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE
BRONXVILLE 8, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TELEPHONE
BRONXVILLE 2-0700

March 31, 1954

Dear Ed:

I want to add another letter of thanks and praise to the hundred you have already received for your stirring defense of the United States against McCarthy and his group. You have given a lift to all of us here and to hundreds of thousands of people around the country and I guess it's true that you and Stevenson are the two people who have set off the chain reaction which may result in the explosion of the McCarthy myth.

We are all proud of you and can't thank you enough.

Harold

Harold Taylor

HT/hl

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Thurber, James

West Cornwall
Connecticut
April 20, 1954

Dear Ed:

If I wrote you as many letters of praise and gratitude as I would like to, I wouldn't get anything else done. Along with Elmer Davis and a handful of others you keep lifting up the hearts of the American people who have them. I keep hoping you will take it a little easier, because it is necessary to conserve our great national resources. Even as staunch and big a heart as yours need to slow down once in a while.

I am enclosing a pamphlet I wanted you to see. Please skip the citation and introduction crap and just glance at the response I made out there in Ohio last October. I was delighted when the World Publishing Company printed, without cost, five thousand of these pamphlets and sent them to the Ohioana Library Association for distribution, just because the firm liked the piece. All these little signs of good will are reassuring, but few things are as reassuring as you are. Good luck and God bless you.

As ever,

JAMES THURBER

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

JT/ek

Thurber ON Humor

THE MARTHA KINNEY COOPER OHIOANA

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION • *Cleveland, Ohio*

Prepared and printed by

THE WORLD PUBLISHING COMPANY, CLEVELAND

and presented to

THE OHIOANA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

by BEN D. ZEVIN

Designed by Joseph Trautwein

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Foreword

TO COMMEMORATE Ohio's 150th Anniversary, the Trustees of The Martha Kinney Cooper Ohioana Library Association directed the preparation of an Ohioana Sesquicentennial Medal and designated that it be awarded to James Thurber, native Ohioan, in recognition of his distinctive contributions in the field of art and literature and in appreciation of the prestige he has brought to Ohio.

Ohioana's distinctive ceramic Medal (designed by Paul Bogatay) was superimposed on an illuminated field (executed by Mark Russell)—to form the Sesquicentennial Medal.

To his own, and the Association's, great disappointment, Mr. Thurber was unable to attend the presentation ceremony at the Annual Meeting in Columbus on October 24, 1953, owing to the illness of his beloved wife. Mr. George A. Smallsreed, Sr., Editor of The Columbus Dispatch, life-long friend and associate of Mr. Thurber, received the award and read the noted humorist's message of acceptance.

The Association is indebted to The World Publishing Company and its president, Mr. Ben D. Zevin, who designed and printed this booklet, for the welcome opportunity to give timely circulation to a master's appraisal of humor in the world of today.

FLORENCE R. HEAD
Executive Director
Ohioana Library Association

JAMES THURBER

HUMORIST · ARTIST · CREATOR OF FANTASY
MASTER OF PROSE

CITATION: *In appreciation of*
your generosity of spirit . . . originality of concept
your matchless satire
at times pure wit . . . oft times gentle humor
your priceless gift of laughter
boon to disturbed mankind
In recognition of
the world wide fame you have bestowed on the state
of Ohio and your home town of Columbus
the pleasure you have given readers round the globe

THE MARTHA KINNEY COOPER OHIOANA
LIBRARY ASSOCIATION
proudly and happily presents
To JAMES THURBER, *native son of Ohio, the*
OHIOANA SESQUICENTENNIAL MEDAL
with a
Deep and Sincere Thank You.

October 24, 1953

Introduction

ABOUT THIRTY-FIVE years ago it was my good fortune to begin working for The Dispatch with Jim Thurber. We came there about the same time.

I can still see him hunched over his typewriter pounding out stories for what was then the feature section of the Sunday Dispatch.

Thurber wrote pieces that were strange to the city editor, the late Norman Kuehner, whom Thurber recently celebrated in one of his matchless pieces in The New Yorker.

Quite often the city editor tore these pieces up and threw them in the waste basket, much to the chagrin of young author Thurber.

But time moved on and so did this young and unassuming genius. But he kept on writing the same kind of pieces that eventually made him famous.

So it is perhaps providential, if not co-incidental, that I, his early associate, should have the privilege of representing Jim Thurber here today in his moment of great honor. Appropriately, it comes from the people and the place that he loves so deeply.

And now to speak for Jim:

GEORGE SMALLSREED, SR.
Editor, Columbus Dispatch

THURBER RESPONSE

TO HIS AWARD OF THE OHIOANA

SESQUICENTENNIAL MEDAL

IT IS A great moment for an Ohio writer living far from home when he realizes he has not been forgotten by the state he can't forget. He is especially happy to be so signally honored by a distinguished organization devoted to putting books on shelves instead of taking them off. The writer of humorous pieces has so much fun producing his output, as Bob Ryder called it, that he doesn't always regard it as work, and he is likely to be surprised if it is singled out for an award. He is used to being laughed at, he hopes to be laughed with, but he doesn't expect to be taken seriously, although he likes to believe Booth Tarkington was exaggerating when he said, "Sobersides looks at humor the way a duchess looks at bugs." At the same time he is proud of his trade, in spite of his moments of depression when he is convinced that he is read only by duchesses. I have heard from duchesses who suggest that I quit harping on the imaginary flaws of the American

Woman and start writing a novel about her true power and glory. I reply that I may try to write such a novel—when my spirit has been broken by the American Woman's power, or transfigured by her glory.

Meanwhile, as my publishers know, I couldn't do without her. Somebody has said that Woman's place is in the wrong. That's fine. What the wrong needs is a woman's presence and a woman's touch. She is far better equipped than men to set it right. The condescending male, in his pride of strength, likes to think of the female as being "soft, soft as snow," but just wait till he gets hit by the snowball. Almost any century now Woman may lose her patience with black politics and red war and let fly. I wish I could be on earth then to witness the saving of our self-destructive species by its greatest creative force. If I have sometimes seemed to make fun of Woman, I assure you it has only been for the purpose of egging her on.

A woman practitioner of humor announced a few years ago, in an hour of despair, that humor is a shield and not a weapon. Well, the world has plenty of weapons and it can use a few shields. There used to be men among us who could brandish the shield of humor with telling effect in the now sensitive area of politics and government, giving certain Senators and Congressmen of their time a pretty good banging around. I mean such men, to name only a few, as the H. L. Mencken of an earlier and bolder day, and the late Will Rogers, and William Allen White, and old Ed Howe, and our own unforgettable Bob Ryder. The gentle heart, thank God, is often armored in toughness, courage, and strength. The tradition of rugged and unafraid humor perpetuated by these men must not be allowed to pass into legend and limbo, out

of fear and trembling. They did not invent the tradition, of course. It came over in the Mayflower, it flourished in the free American soil, it was carried westward in covered wagons, it was borne upon our battlefields as bright and inspiring as regimental colors. It has been seasick, wagon-weary, and shot full of holes, but it has always managed to keep on going.

As a matter of fact, comedy, in all its forms, including the rusty art of political satire, is used to surviving eras of stress and strain, even of fear and trembling, but it sickens in the weather of intimidation and suppression, and such a sickness could infect a whole nation. The only rules comedy can tolerate are those of taste, and the only limitations those of libel. It should be as free and respected as Lincoln's humor or Churchill's wit. It must not be mistaken for, or identified with, a man's political views, or punished for his political past. It will not bear up long under mindless picketing. We must not have guilt by talent, or guilt by profession. There has been so much banning and burning and branding that timorous writers have begun to think of writing as somehow akin to counterfeiting or forgery. One distinguished writer of comedy is reported to have promised a sub-committee of Congress that, to make up for past associations, he was going to write an anti-Communist musical comedy. Humor should never take the form of penance or of penitence. Since the nature of humor is anti-communistic, just as the nature of Communism is anti-humor, such a project would amount, in effect, to an anti-humorous musical comedy. This would be too dull and awful to contemplate, let alone to attend. I would have to be dragged to it. Our comedy should deal, in its own immemorial manner, with the

American scene and the American people, without fear or favor, without guilt or groveling. There is no other form up with which, to paraphrase Sir Winston, we will ever put. Most professional writers, by the way, are happy that the Nobel prize has gone to a professional writer who says things any damned way he wants to. The thunder of his prose and the lightning of his wit have done much to clear the air for us and to illumine the way.

Let us not forget the uses of laughter or store them away in the attic. If a thing cannot endure laughter, Professor Joe Taylor used to say, it is not a good thing. He made us understand that laughter is never out of date or out of place. Dangerous men, he once said, are nourished as much by attack as they are by praise. It magnifies their importance, builds them a stately mansion on the front page, and dignifies their meanest motives and their merest shenanigans. Laughter, on the other hand, is often their undoing. It shows them up in a clear and honest light, and drives away the big distorted shadows in which they love to lurk. Many of the perils they flaunt in the shadows are real perils, but they can be dealt with better in the light. Laughter could bring many things out into the open including, I should like to put in here, the true shape and purpose of our Bill of Rights. It was designed as a fortress and a sanctuary, not as a hideout.

I have no doubt that there are a few conspiratorial writers around, but all the writers I know personally would make very incompetent conspirators. They like to do things in public, not in secret. They want everybody to know what they are up to. The night that Alexander Woollcott was fatally stricken with a heart attack he was engaged in what E. B. White described as a "public

brawl", by which he meant a radio discussion panel over a nation-wide network. An elderly writer I know, a man about ten years older than I am, recently entered a New York hospital for a check-up under an assumed name. The day after he came in he asked his nurse why nobody had telephoned or sent wires and she reminded him that he had quietly entered the hospital under a pseudonym. "I know that," he said irritably, "but I thought everybody would find it out."

Some frightened sponsors and radio stations and other well-known pussycats have shown, from time to time, a phobia against anyone who has become what is known as a "controversial figure." This stupidity has struck at writers who, in this controversial country, have always been controversial persons. A controversial figure is apparently a controversial person who is not afraid to let his views be known outside his own living room. Discussion in America means dissent. We love to disagree with persons whose opinions we value, for how else are we going to make them value ours? One writer I know and admire was recently told by his doctors to give up coffee and controversy. He replied that he couldn't live without coffee and couldn't make a living without controversy. He might have said, with equal truth, that he couldn't live without coffee and wouldn't want to live without controversy. It is possible that this strange and unbecoming hush-hush which seems to have overtaken us is in some way responsible for the decline of humor in America. At any rate, humor flourished in the free and untrammeled Twenties when, as the late Harold Ross once put it, humorists were a dime a dozen. There are not many left, alas, and only a handful coming up. I hope that literary humor, by which

I mean humor written for newspaper, magazine and book publication, is not dying out in the United States. It has a long and honorable tradition, but it is hanging on by aging fingertips and it needs new recruits. E. B. White once wrote, ". . . humorous writing, like poetical writing, has an extra content. It plays, like an active child, close to the big hot fire which is Truth." The devoted writer of humor will continue to try to come as close to truth as he can, even if he gets burned in the process, but I don't think he will get too badly burned. His faith in the good will, the soundness, and the sense of humor of his countrymen will always serve as his asbestos curtain.

I cannot conclude without expressing my deep and lasting appreciation of the honor that has been bestowed upon me today, and my regret at not being able to be present in person. I know, however, that I could not have said these things as well as they have been said for me by one of my closest and most cherished friends. My only other regret is that my mother couldn't attend this meeting, for without her I never would have been able to write what I have managed to write. One of my friends who heard my mother tell stories one evening a few years ago when she visited me in Connecticut, said, "Your humor is only a pale reflection of your mother's, but if you keep at it you might be almost as good as she is some day." This fond and wistful hope, I need not say, is one of the things that keeps me going and will keep me going.

I have lived in the East for nearly thirty years now, but many of my books prove that I am never very far away from Ohio in my thoughts, and that the clocks that strike in my dreams are often the clocks of Columbus. They have never struck, and never will strike, a finer hour for me than this one.

JAMES THURBER

Self-portrait on cover by James Thurber. Reproduced from The Thurber Album courtesy of Simon and Schuster, Inc.

The Times
(London)

THE TIMES
LONDON
OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.
TELEPHONE, DISTRICT 1967

March 10th

Dear Ed,

May I please add my homage to that of so many other people? Last night was beyond my power to praise.

John

Townley, Geo. T.

GEORGE T. TOWNLEY
220 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

Congratulations on the fine job you did last evening on "See it Now".

Sincerely,

George T. Townley,

GEORGE T. TOWNLEY

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Traube, Shepard

SHEPARD TRAUBE

March 10,1953
2 West 67th St
N.Y.C.

Mr.Ed Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
NYC

Dear Ed :

I'm about to shove off on a sorely needed holiday in Nassau. But I must needs pause to cry bravo for your brilliantly shrewd and effective assault on McCarthy....

The timing was right and perhaps the low cunning of the man will profit him not this time. But it takes following up. Barry Gray is in there slugging. If more follows,he may be swept into the slime from which he sprung. McCarthy that is,not Barry ! I think you may have set off the chain reaction that is needed..... I propose to light many little candles to that thesis!...

If now McCarthy's outright venality and corruption in financial matters can be exposed on the floor of the Senate itself,that would really do the trick. Maybe Flanders is the boy for the job,or Jack Javits in the House.... I'll be with the latter next week and will try to put him up to it...

In the meantime,God bless you,Ed !

Sincerely,

Shep

Turck, C. J.

MACALESTER COLLEGE
SAINT PAUL 5, MINNESOTA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 12, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I hope very much that you will, on the advice of appropriate legal counsel, bring a libel suit against Senator Joseph McCarthy who, I think, has proved beyond question that he is a liar, a man totally devoid of any sense of fairness or fair judgment, and a disgrace to the American Senate. Your own position in the esteem of all Americans who can think at all rises higher and higher.

Sincerely your friend,

Ch J Turck

Charles J. Turck

CJT:RK

Tyler, Tracy F.

AERT JOURNAL 228 North La Salle Street • Chicago 1, Illinois • DEarborn 2-7801
Published by Association for Education by Radio-Television

301 Johnston Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota
March 23, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I suppose one could say "Better late than never." But I have been intending to write to you for some time to tell you what a fine job you did in cutting McCarthy down to size in your recent programs. Congratulations! Keep up the good work!

You realize, of course, even better than I do how much intelligent people regret the antics of the small group of our citizens who, led by Senator McCarthy, are trying to destroy the very essentials on which our democracy was founded and substitute a "police state." Perhaps we are right in believing that McCarthy has finally gone too far and pulled the noose around his neck. His tilt with the Army may do the trick. I sincerely hope so. The verdict should soon be in.

It has been a long time since I have had the privilege of visiting with you. Are you to attend the Ohio Institute, April 7-10? If so, I do want to see you at that time.

Mrs. Tyler joins me in this expression of commendation for your courageous stand against such a vicious opponent.

Sincerely

Tracy

Tracy F. Tyler
Editor

Editor
TRACY F. TYLER

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PERSONAL

United Negro College Fund

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
TWENTY-TWO EAST FIFTY-FOURTH STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 19, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enthusiastic about a number of things in connection with your appraisals of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. First, that your sponsor has had the courage to give you free rein in this matter. Second, that the Columbia Broadcasting System has been willing to stand up and be counted. And finally, that you made up your mind that something had to be done in the situation. Your action has served to put a little courage in some men in high places. Thank you for a most significant contribution to American democracy.

Most sincerely,

Leo J. Henry

Executive Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

FROM THE DESK OF —

Lucile E. Vogeler
Bedford Road
Bedford Hills, N.Y.

April 9, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow :

For your attention.

Lucile E. Vogeler
(Mrs. Robert A.)

Vogeler, Lucille E.

April 2,1954

Dr. Kenneth D. Wells
President
Freedoms Foundation
Valley Forge,PA.

Dear Dr. Wells:

Attached to this letter you will find the March 19,1954 issue of COUNTER ATTACK volume 8 # 12 and a copy of a letter from the Aluminum Company of America dated March 19,1954. Counter Attack states: " No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist Party (CP) press....." And I quote from the letter: " There is no commentator who has received so much recognition for his fair treatment of the news as has Mr. Murrow....." .

It is interesting to note the first sentence of the first paragraph of COUNTER ATTACK and the first sentence of the third paragraph of the Aluminum Company of America letter.

As a Director of Freedoms Foundation I have received a number of communications which apparently originated as a result of the third paragraph of the Aluminum Company of America letter. That these should be sent to me is entirely logical as both my husband and I have been engaged in fighting Communism and preserving the American way of life.

It is my impression that a Freedoms Foundation Award should only be made to an individual whose loyalty and patriotism is unquestioned. Otherwise those to whom these awards mean so much might think considerably less of the honor. For obvious reasons we cannot make awards to all who should be recognized. But it is my considered opinion that great care should be exercised in screening those whom we wish to honor if honor it should be.

It is incredible that a man who has so consistantly supported leftist views, defended proven traitors and falsely accused worthy Americans should be selected for a Freedoms Foundation Award.

As a Director of Freedoms Foundation I hereby wish to go on record that I am wholeheartedly opposed to the award made to the Aluminum Company of America and Edward R. Murrow for the program " SEE IT NOW ".

It is because I believe in the stated purposes of Freedoms Foundation that I feel proud and honored to serve with so many distinguished Americans on the Board of Directors. However, if we are to preserve the prestige and integrity of Freedoms Foundation and its Directors we must not only state our high ideals, we must apply them .

Let us therefore be careful in the Future lest we bring discredit to ourselves and to those whom we regard.

Sincerely,

Lucile E. Vogeler.(Mrs. Robert A.)
Director
Freedoms Foundation.

cc : The Aluminum Company of America.

Edward R. Murrow.

Vollendorff, L. F.

Mrs. Louis F. Vollendorff
1677 Sixteenth Avenue
San Francisco 22, Calif.

April 7, 1954

Dear Ed:

As I told you on the phone one day in Washington D.C., I have listened to you for years andshall never forget the first day from Vienna when Hitler was rolling over Austria and I heard your voice from there. Now, at five p.m. on week days I hear you as dinner hour is nearing here in the west. I am always interested in what you have to say, becausee Illike your analysis of the subject at hand and the manner presented. Many are the times that Lou and I have thought that we would drop you a note and say that we are listeners and watchers but it takes a furor to make old friends write, I do believe.

Lou and I were away and did not see your March 9th program and have regretted it muchly, but of course read of it and so we were here at home last nite to watch and see what Mc had to say in rebuttal. We both agreed that he said a lot of words and he did a lot of quoting from articles, but he did not say anything tangible really. When he was all through, one could not quote anything of great importance that he said. It was not a sound argument at all. Mc has probably done some good with his committee and has found some communists that we have gotten rid of but I am sure that he has served his usefullness and the day has come long ago when he is doing our country harm, because of what the rest of the world is led to believe, if for no other reason. And he certainly is a thorn in Mr. Eisenhower's side and has been ever since election. So, anyway, we are not followers of Mc's viewpoints and his ruggedness with people.

Am certain that in your business as a news man for these past twenty years, that you have had a lot of good fights, but perhaps have never gotten into one of such national magnitude before. We just will keep on listening and watching and are assured that you will show the man up in his worst light. Lou and I can remember about your going to Europe that first time and your qualifications that made you be one to be selected and we are sorry that with your success thru these years, that you have a man talking about you in this manner, inferring that you are not what you are. We know that you are a good Washingtonian and I have a hunch that you lean toward the Democratic party, but maybe I am putting words in your mouth from listening to you, and that is of no importance at all. Just hope that you and CBS keep after it and come out victorious, Ed.

Lou has made several trips east, but was always so busy with his work in one of the subsidiaries of Standard Oil Co. back there that he does not get to call people, and of course you are as busy. I was back with him for two months again a year ago this past winter. When your travels should lead you to San Francisco some time in the future, do call us and come out and see us, as we would enjoy visiting with you. Lyle Keith gets here fairly often and we have awfully good times together and are very fond of his wife, Peggy.

This is just a note to say that we are very interested and we are on your side in this issue and we know that you are a very good American. Best wishes to you, Ed, for the coming Easter season.

Always,

Lou and Denise

Voorhees, T. S.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1954

Dear Ed:

THIS -- is not the news; it is fan mail. Reports reach me that the quantity of fan mail which you receive is very great -- but that the quality is uniformly inadequate particularly as it is non-potable.

My intelligence source in Paris -- one Schonbrun of CBS, initials which now stand for the Communist Broadcasting System -- reports that there is one Murrow weakness which the kind and good Senator from Wisconsin has not yet exposed on TV. This weakness is for Hennessey. Accordingly, as my contribution to the fan mail I transported from Paris the liquid message sent herewith. While this cognac is obviously not needed to sustain the Murrow courage, I trust that it may prove useful for the Murrow relaxation -- if he ever relaxes. At least it is a symbol of admiration and friendship.

As it occurs to me that you may at the present time have one or two other things to do, please do not bother to acknowledge either this note or the liquid.

With warm regards,

Yours faithfully,

Tracy

Tracy S. Voorhees

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

P.S. After listening to your broadcast on Oppenheimer I am starting back to Paris to get another bottle, and it ought to be a case. Keep it up T.

Weaver, Warren

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 20

DIVISION OF NATURAL SCIENCES AND AGRICULTURE
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GERARD R. POMERAT, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
JOHN J. MC KELVEY, JR., ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
KENNETH WERNIMONT, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR AGRICULTURE

CABLE ADDRESS:
ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK

Stockholm
March 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I left the United States two weeks ago in a very depressed mood. But my wife has sent me accounts of your television broadcast on McCarthy. May I express to you my deepest appreciation and admiration for the courage, effectiveness, and taste of this program. Every American owes you a great debt.

Very truly yours,

Warren Weaver

Warren Weaver

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

(Letter handwritten by WW in Stockholm, typed and signed in his New York office by his secretary)

Welsh, Harry

MEMO

HARRY WELSH
Plaza 5-2000

April 7, 1954

Mr. Murrow,

I am just one more who is extremely proud to be a part of the same company you serve so well.

HW

White, Frank

McCANN-ERICKSON CORPORATION
(INTERNATIONAL)
122 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

FRANK WHITE
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

My sincere congratulations on a truly outstanding job. It was a service to the country, and a demonstration of both character and courage which, I am sorry to say, is not always characteristic of the industry with which we have been so long associated.

Doris joins me in sending our best to you and Janet. After the shooting dies down, let's have lunch. It's about time that we brought each other up-to-date on the state of the nation!

Cordially,

Frank

White, Henry S.

THE BIOW COMPANY
INCORPORATED

•

Advertising

640 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Last night's "See It Now" made me very proud of the fact that I was associated with CBS Television.

My old school tie is hanging around my shapely neck this morning.

Congratulations!

Cordially,

Henry

Henry S. White

HSW:jc

White, Theodore

THEODORE H. WHITE

239 CENTRAL PARK WEST, NEW YORK 24, NEW YORK

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

I just can't resist adding this note to the mountain of fan-mail you must be receiving. Damn it, boy, you were wonderful. I keep sticking my hand out and saying 'this is the hand that shook the hand of Ed Murrow'.

Tried to get you several times this week hoping we could fix lunch for Friday. Didn't know you had this show cooking and how bollixed you must have been. Am leaving for Texas and a month's tour there this week-end. If we don't make it this week, maybe we can get together when I come back in early April.

Teddy

Teddy White

Wick, Charlie

SAVOY HOTEL LONDON

TELEPHONE, TEMPLE BAR 4343 TELEGRAMS, SAVOTEL LONDON

March 20, 1954.

Dear Ed —

Just a "first-hand" evaluation to you from me that the McCarthy boil you created has washed a tremendous tide of superb appreciation over the whole of the United Kingdom and the continent!

Congratulations! and best wishes.

Sincerely

Charlie Wick

Wilson, Eleanor D "Siddy"
453 W 23
New York 11, N.Y.

May 6, 1954

Dear Ed —

To send you the enclosed has long been on my mind. It hasn't been done because I've been busy. (Do I dare make such a statement in your presence!)

Just in case you haven't had time to read all press releases on this subject, I thought you would find this one particularly gratifying.

And again

Bravo

Siddy

REVULSION AGAINST M

From ALISTAIR

NEW YORK, MARCH 12.

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY was all over the front pages again this morning, but the instinct that put him there was for once not his. It looked as if an impulse of moral revulsion had galvanised the country and braced the backbone of an incongruous variety of his victims. The Department of the Army, a middle-aged coloured woman, the spectators at a session of the Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations, two Democratic senators, and a suddenly blithe host of columnists and radio critics were moved to furious protest at the senator's tactics and his stature.

The Army published a long report, which documented in shocking details the threats of the young Mr Roy Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel, to "wreck the Army" and break Secretary Stevens if David Schine, a McCarthy investigator, was not given consistently preferential treatment after he had been drafted into the Army as a private.

★

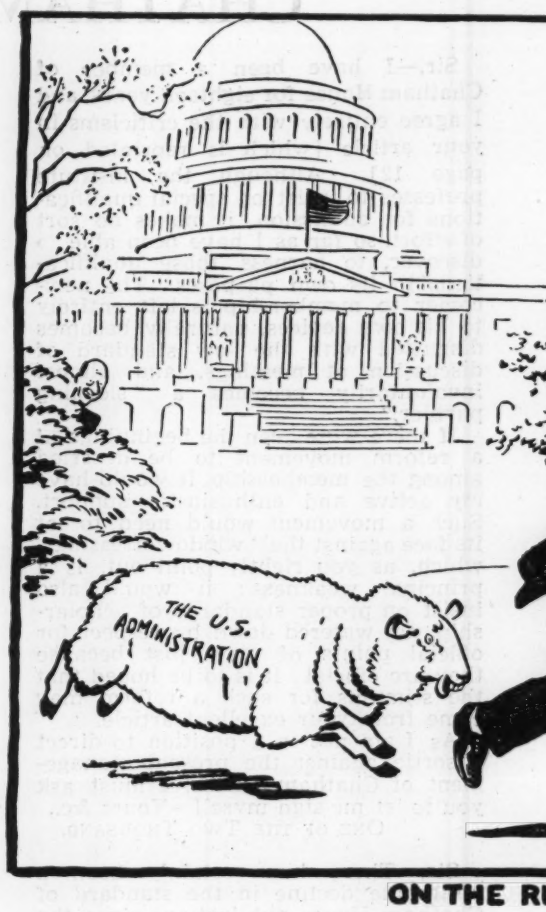
The report told how Senator McCarthy had directly approached the Army's chief legal counsel to seek a commission for Private Schine, how the Army found him unqualified to receive one, how Senator McCarthy and Mr Cohn then demanded that Schine be assigned to New York, in order to study "evidence of pro-Communist leanings in West Point textbooks," and how this request was also refused; how, when the Army told Mr Cohn that after Private Schine had finished his basic training the chances were nine to one that he would be sent overseas, this provoked in Mr Cohn the threat to wreck the Army and make sure that Mr Stevens would be "through" as Secretary of the Army.

The Army insisted at one point that a policy of special treatment for any Army private was not in the national interest, whereupon Mr Cohn, who is all of 27, told the Army he would give it "a little national interest" by showing it up in public "in its worst light."

The report listed the many occasions on which Private Schine was given special passes to come to New York, supposedly on the subcommittee's business. Last December the commanding General of his camp complained to the Army's legal counsel that Private Schine was "becoming increasingly difficult because the soldier was leaving the post nearly every night," and usually returning "very late at night." The day after this warning Senator McCarthy told the Army that he was no longer interested in having special treatment for Private Schine. But apparently Mr Cohn was furious and told the Army's counsel that he would show him "what it meant to go over his head." Six weeks later the battle to have Private Schine assigned to New York was still going on and Senator McCarthy warned the Army's counsel of the consequences of thwarting young Mr Cohn.

Two weeks later Senator McCarthy told an assistant to telephone the Army's counsel that he was very angry about the honourable discharge granted to a New York dentist who had claimed his privilege not to answer questions about past associations. Ten days after that General Zwicker, the commanding officer of the dentist's former Army camp, was called to testify before the McCarthy subcommittee. And that, as all the world now knows, was the guerrilla episode that led to the famous "memorandum of understanding," or as some say the terms of surrender, between the Army of the United States and Senator McCarthy.

Inevitably there was standing room only in Washington yesterday when the subcommittee called Mrs Annie Lee Moss, a middle-aged coloured woman, who was suspended by the Army Signal Corps after Senator McCarthy had



ON THE R

described her as a "code clerk" whose "Communist record" was known to the Army. Mrs Moss was a cafeteria worker who quietly told the subcommittee yesterday that she had never been in a code room in her life. Mr Cohn tried to establish her personal connection with a staff member of the "Daily Worker" but it turned out that the man she knew was a coloured man who happened to have the same name.

The audience was uncommonly ready with applause for Democratic committee members, and Mrs Moss's lawyer, whenever they protested at the tactics of Mr Cohn. At one point Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, asked if she knew who Karl Marx was. "Who's that?" she gravely asked and the crowd laughed itself silly.

When she finished her testimony and stepped down from the stand Senator Symington leaned into his microphone and angrily cried: "I may be sticking my neck out but I think you are telling the truth. And if you're not taken back in your Army job, you come around and see me. I am going to see that you get a job."

★

Senator McCarthy was mercifully absent from these rebellious proceedings because he was busy composing a broadcast reply to Adlai Stevenson's condemnation of him at Miami last Saturday, to the first outright attack made on him by a Republican Senator, Ralph Flanders of Vermont, and to a trenchant analysis of his methods televised to a national audience last Tuesday night by the celebrated American commentator, Edward R. Murrow, and sponsored by the Aluminum Corporation of America.

Senator Flanders on Tuesday vindicated the honour of the Republican party on the floor of the Senate by suddenly putting the rhetorical question: "What party does he belong to? One must conclude that his is a one-man party, and that its name is McCarthyism, a title which he has proudly accepted."

Senator Flanders then launched into the first open attack on McCarthy by a Republican in this session of Congress. He said that McCarthy was diverting the attention of the nation away from "dangerous problems" abroad and that

McCARTHY'S METHODS

IR COOKE

RUN

he was "doing his best . . . by intention or through ignorance to shatter the Republican party."

Next day President Eisenhower sent a letter of commendation to Senator Flanders and told his news conference that the senator had done the country "a service" by calling attention to 'the danger of us engaging in internecine warfare and magnifying certain items of procedure and right and personal aggrandizement."

But it may be that the spark which has set off this fiery and so righteous explosion of popular indignation was laid, with deliberate courage, by Mr Murrow. He came to great fame in this country during the war through his broadcasts from London. He is a tireless news reporter and, in his weekly television dramatisation of the news, a consummate showman.

Last Tuesday night Mr Murrow gave over his whole half-hour to a pictorial analysis of "McCarthyism" by projecting visual excerpts from the senator's speeches and sessions in the chair of his subcommittee It was McCarthy exposed by McCarthy, and Mr Murrow added only the sparest narrative comment But at the end, after the huge audience for this programme had seen McCarthy merciless, McCarthy gay, McCarthy cunning, McCarthy sentimental, Mr Murrow looked his audience in the eye and ended with these words:

"This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent. Or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of the Republic to abdicate his responsibilities.

"As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at an early age We proclaim ourselves—as indeed we are—the defenders of the free world or what's left of it We cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home

"The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay among our allies abroad and given comfort to our enemies. And whose fault is that? Not really his He didn't create the situation of fear, merely exploited it, and skilfully Cassius was right: 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves.'"

*

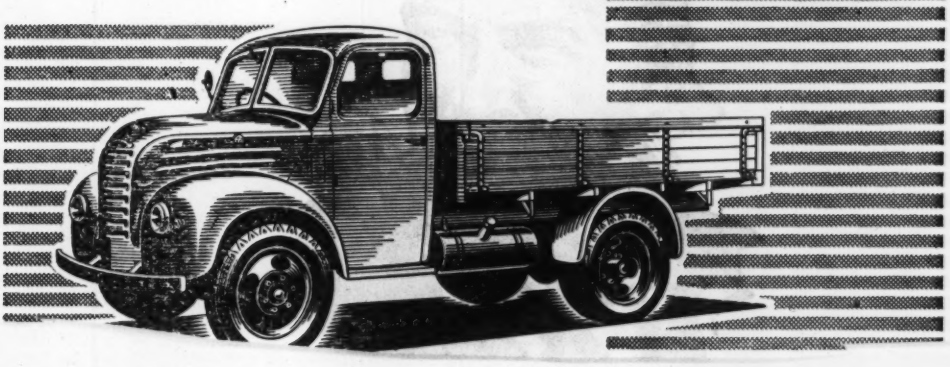
These words were spoken with the blessing of the Aluminum Corporation of America, which has obviously a lot to lose by taking this stand. The response, however, of televiewers across the country has been a stunning endorsement of Murrow's courage. So far the comments, by telephone, telegram, and letter, are running about fifteen to one in Murrow's favour.

Hence the surprising rally of candour in public men who have stayed astutely silent for five years Hence President Eisenhower's relieved approval of Senator Flanders. Hence a morning chorus of suddenly uninhibited newspaper columnists praising Murrow for 'laying it on the line." Hence the confident laughter of the big audience at yesterday's subcommittee hearing. Hence the delayed righteousness of Senator Symington, of Missouri.

Mr Murrow may yet make bravery fashionable

Mr. Transport Chief—

YOUR LOW CONTRACT TENDERS PAY BETTER THIS WAY



Wilson, Eleanor D.

Eleanor D. Wilson
455 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

March 11 - 1954

Dear Ed,

If you never do another thing in life (hardly likely!) you have made your contribution to society. Your brilliant program on McCarthy was a tremendous manifestation of the heights to which the human spirit can soar. Only time will show how important it was. Thank you always for your timely leadership. Now we have something to focus -

a most grateful citizen and friend

Siddy

Winn, Frank

UAW·CIO

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN W. LIVINGSTON..VICE-PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

March 22, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

In one of his brief periods in his office in Detroit, Walter Reuther, who is on the road almost continuously, discussed with a number of us your effective criticisms of Senator McCarthy, and your dignified and equally effective replies to his attempt to slander you.

He asked me to drop you this note which is to let you know that he joins with millions of other Americans who have sent their congratulations to you.

May I add my personal congratulations and my gratitude for your defense of democratic principles and liberties.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Winn

Frank Winn, Director of
Public Relations

FW:et
liu-72-cio

Wood, Peggy

Peggy Wood,
277 Park Ave.,
New York, 17, N.Y.

PEGGY WOOD

April 7, 1954.

Dear Ed Murrow:

Senator McCarthy's attitude and delivery last night put him square in the category of the minister whose sermon Coolidge reported to Mrs. Coolidge. She had been suffering with a cold and could not go to church that Sunday but she asked her husband for the subject of the morning sermon.

"Talked about sin," replied the President.
"What about it?" asked Mrs. Coolidge.
" He was agin it". said Mr. Coolidge.

So Senator McCarthy was agin Communists. Has anybody ever told him that Hitler was agin them, too?

Well, I'm agin them for one, but I am also agin the latter-day Hitlers.

Sincerely Yours,

Peggy Wood

By the way, the advertisement in today's Herald-Tribune has quite a campaign behind it. My husband and I have been aware of it for two weeks and expect you will see more of the same plus thousands of names.

Wood, Peggy

PEGGY WOOD

277 Park Ave.
March 10th

Dear Ed Murrow —

I tried to get you by phone at 11:01 P.M. last night but CBS did not answer for five minutes, then of course it was busy. So was Western Union. Then about midnight Morris Ernst (we were at Margalo

PEGGY WOOD

Gillmore's) called your house but you had gone to Washington.

That was a superb presentation of Him-Who-Shall-Be-Nameless. I'm proud to be on your team. An early member, too!

Sincerely,
Peggy Wood

Wurzel, Joe

Look INTEROFFICE CORRESPONDENCE FROM NEW YORK

TO:

FROM:

March 11, 1954

SUBJECT:

Edward R. Murrow

Dear Ed;

Just a hasty note to add my warmest approval of your show featuring the junior Senator. It was masterful--one that you and Alcoa can well be proud of.

Sincerely,

Joe Wurzel

Yolen, Will

Will Yolen
NEWTOWN TURNPIKE, (R. F. D. 4)
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT

March 10, 1954

Dear Ed:

Please re-broadcast the McCarthy Story. A lot of us missed it and would like to see it again. I understand it's a timeless piece, so it doesn't matter whether you do it right away quick, or a week from now. A bunch of us will do everything we can to call attention to it if you do it again, so that you will have the biggest audience ever.

Regards and best wishes,

Will

Will Yolen

dl

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Hersch L. Zitt, Youth Director
Oheb Zedek Synagogue Center
508 Mahantongo Street
Pottsville, Pa.

April 6, 1954

Zitt, H. L.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I would not be at all surprised if the name on this letter meant nothing at all to you, but I had the pleasure of broadcasting home from London with you on V-E day in 1945. As a member of the Stars and Stripes, I also was in your company from time to time.

Tonight's vilification of you by the junior Senator from Wisconsin is a perfect example of "double-think" and makes one shudder to know that it can be practiced so freely. Nothing on your program of March 9th was answered in the attack this evening. All of the arguments were completely unrelated either to the matter at hand or to any answer which the Senator might have made. To drag in a history of Marxism, to quote from publications, to read dedications of books; none of these are honest argumentation. The argumentum ad hominem proves only that the Senator either has no facts or is afraid to present such facts as he has.

If we are not to live in a world where conformity equals patriotism and individual dissent is equated with subversion, you and men like you must continue to present the facts without fear or favor - and without persecution by cold, calculating, power-hungry men with Congressional immunity.

May it be God's will that you grow from strength to strength.

Hersch L. Zitt

Zousmer, J.

Ed:

Novick says if you want "heat for repeats" he is coastbound for a few labor meetings and will be glad to help.

jz

Zwicker, Ralph W.
Brig. Gen.

HEADQUARTERS CAMP KILMER
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDING GENERAL
NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

10 March 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your "See It Now" TV broadcast last night was timely and, considering the scope of subject material available, most succinct.

My congratulations to you, Mr. Friendly, your sponsors and CBS for a courageous stand against a demagogue who believes himself above the laws of our country.

Sincerely,

Ralph W. Zwicker
Brig. Gen., U.S.A.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

RECEIVED
1954 FEB 24 PM 8:28
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 049 PD

DARIEN CONN FEB 24 800PME

EDWARD R MURROW CBS NYK

THANK YOU FOR YOUR MAGNIFICIENT AND COURAGEOUS BROADCAST TONIGHT

JOHN AND CHARLOTTE ROBLING.

822P..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = Int'l Letter Telegram

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SA709

1954 FEB 24 PM 11 23

S-LLE174 NL PD=ST LOUIS MO 25=

ED MURROW-COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM INC=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

I JUST WANT TO TELL YOU HOW PROUD I AM OF YOU AND COLUMBIA FOR THE JOB YOU ARE DOING ON MC CARTHY YOU QUOTED THE ANALOGY OF BURNING THE BARN TO CATCH THE RATS WHICH IS CLOSE TO THE ONE I HEARD THE OTHER DAY OF QUOTE POSIONING THE SPRINGS TO CATCH THE HORSE THIEVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH COLUMBIA FOR MANY YEARS AND THIS IS ONE OF THE HIGH POINTS THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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Lle 1141

WHO LOVE YOU AND YOUR KIND KEEP IT UP SINCERELY 24 PM 11 23

WALSTON CHUBB=..

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 FEB 24 PM 9 14

=(131)=

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NA431 PD=TDPL WESTFIELD NJER 24 805PME=

EDWARD MURROW=

DELIVER STATION WCBS 485 MADISON ST=

CONGRATULATIONS YOUR MAGNIFICENT AND VERY COURAGEOUS NEWSCAST TONIGHT=

ERWIN KLINGSBERG 1257 CEDAR AVE MOUNTAINSIDE NJ=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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RB012

1954 FEB 24 AM 9 38

R CHA002 NL PD=CHAPELHILL NCAR 24=

ED MURROW=

CBS RADIO NETWORK NYK=

ZWICKER ANALYSIS SUPERB=

JACK LASLEY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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MA793

1954 FEB 24 PM 10 47

M SPB856 NL PD=ST PAUL MINN 24=

EDWARD R MURROW, CARE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING CO=

NYK=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR WEDNESDAY BROADCAST YOUR UNBIASED NEWS PRESENTATION IS ONE OF THE BRIGHT SPOTS IN JOURNALISM TODAY STEADYING INFLUENCE IN A FEAR RIDDEN ERA AND YOURS THE ONE CALM VOICE IN A SEA OF CLAMOR=

MR AND MRS J RICHARD IRVIN 813 SOUTH CLEVELAND=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 FEB 24 PM 11 4

AA846

A•GOA234 NL PD=GAINESVILLE FLO 24=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=NYK=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR INTERNATIONAL BROADSIDE AGAINST MCCARTHY TONIGHT• WE SUGGEST THAT EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION LUNCH HOUR BRAIN WASHING BEATS ALL AND THAT ACTING SECRETARY OF DEFENSE STEVENS SHOULD CALL OFF COLONEL SCHWABLES COURT MARSHALL AND SALUTE HIM FOR HIS PROLONGED DEFIANCE BEFORE FINAL SUBMISSION WHILE PRISONER OF WAR• YOUR FRIENDS

NATHAN AND NINA STARR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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(15) 1954 FEB 24 PM 9:16

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NA435 PD=LEMARS IOWA 24 710PMC=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

DELIVER 485 MADISON=

EDWARD R MORROW, IN HIS CUSTOMARY EVENING SMEAR OF SENATOR MCCARTHY, FORGOT TO INTRODUCE QUOTATIONS FROM MOLOTOV AND MALENKOV, EUROPEANS CRITICS, A SERIOUS OMMISSION=

R F STARZL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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FX-1201

:(49)

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1954 MAR 9 PM 6 51

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NB166 PD=WUX NEWYORK NY 9 635P

=EDWARD R MURROW, FRED FRIENDLY:

=PLEASE DELIVER 485 MADISON AVE:

=THIS TIME I CANNOT OFFER MY NECK BUT YOU HAVE MY PRAYERS=

=BILL LEONARD=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

PCG/RC2/RO/USW1355 EK750 LONDON 28 12 2317

LT COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NEWYORK

MORROW HAVE JUST SEEN BBC REBROADCAST YOUR PROGRAMME

STOP CONGRATULATIONS PLEASE CONTINUE AS SPOKESMAN OF ALL

FREEDOM LOVING AMERICANS HOME AND ABROAD

MARTIN

RECEIVED
1954 MAR -7 PM 8:56
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

FORM 101 PW—C

PCG RC3 AK

AUP80/PT VIENNA 30 11 1430

PRESS COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK

PROCHURCH PROMURROW INFORMATIVELY SEE IT NOW LED YESTERDAYS BBC OVERSEAS NEWS BROADCASTS AND ARMED FORCES NETWORK NEW AND TODAY TOPS EISENHOWER IN AUSTRIAN PRESS REGARDS

KENDRICK

SENT 847AM

by WESTERN UNION

K8CC 6R NL PD

NEW YORK NY MAR 9 1954

WILLIAM PALEY, CBS TV

485 MADISON AVE NYK

CBS DESERVES THE GREATEST CREDIT FOR THEIR RESPONSIBILITY AND FAIRNESS REGARDING MCCARTHYS DEMAND AND THEIR PRESERVATION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE MURROW BROADCAST

CASS CANFIELD JR

100A MAR 10

by WESTERN UNION

K7CC 6R NL PD

NEW YORK NY MAR 9 1954

ED R MURROW, CBS TV

485 MADISON AVE NYK

YOUR BROADCAST ON MCCARTHY WAS OF THE GREATEST SERVICE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STOP THANK YOU

CASS CANFIELD JR

100A MAR 10

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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H25CC 5H NL PD

NEWYORK NY 1116PME MAR 9 1954

EDWARD R MURROW AND FRED FRIENDLY

CBS-TV NYK

CONGRATULATIONS AND DEEP RESPECT FOR YOUR IMPORTANT AND GENUINE

PUBLIC SERVICE LAST NIGHT

RICHARD AND ALLENE TALMEY PLAUT
975 PARK AVENUE

119A MAR 20

Vogue

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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F260CC 5K 34 PD 9 EXTRA

NEWYORK NY 1120P MAR 9 1954

ED R MURROW, CBS NEWS DESK

485 MADISON AVE NYK

WE ARE PROUD TO LIVE IN A COUNTRY WHERE A MAN LIKE YOU SAYS

WHAT ALL OF US WANT SAID NOW. THIS MINUTE STOP MCCARTHY.

ELAINE CARRINGTON CURTIS ROOSEVELT AND JEAN MEEGAN
33 EAST 63 ST

1230A

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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D12CC 7R NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAR 9 1954

ED R MURROW

CBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

DEAR ED YOU ONCE DEFENDED A FEW GUYS NAMED MCGLINCH LE SUEUR MANNING ET AL WHEN YOU THOUGHT SOME LIBERTIES WERE INFRINGED IN OUR PARIS LIBERATION COVERAGE STOP TONIGHT YOU DEFENDED AN ENTIRE NATION AND NO NEWSMAN COULD BE ANYTHING BUT PROUD OF YOUR GUTS ALL ELSE I CAN SAY IS YOUR OWN TAG LINE GOD BLESS YOU

JIM MCGLINCY
245 EAST 37 ST

129A MAR 10

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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F59CC 5K 13 PD

BROOKLYN NY 1102P MAR 9 1954

ED MURROW

CBS NYK

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND CBS ON YOUR MARVELOUS DOCUMENTARY ON SENATOR MCCARTHY BRAVO

ARTHUR HOROWITZ

118A

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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FX-1201

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F55CC 5K 10 PD

NEWYORK NY 1120P MAR 9 1954

ED R MURROW

CBS NYK

CONGRATULATIONS ON A JOB WELL DONE KEEP IT UP SINCERELY

SAM DORFMAN

115A

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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D20CC 7R NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAR 9 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

TV STATION WCBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

PROUD OF YOUR FINE EFFORT. CBS SHOULD BE CONGRATULATED WE HOPE MORE VOICES WILL NOW BE HEARD AGAINST HALF TRUTHS.

THE FELDMANS
35 WEST 90 ST NYC

149A MAR 10

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

by WESTERN UNION

K2CC 6R NL PD

NEW YORK NY MAR 9 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS NYK

A MAGNIFICENT HALF HOUR OF RATIONAL NEWS REPORTING LAST NIGHT.

YOU MAKE US PROUD TO BE FELLOW AMERICANS

DAVID SWIFT MAGGIE MCNAMARA AND NORMA CRANE
865 FIRST AVENUE NEW YORK CITY NY

1159P

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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F26 CC 5K 12 PD

NEWYORK NY 1120P MAR 9 1954

ED MURROW

CBS TV 485 MADISON AVE NYK

CONGRATULATIONS TO ED MURROW AND CBS FOR A MAGNIFICENT DEFENSE OF TRUTH

LYN WHITE SATURDAY REVIEW

1232A

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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H16CC 5H PD

NEWYORK NY 1119PME MAR 9 1954

ED MURROW

CBS NYK

CONGRATULATIONS ON A WONDERFUL MCCARTHY EXPOSE WE'RE BEHIND YOU

HILLARD ELKINS
WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY INC
1740 BROADWAY

110A MAR 10

763

by WESTERN UNION

R28CC 2R PD

NEWYORK NY 1119P MAR 9 1954

EDWARD R MURROW CBS TV

NYC

CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL ON A VERY FINE AND MOVING REPORT

ALICE WEEL

Newsfilm 131A MAR 10

LEE METCALF
1ST DIST., MONTANA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

10 March 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
New York.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My congratulations on your use of McCarthy's own words and pictures to put him in his place. I have been meaning to compliment you before on the shortest half-hour on television.

Very truly yours,

Lee Metcalf

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

=(431)

-1201

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..NA630 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 333P=

1954 MAR 10 PM 3 45

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

:BRAVO AND ENCORE=

YUL BRYNNER

Dis

44 cent phone

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FX-1201

=(15)

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1954 MAR 10 PM 5 17

.NA771 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 502PME=

ED MURROW=

:CBS=

:BRAVO AND THANKS=

:BIL AND CORA BAIRD=

BIL=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

(02)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NA069 DL PD=NEWYORK NY 10 512P= 1954 MAR 10 PM 7.06

MR EDWARD R MURROW, CBS =

485 MADISON AVE=

YOU HAVE HIT THE JACKPOT AGAIN WITH YOUR MARVELOUS I MCCARTHY PROGRAM, PRODUCED AT JUST THE RIGHT TIME TO SPEED MCCARTHY TO OBLIVION. CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND CBS=

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS=

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WESTERN UNION

(06)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1954 MAR 10 AM 11 12

NB145 PD=NI NEWYORK NY 10 958AME=

EDWARD MURROW AND FERD FRIENDLY=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON A NOBLE EFFORT AGAINST BIG BROTHER. HOPE IT WASN'T OVER THE HEADS OF HIS AUDIENCE=

IRWIN ROSS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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D54CC 7R PD

NEWYORK NY 212A MAR 10 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

BRAVO, ED, IT WAS MAGNIFICENT. LOVE

IRENE SELZNICK

238A

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(35) 1954 MAR 10 PM 12 46

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NB236 PD=WASHINGTON DC 10 1212PME=

ED MURROW=CBS=

DEAR ED CONGRATULATIONS ON MCCARTHY SHOW. THATS A BRAND OF COURAGE THAT I BUY. BEST=

MARGUERITE HIGGINS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CONGRATULATIONS

1954 MAR 10 PM 7 08

by WESTERN UNION

NB080 CGN PD=NNEWYORK NY 10 540PME=

:EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

485 MADISON AVE=

:CONGRATULATIONS ON A SPLENDID JOB=

:AL CAPP=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

=(05)

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NA072 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 525P

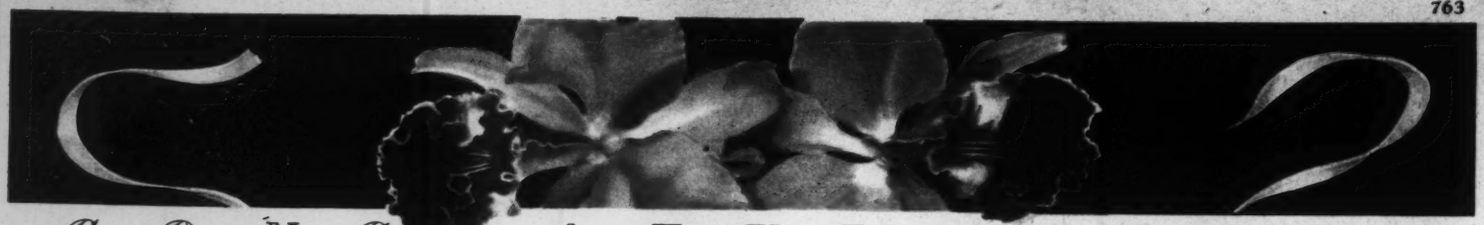
1954 MAR 10 PM 7 07

EDWARD RMURROW CBS=

:THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS=

ARLENE FRANCIS AND MARTIN GABEL:

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

NA243 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 135AME=

=ED MURROW

=CBS=

DEAR ED YOUR SEE IT NOW PROGRAM TUESDAY MARCH NINTH WAS SUCH THAT WE TRY TO REMEMBER EACH WORD AND EACH SCENE TO SAVOR AGAIN THE COURAGE AND THE HOPE THAT YOU MUST HAVE INSPIRED IN ALL AMERICA WITH MUCH AFFECTION=

STEPHANIE AND WALT KELLY=

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

NA224 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1240AME=

=ED MURROW

=CBS=

=MAGNIFICENT

=SAM AND BELLA SPEWACK 930 FIFTH AVE=

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NBA231 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 901PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 9 5

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

KL 10 E 55 ST

=CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR EXPOSEE OF SENATOR MCCARTHYS (

ON LAST NIGHTS TV PROGRAM KEEP IT UP=

=LOIS AND PHILIP JESSUP 108 EAST 82ND ST=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
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NL=Night Letter
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12)..

.NA415 DL PD=WUX NEWYORK NY 10 1248PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 15

=EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BS=

=AMERICANS ALL OWE YOU A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR YOUR SEE IT NOW BROADCAST ON MCCARTHY LAST NIGHT. YOU ARE BECOMING, MORE AND MORE, OUR BEST CONSCIENCE ON THE AIR. YOUR COURAGE AND ENTERPRISE, YOUR SENSE OF BALANCE ARE IN KEEPING WITH HIGHEST TRADITIONS OF AMERICAN FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE AIR=

JACOB S POTOFSKY GENERAL PRES AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA=(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(54)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 10 PM 2 08

NAB129 PD=EB NEW YORK NY

EDWARD R MURROW=

DLR CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR PRESENTATION IN UPHOLDING THE INTEGRITY OF OUR MEDIUM IN THE INTEREST OF PUBLIC SERVICE AND TRUTH=

CBS TECHNICIANS FILM SERVICE OPERATIONS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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WA070 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC 9=

EDWARD R MURROW, CBS-TV=

1954 MAR 10 AM 3 57

NYK=

EVEN IF YOU DID NOT COME TO BURY HIM I THINK YOU HAVE. MY COMPLIMENTS

=MAGUIRE..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

by WESTERN UNION

WA051 CGN NL PD=TDW BETHESDA MD 9=

1954 MAR 10 AM 3 49

EDWARD R MURROW, CARE CBS=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR EXCELLENT FORTHRIGHT AND FACTUAL PRESENTATION TONIGHT=

H ZINDER..

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1954 MAR 10 PM 517 100.

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NA395 PD=COLORADO SPRINGS COLO 10 1012AMM=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

PLEASE ACCEPT OUR SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS AND APPRECIATION FOR YOUR SUPERB REPORT ON SENATOR MCCARTHY=

THE FREE PRESS EDWIN P HOYT PUBLISHER CONNIE POULOS MANAGING EDITOR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

1954 MAR 10 PM 5 07

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NA757 PD=CHICAGO ILL 10 337PMC=

EDWARD R MORROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS. YOUR PROGRAM MARCH NINTH WAS A REAL SERVICE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AS AL. SMITH USED TO SAY LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD. YOU CERTAINLY USED THE RECORD TO INFORM ALL THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY AND EXPOSED THE GREATEST MENACE TOWARD THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY TODAY. IT TOOK COURAGE ON YOUR PART. I AND ALL OTHER REAL AMERICANS ARE GREATLY INDEBTED TO YOU=

P L SIEMILLER GENERAL VICE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL ASSN OF MACHINISTS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(07)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1954 MAR 10 PM 2 14

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.NA672 PD=KP NEW YORK NY 10 337PME=

:ED MURROW CBS=

AM IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH YOUR STAND ON MCCARTHY WONDERFUL SHOW=

:RANDELL HENDERSON CBS TV=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

(02)..

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 08

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA489 LONG PD=WUX DES MOINES IOWA 10 1215PMC=

EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

Ante

LAST NIGHT YOU ACCUSED SENATOR MCCARTHY OF LIFTING MATERIAL OUT OF CONTEXT WHICH WAS EXACTLY WHAT YOU DID DURING YOUR ENTIRE BROADCAST. CERTAINLY J EDGAR HOOVER HAS THE RESPECT AND COMPLETE CONFIDENCE OF MORE PEOPLE THAN ANY OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIAL IN MODERN HISTORY. BECAUSE OF HIS FREQUENT CONTACTS WITH SENATOR MCCARTHY MR HOOVER IS IN MUCH BETTER POSITION TO PASS INTELLIGENT PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL JUDGEMENT ON THE SENATOR THAN YOU ARE, I AM, OR ANYBODY ELSE. IN A PRESS INTERVIEW LAST AUGUST 24TH REPORTERS ASKED HIM TO COMMENT ON MCCARTHY. THE FBI CHIEF ENDORSED AND HIGHLY PRAISED SENATOR MCCARTHY BOTH PERSONALLY AND OFFICIALLY. CARDINAL SPELLMAN ANOTHER DISTINGUISHED AND HIGHLY RESPECTED AMERICAN HAS REPEATEDLY ENDORSED SENATOR MCCARTHY WITH HIGH PRAISE. AT LAST YEARS CONVENTION THE AMERICAN LEGION ALSO PRAISED AND STRONGLY ENDORSED HIM. IF YOU INTENDED YOUR TELECAST TO HONESTLY HONORABLY AND ACCURATELY PRESENT BOTH SIDES FAIRLY WHY DID YOU OMIT QUOTATIONS FROM SUCH=

END 1=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1220

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 06

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NA489 2=

OUTSTANDING PEOPLE WHO REPRESENT THE VIEWPOINT OF SO MANY OF US? ALSO WHY DID YOU OMIT MENTION OF THE FACT THE COMMUNIST DAILY WORKER DEVOTES THE MAJOR PART OF EVERY ISSUE TO VICIOUS ATTACHS UPON MCCARTHY. THAT CLEARLY SHOWS THEY FEAR HIM FAR MORE THAN ANY OTHER AMERICAN OFFICIAL SO HE MUST BE HURTING THEM SERIOUSLY. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IF YOU WERE NOT ATTEMPTING TO DELIBERATELY DECEIVE YOUR LISTENERS YOU WILL QUOTE ENDORSEMENTS OF MCCARTHY BY THE FBI CHIEF AND OTHER GREAT AMERICANS ON TELEVISION AND RADIO AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. DISTORTED AND ONE SIDED ATTACKISM LIKE YOURS IS CERTAIN TO ENCOURAGE COMMUNISTS TO REDOUBLEDTHEIR EFFORTS TO INFILTRATE IN HIGH PLACES BECAUSE THEY WILL BELIEVE SIMILAR ATTACKS WILL BE MADE ON THOSE WHO EXPOSE THEM AND LAXITY IN DEALING WITH THEM WILL BE CONDONED AND DEFENDED=

ARTHUR I BOREMAN PUBLISHER MERCHANTS TRADE JOURNAL
1912 GRAND AVE DES MOINES IOWA=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

763

by WESTERN UNION

NA194 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1222AME

=ED MURROW=

CBS

=DEEPLY STIRRED BY YOUR TELECAST TONIGHT CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR HONEST PRESENTATION YOU HAVE BOLSTERED THE FAITH OF THE MILLIONS IN THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC TRADITION=

MR AND MRS SAM JAFFE 880 5TH AVE NYC=

Actor

763

by WESTERN UNION

NA223 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 123AME=

ED R MURROW=

CBS=

GRATEFUL FOR INTELLIGENT COVERAGE TONIGHT CERTAIN PLENTY OF AMERICANS ARE WITH YOU 100 PERCENT REFUSE TO PAY FOR HIS NAME SINCERELY=

=ROBERT SHAW=

Choral Director?

10th March

Ed,

The telegrams are so wonderful. I never knew how deeply I could be touched by the voices of ordinary people suddenly coming out of darkness. To you it should be the purest kind of reward, maybe the best life offers. The little family that said, We thank you humbly. And the one that said, As a fellow reporter I want to commend you, signed Tom O'Dea, Day Police Reporter.....

Neil

Ed Wasserman

ED MURROW

PERSONAL

John Mason

Ed,

Never I
and yet somehow or are amazed at
knew you could be confused by the
voices of strangers people suddenly come up
to speak to you or of saying and be blunde it you
kind to remember, warm and dear and little office
and little family that said, we thank you
wolfish a as one and has said, bless
mother family. And the mother I saw of business
reporter I saw to commend you, sights
order, day office reporter.....

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 10 PM 9 44

L.LLC367 NL PD=WUX TDL WEST LOS ANGELES CALIF 10 MAR 10 PM 9 44

EDWARD R MURROW=COLUMBIA BROADCSTING CO

NYK

YOU DESERVE TOP MARKS FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS AND PATRIOTIC STAND AGAINST BULLYBOY JOE AND HIS HATE-AMERICA COTERIA

REGARDS=

SAM ENGEL 20TH CENTURY FOX STUDIO=.

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(05)..

1954 MAR 10 PM 5 09

.NA755 PD=CLINTON IOWA 10 316PMC=

=EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS

=CARRIED AP STORY ON TUESDAY TELECAST. WISH TO SEND PERSONAL APPROVAL FROM ONE NEWS ORGAN ON MCCARTHY LIST TO ANOTHER CONGRATULATIONS=

JOHN H NOTMAN CO-PUBLISHER AND GENERAL MANAGER CLINTON HERALD=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

=(48)

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 10 AM 9 59

NB017 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 915A=(

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

CONGRATULATIONS TO CBS ALCOA AND ED MURROW FOR HIS COURAGEOUS AND HEARTWARMING TELECAST LAST NIGHT. IT WAS MUSIC TO OUR EARS=

MARION R ASCOLI=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 10 AM 11:14
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

KOZNP003 ZLB009 INTL PRESS ZL LONDON (VIA WU CABLES) 24 10 407P

COLUMBIA

NYK

CHURCH FOR MURROW REPORTERS HERE INCLUDING ABC

CORRESPONDENT ASKS BE INCLUDED IN LONDON OFFICES

CONGRATULATIONS YOU ON LAST NIGHTS SHOW REGARDS

SMITH.

1111AM

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(04)

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 13

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NAB146 DL PD=WUX HUTCHINSON KANS 10 1211PMC=

EDWARD R MURROW=

DLR CBS=

MY PERSONAL COMMENDATION, ED, FOR A TERRIFIC JOB ON MCCARTHYISM QED. BEST PERSONAL REGARDS=

=HOWARD O PETERSON GENERAL MANAGER KTVH=

QED=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(23)

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 37

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NB286 PD=WUX CINCINNATI OHIO 10 1151AME=

EDWARD MURROW=

CBS=

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR INTELLIGENT DENUNCIATION OF THE MONSTER=

MARY WOOD RADIO-TV COLUMNIST THE CINCINNATI POST=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

by WESTERN UNION

NA227 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1248AME=

=ED MURROW=

=BLESS YOU FOR EVERY WORD AND ALL YOUR ANGER LOVE

=DOROTHY PALEY=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(17)

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NAB169 PD=WUX DENVER COLO 10 1140AMM= 1954 MAR 10 PM 2 19

=EDWARD R MURROW=

DLR CBS=

AS A PVRIVATE CITIZEN WHO LOVES HIS COUNTRY EARLY I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR LAST NIGHTS COURAGEOUS PRESENTATION STOP IT WAS GREAT AND YOU HAVE DONE AMERICA A HISTORIC AND MONUMENTAL SERVICE REGARDS=

PALMER HOYT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(23)..

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NA247 PD=FI NEWYORK NY 10 1109AME=

1954 MAR 10 AM 11 31

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

TO SAY THAT WHAT YOU DID LAST NIGHT WAS A PUBLIC SERVICE IS TO SAY THE LEAST. WHAT YOU DID WAS TO DEMONSTRATE THE POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY OF TELEVISION IN DEALING WITH ANIMATED FACTS AND IN HOLDING UP A MIRROW TO A NATION. CONGRATULATIONS=

NORMAN COUSINS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX (57).

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NA654 PD=AV NEW YORK NY 10 333PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 3 59

EDWARD R MURROW CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS. YOU WERE MAGNIFICENT. YOUR RESTRAINT AND DIGNITY COUPLED WITH FULL RECOGNITION OF EFFECT OF MCCARTHY'S METHODS FURNISHED AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH URGENTLY NEEDED INFORMATION=

LEO CHERNE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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1954 MAR 10 AM 1 41

SYA 116

1954

SY WSA055 NL PD TDWS MAMARONECK NY 9

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

OUR GRATITUDE FOR YOUR VOICE OF FREEDOM IN THE TIME OF TYRANY

HELEN AND GENE RAYBURN 717 PARKWAY MAMARONECK NY

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(531)

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1954 MAR 10 PM 4 56

NA733 PD NEWYORK NY 10 443PME

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS

WE ARE IN YOUR CORNER ALL THE WAY

INEZ AND ADD ROBB

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 MAR 10 AM 10 44

=(42)=

FX-1201

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NAB030 PD=AV NEW YORK NY 10 946AME=

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS TV=

MARCH NINTH IS A DAY WE WILL REMEMBER FOR THE BLOW YOU STRUCK FOR FREEDOM IN YOUR REPORT ON MCCARTHY STOP CONGRATULATIONS ON BEHALF OF ALL OF US AT FREEDOM HOUSE

=GEORGE FIELD EXECUTIVE SECRETARY=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(49)

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 55

SYMBOLS

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NB311 PD=WUX NEW YORK NY 10 101P=

ED MURROW=CBS=

ALL HONOR TO ALCOA COLUMBIA FRED FRIENDLY AND YOURSELF FOR INTEGRITY INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE=

NATE WEISS WILLIAM STUTMAN DORIS LAVELLE OF 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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OC5-9 SPC058 LA902

1954 MAR 10 AM 2 27

L.LLC680 NL PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 9=

HELEN SIOUSSAT, CBS=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

Mr. Murrow

:ED MURROWS MCCARTHY PROGRAM WAS THE FINEST PIECE OF NEWS REPORTING IN THE HISTORY OF TV HIS SEE IT NOW PROGRAM IS ALWAYS EXCELLENT TONIGHT HE WAS MAGNIFICENT CONGRATULATIONS KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK REGARDS=

:KEN LAUB 349 SOUTH ORANGE GROVE AVE LOS ANGELES 36=..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(05)..

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NA220 PD=RI NEWYORK NY 10 1045AME=

1954 MAR 10 AM 11 08

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

I WAS NEVER MORE PROUD OF MY FAVORITE GOLF PARTNER. MY CONGRATULATIONS TO FRED FRIENDLY, JESS, JOHNNY AND YOU. IF YOU EVER NEED A WATER BOY ON THAT TEAM YOU WILL KNOW I AM AVAILABLE=

BROTHER FRANK= Smith

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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RA174 RA023

1954 MAR 10 AM 2 30

R CFA014 NL PD=CHARLOTTE NCAR 9=

ED MURROW=

CBS TV 485 MADISON AVE NYK=

MY ADMIRATION AND RESPECT HAS ALWAYS BEEN YOURS. NOW SIGN ME UP ON YOUR TEAM I HOPE THAT MANY QUOTE SEE IF NOW UNQUOTE=

KEN TREDWELL VICE PRESIDENT JEFFERSON STANDARD BROADCASTING CO WBT-WBTV=

763

NB031 CGN PD=ROCHESTER NY 10 855AME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

1954 MAR 10 AM 10 08

CONGRATULATIONS FOR A MAGNIFICENT REASSERTION OF INTEGRITY AND TRUTH. SEE IT NOW LAST NIGHT IN BOTH COURAGE AND CONTENT HAS REAFFIRMED OUR FAITH IN AMERICAN NEWS REPORTING AND HISTORY=

DAVID ROBERTS NEWS EDITOR WVET RADIO AND TELEVISION=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(17)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 18

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NB278 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1233P=

ED MURROW=CBS=

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA CIO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR PRESENTATION LAST NIGHT OF THE THOROUGHLY DOCUMENTED INDICTMENT OF THE SINISTER UNAMERICAN METHODS EMPLOYED BY SENATOR MCCARTHY. YOU HAVE PERFORMED A DISTINCT SERVICE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPE AND TO THE PRECIOUS LIBERTIES WHICH HAVE MADE THIS THE GREATEST NATION IN THE WORLD=

IN THESE CONFUSED TIMES WHEN FEAR - RATHER THAN HISTORIC AMERICAN JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY - SEEMS TO BE THE RULE IT IS MOST GRATIFYING TO SEE AND HEAR SUCH A COURAGEOUS PRESENTATION OF A NATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE BEST TRADITION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK WE'RE BEHIND YOU 100 PERCENT=

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA 210 WEST 50 ST MICHAEL J QUILL INTL PRES, GUSTAV FABER INTL SEC TREAS, MATTHEW GUINAN INTL VICE PRES, ELLIS VANRIPER, JAMES HORST 8007 BROADWAY ELMHURST NY, WM GROGAN 3890 NW 36 ST MIAMI FLORIDA, JOHN LOPEZ 657 FULTON ST BROOKLYN PATRICK MAHEDY, MARK KAVANAGH, RICHARD DOWNES FRANK OCONNOR, JACK SHERRY 935 MARKET ST SAN FRANCISCO CALIF PAUL OROURKE 1827 ARCH ST PHILADELPHIA, LOU DWYER 1827 ARCH ST PHILADELPHIA=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(35)

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NA454 GOVT PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 10 1241PME=

EDWARD MURROW=

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 41

CBS=

THE TV OSCAR FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS PRESENTATION OF MCCARTHYISM. IT WAS TIMELY, IT WAS FACTUAL, IT WAS FORCEFUL, IT WAS NEEDED AND WAS JUST WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD HOPED FOR. TREMENDOUS GOOD WILL HAS BEEN GENERATED FOR YOUR SPONSOR=

LESTER C HUNT USS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(06)

1954 MAR 10 AM 11 12

SYMBOLS

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NB144 PD=ED CHICAGO ILL 10 939AMC=

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

GOD BLESS YOU=

BILL GLANAGAN FORMER PRESS SECRETARY

TO ADLAI STEVENSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 8 01

NB112 PD=G SANFRANCISCO CALIF 10 307PMP=

=EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS RADIO=

YOU ARE ENTITLED TO THE GRATITUDE OF ALL MEN WHO CHERISH TRUTH AND DECENCY. I SALUTE YOU.

=PHIL S GIBSON CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT OF CALIF=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

=(12)

1954 MAR 10 PM 12 17

SYMBOLS

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NB205 PD=NKC NEW YORK NY 10 1116AME=

EDWARD R MURROW, SEE IT NOW=

CBS=

ON BEHALF OF 500,000 MEMBERS OF NEW YORK CITY CIO COUNCIL PLEASE ACCEPT OUR CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR CLEAR FACTUAL PRESENTATION LAST NIGHT OF THE INDIDIOUS RECORD AND ACTIONS OF SENATOR MCCARTHY. YOU SHOWED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE FEARLESS WAY TO COMBAT MCCARTHYISM AND ALL IN CIO HAIL YOU FOR IT WITH DEEP GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION=

MICHAEL J QUILL PRESIDENT MORRIS IUSHEWITZ SECRETARY TREASURER=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(20)

SYMBOLS

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PB075

P CA841 PD=WUX CHICAGO ILL 9 1052PMC= 1954 MAR 10 AM 1 02

=EDWARD R MURROW=CBS

NYK=

YOUR COURAGEOUS TELECAST ON MCCARHYISM STANDS OUT AS A MASTERPIECE IN THE EXPOSURE OF MCCARTHY TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD AS A VICIOUS ENEMY OF TRUTH DECENCY. JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY AND A GREAT MENACE TO THE FREE WORLD. AS AN UNRESERVED ENEMY OF COMMUNISM I COMMEND YOU TO CONTINUE THIS EFFORT=

FRED H COONLEY GENERAL VICE PRESIDENT OF INTL ASSN OF MACHINISTS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 MAR 10 AM 1 07

(35)

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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SR002

SWA146 PD=SANTA ROSA CALIF 9 814PMP=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NEWS DEPT NYK=

CONGRATULATIONS ON OUTSTANDING AND MUCH NEEDED CLARIFICATION OF MCCARTHY. IT WAS EXCELLENT JOURNALISM IN THE FINEST TRADITION OF THE PROFESSION=

DENNE PETITCLERC THE PRESS DEMOCRAT SANTA ROSA CALIF=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(25)

SYMBOLS

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NA588 PD=NEW KENSINGTON PENN 10 224PME= 1954 MAR 10 PM 5 30

:EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND ALCOA FOR JUST PLAIN FACTS, A MASTERPIECE OF UNBIASED REPORTING=

MELVIN A GOLDBERG COMMERCIAL MANAGER WKPA THE ALUMINUM CITY=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(10)

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 4 18

NA680 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 355P=

EDWARD R MURROW=

:CBS:

=CONGRATULATIONS YOUR PROGRAM TUESDAY NIGHT EXPOSING MCCARTHYISM. OUR LOCAL UNION ENDORSES YOUR UNMASKING INTIMIDATION AND WITCHHUNTING. URGE YOU CONTINUE SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN INTEREST OF AMERICAN PEOPLE=

ALEX SIROTA MANAGER LOCAL 140 80 EAST 11 ST NYC=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(25)

FX-1201

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 37

SYMBOLS

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NB290 PD=NNW NEW YORK NY 10 1228PME=

ED MORROW=CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR HONEST AND FRIGHTFUL PORTRAIT OF A BULLY=

BRENDAN GILL=

N. Yorker

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(42)

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 2 46

NA544 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 227PME=

ED MURROW=CBS=

DEAR MR MURROW PLEASE ACCEPT MY GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION FOR YOUR COURAGE HONESTY AND INTEGRITY. IT WAS MEN LIKE YOU WHO MADE THIS GREAT COUNTRY WHAT IT WAS, I HOPE STILL IS AND ALWAYS WILL BE.

GOD BLESS YOU=

JOSEPH SCHILDKRAUT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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D56CC 7R PD

NEWYORK NY 228A MAR 10 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS NYK

DEAR ED CONGRATULATIONS ON A WONDERFUL PROGRAM HOPE YOU WONT MIND BUT I SPENT MOST OF MY OWN TV PROGRAM RAVING ABOUT YOURS AGAIN IT WAS WONDERFUL

BARRY GRAY

242A

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(19)

1954 MAR 10 PM 3 24

SYMBOLS

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NA597 PD=WUX TDL CULVER CITY CALIF 10 1100AMP=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON A WONDERFULLY ACCURATE AND COURAGEOUS JOB. YOU STRUCK A GOOD AND STRONG BLOW ON BEHALF OF ALL AMERICANS. VERY SINCERELY=

DORE SCHARY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(21)

SYMBOLS

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NA517 PD=BZ NEWYORK NY 10 152PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 26

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND FRED. ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT IT OUGHT TO BE DONE ONCE A WEEK FOR A YEAR AS A PUBLIC SERVICE. GREETINGS=

GODDARD LIEBERSON=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX (52)

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 4 56

NA731 PD=CHICAGO ILL 10 254PMC=

EDWARD R MURROW COMMENTATOR=

CBS=

KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK IN SHOWING UP MCCARTHY=

EARL MELTON VICE PRESIDENT INTERNATIONAL ASSN OF MACHINISTS ROOM 718 220 S STATE STREET CHICAGO ILLINOIS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(231)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1954 MAR 10 PM 5 26

.NAA783 PD=NEWARK NJER 10 417PME=

:E R MURROW=CBS=

:I THANK YOU FOR YOUR BRILLIANT STAND TO PROTECT CIVIL LIBERTIES IN OUR UNITED STATES=

PAUL JENNINGS SECY DISTRICT 4 INTL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS CIO=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1220

1954 MAR 17 10 PM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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20

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.NA772 LONG PD=EJ NEWYORK NY 10 440PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS TV=

YOUR STATION AND ITS NETWORK AND THE ALUMINUM COMPANY OF AMERICA, YOUR SPONSOR, HAVE EARNED HIGH ACCOLADE IN FACING UP TO ONE OF THE PRIME ISSUES OF OUR DAY. IN YOUR OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE VIRUS OF OUR BODY POLITIC YOU HAVE LIFTED THE SPIRITS OF MILLIONS OF YOUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN TO HELP CONTINUE THIS FIGHT FOR CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS. TRUTH IS ON THE MARCH FOR NO FINER SERGEANT EVER BARKED OUT MORE INSPIRING MARCHING ORDERS.

SINCERELY=

ARTHUR ROSENSTOCK PRESIDENT NEWSPAPER GUILD OF NEW YORK 133 WEST 44TH STREET NEW YORK 36 NY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

139

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
=Day Letter
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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1954 MAR 10 PM 4 41

.NA709 PD=FI NEWYORK NY 10 422PME=

EDWARD MURROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS SAINT GEORGE MURROW SIR KNIGHT FRED FRIENDLY FOR GALLANT ASSAULT DRAGON MCCARTHY WHO BEEN DEVOURING OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMMON SENSE. LATEST REPORTS INDICATE NOXIOUS ANIMAL SWEATING BLOOD EVEN MORE THAN ROARING. BEST REGARDS=

PAT PATTERSON SATURDAY REVIEW=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TWX-C ACR2/F117 VIA COMMERCIAL

PARIS 14 15 1315

MURROW AND FRIENDLY COLUMBIA

NEWYORK

BRAVO BRAVO BRAVO PROUD TO KNOW YOU

MITCH MILLER

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(49)..

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 1 52

NA476 PD=UJ NEWYORK NY 10 1259PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

DEAR ED YOU MAY REST ASSURED THAT I.L.A. ENJOYED THAT TERRIFIC PROGRAM LAST NIGHT. KEEP UP THE GREAT WORK. I.L.A. AIN'T NO UNION. REGARDS=

ABNER=

Marc Cramer
CBS TV Public Affairs ?

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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W151CC JG PD 10 EXTRA

TDN JACKSONHEITHTS NY MAR 10 1954 442A

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS TV NYK

AS PUBLIC SERVICE PLEASE HAVE SCRIPT OF MCCARTHYS SHOW MADE PUBLIC THE TUESDAY NIGHT SHOW WONDERFUL AND I WANT TEN COPIES

BLESS YOU

DICK CONNORS ASSOCIATED PRESS
50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA HOME ADDRESS
3421 77 ST JACKSON HEIGHTS

500A MAR 10

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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SYB046

SY WSA002 PD=TDWS SCARSDALE NY 9 1132PME= 1954 MAR 10 AM 12 34

=EDWARD R MURROW=(

CBS BROADCASTING CO NYK

CONGRATULATIONS TO EDWARD MURRO AND CBS FOR TONIGHTS

IT NOW IT GIVES NEW HEART TO AMERICA=

=MILTON E KRENTZ=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX (24)

SYMBOLS

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NA785 PD=PITTSBURGH PENN 10 422PME= 1954 MAR 10 PM 5 26

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR HARD HITTING AND TIMELY

EXPOSE OF MCCARTHY YOUR BROADCAST PERFORMED A REAL

SERVICE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KEEP UP THE FINE WORK=

DANIEL MARGUERITE PRES U E DIST 6=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(18) 1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 2 20

NAB172 PD=WUX NEW YORK NY 10 155PME

=ED MURROW=

DLR CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR STAND FOR FREEDOM IN AMERICA=

=JOSEPH BARRETT PRESIDENT LOCAL 217 INTL CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

[47]...

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 49

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NB309 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1235P=

EDWARD MURROW=CBS=

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA CIO CONGRATULATES YOU ON THE THOROUGHLY DOCUMENTED ENDICTMENT OF THE SINISTER UNAMERICAN METHODS EMPLOYED BY SENATOR MCCARTHY WHICH YOU PRESENTED TO YOUR NATIONAL TV AUDIENCE LAST NIGHT. YOU HAVE PERFORMED A DISTINCT SERVICE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND TO THE PRECIOUS LIBERTIES WHICH HAVE MADE THIS THE GREATEST NATION IN THE WORLD. IN THESE CONFUSED TIMES WHEN FEAR RATHER THAN HISTORIC AMERICAN JUSTICE AND FAIR PLAY SEEMS TO BE THE RULE IT IS MOST GRATIFYING TO SEE AND HEAR SUCH AN EXCELLENT PRESENTATION OF A NATIONAL PROBLEM IN THE BEST TRADITIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK. WE'RE BEHIND YOU 100 PERCENT=

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE LOCAL 100 TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION MATTHEW GUINAN, PRES. ELLIS F VAN RIPER, FINANCIAL SEC. TREAS. MARK KAVANAGH, RECORDING SEC. PATRICK MAHEDY, FIRST VICEPRES. JOHN HAMILTON, 2ND VICEPRES. DANIEL GILMARTIN, 3RD VICEPRES. FRANK OCONNOR 4TH VICEPRES=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 MAR 10 PM 1 57

SYMBOLS

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NB289 PD=UJ NEW YORK NY 10 1226PME=

EDWARD R MORROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON MARCH 9 SHOW. PROUD TO BE YOUR NET WORK ASSOCIATES=

THE CAST OF WENDY WARREN AND THE NEWS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(501) FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NAB122 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 121PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 01

EDWARD R MURRAY=

DLR CBS=

:I APPLAUD YOUR COURAGE AND PATRIOTISM IN EXPOSING THE TRUTH ABOUT MCCARTHY ON YOUR PROGRAM LAST NIGHT=

=DAVID DIAMOND=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

=(04) FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 PM 2 13

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NAB143 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 140PME=

=EDWARD R MURROW=

=DLR CBS=

:CONGRATULATIONS ON A GREAT AND COURAGEOUS BROADCAST=

=MONA AND KARL MALDEN 531 EAST 20 ST=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(06)..

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 AM 11 11

NA223 PD=WUX CHICAGO ILL 10 925AMC=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR PROGRAM CONCERNING THE INQUISITOR FROM WISCONSIN=

EUGENE F RYAN PRES RAIL TRAILER CO=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 10 AM 1 19

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.OA810

O.SWA149 NL PD=SANTA ROSA CALIF 9=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=

GREAT JOB=

CHARLES F CARSON EXECUTIVE EDITOR PRESS DEMOCRAT SANTA ROSA CALIF=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1 ARA029 LONG NL PD=AR NEWYORK NY 9=

EDWARD R MURROW, PERSONAL=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVE NYK=

WELL IT WENT LIKE THIS. ELEVEN UNRECONSTRUCTED REPUBLICAN VIEWERS IN MY PRESENCE CONCLUDED THAT YOU HAD PRESENTED AN ENTIRELY TRUTHFUL AND COMPLETELY UNBIASED UNFAVORABLE OPINION WITH WHICH THEY COULDNT DISAGREE LESS. AFTER THE PROGRAM THEY EXPRESSED WONDER AT YOUR FAILURE TO USE THE MORE HISTRIONICALLY OBNOXIOUS PASSAGES OF REED HARRIS HEARINGS BUT AFTER

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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1 ARA029/2

SOME DISCUSSION AGREED THAT YOUR DECISION TO EMPHASIZE THE FACTUAL ELEMENTS WAS BOTH GOOD REPORTING AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP. PLEASE UNDERSTAND ABOVE DESCRIPTION QUOTE UNRECONSTRUCTED UNQUOTE AS MEANING REPUBLICANS WHO MAY BE CLASSIFIED AS CONSERVATIVE RELATIVE TO ECONOMICS BUT WHO HARBOR A DECENT REGARD FOR THE RIGHT OF ANY CITIZEN TO COCK HIS FISTS IN DEFENSE OF HIS FREE BORN RIGHT TO OBJECT. NEXT QUESTION COLON IS THIS STUFF FISSIONABLE? REGARDS AND HIGHEST ADMIRATION FROM YOUR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1ARA029/3

REPUBLICAN FRIENDS, I HAD A STRANGE NOSTALGIC WISH TONIGHT THAT WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE HAD BEEN ALIVE TO SEE AND HEAR YOU=

BREWSTER MORGAN=..

763

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

1954 MAR 10 AM 3 41

WA035 CGN NL PD=WASHINGTON DC 9=

EDWARD R MURROW, CBS=

:NYK=

A FELLOW REPORTER THANKS YOU FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS MCCARTHY TELECAST. IT SPEAKS FOR SCORES OF US WHO MUST STIFLE OUR OPINION EVEN WHEN IT HURTS CONGRATULATIONS=

JOHN SCALI ASSOCIATED PRESS..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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SYA002

SY MKA 118 NL PD=KATONAH NY 9=

EDWARD R MURROW=

1954 MAR 10 AM 12 33

CBS NYK=

I AM PROUD TO KNOW YOU SIR=

CHARLES O BOLTE=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1 (26)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

=Night Letter

L =Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA 787 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 514PME=

1954 MAR 10 PM 5 27

ED MURROW=CBS =

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR LAST EVENING SEE IT NOW PROGRAM=

MOSES U PERLMANN 240 CENTRAL PARK SOUTH NEW YORK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

1954 MAR 10 PM 12 34

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.NB217 DL PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1147AME=

ED MURROW=CBS=

YOU HAVE RENDERED A GREAT PUBLIC SERVICE IN YOUR BROADCAST ON MCCARTHY. YOU MAY HAVE ACTUALLY GIVEN THE IMPETUS FOR THE TURN OF THE TIDE IN PUBLIC OPINION. ALL DECENT CITIZENS WILL BE TREMENDOUSLY GRATEFUL TO YOU. IT IS A CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT OF A VERY GREAT JOURNALISTIC CAREER=

REINHOLD NIEBUHR=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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.PB014 1954 MAR 10 AM 12 30

P.PSA198 NL PD=PRINCETON NJER 9=

=EDWARD R MURROW=CBS

NYK=

=THANK YOU FOR YOUR THOUGHTFUL AND COURAGEOUS PRESENTATION TONIGHT THOUGH MOST NEWSMEN GUARD JEALOUSY THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. TOO MANY ARE SLOW TO RECOGNIZE THREATS TO OTHER LIBERTIES. PERHAPS YOUR STAND WILL ADD IMPETOUS TO A BOLDER COUNTER ATTACK ON THIS MCCARTHY DRIVEN CONSPIRACY AGAINST FREEDOM TO THINK:

=WILLIAM A SCOTT INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN ANN ARBOR=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 10 AM 3 43

SYA240 SA012

S ENA006 NL PD=EVANSTON ILL 9

=EDWARD R MURROW=

=COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=

=DEAR MR MURROW, MY SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS FOR AN EXCELLENT JOB ON MCCARTHY YOU HAVE PERFORMED A REAL SERVICE FOR THE AMERICAN PUBLIC PLEASE CONTINUE IN YOUR FIGHT FOR TRUTH AND DECENCY=

=DEAN LAWSON SARGENT HALL NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY EVANSTON ILL=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(31)

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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1954 MAR 10 PM 3 36

NA617 PD=CG ATLANTA GA 10 308PME=

HONORABLE EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS YOUR EFFORTS EXPOSE MCCARTHYISM. BELIEVE YOU ARE DOING COUNTRY GREAT SEVICE=

BEN W FORTSON JR SECRETARY OF STATE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

=(10)=

1954 MAR 10 PM 2 16

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=NAB154 PD=BM WASHINGTON DC 10 137PME=

=EDWARD R MURROW=

DLR CBS=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON AN XCELLENT JOB=

=GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR=

763

=NA208 PD=NEW YORK NY 10 1217AME

=ED MURROW

=CBS TV=

=DEAR ED, YOURE SHOWING AND IMPLICIT SHOWING UP OF MCCARTHY WAS BRILLIANT, COURAGEOUS AND DEVASTATING. YOUR CLOSING COMMENTARY WAS A CLASSIC. CONGRATULATIONS AND WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS=

=IRWIN EDMAN=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(33)

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1954 MAR 10 PM 12 36

NA354 PD=NEWYORK NY 10 1240PME=

EDWARD R MURROW CBS=

CONGRATULATIONS ON A TREMENDOUS SHOW AND A GREAT PUBLIC SERVICE =

ELMO ROPER=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(17)

1954 MAR 10 PM 10 19

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NA447 PD=BOSTON MASS 10 937PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

YOUR MCCARTHY CHECK-UP AN IMPERATIVE PUBLIC SERVICE HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU, COLUMBIA, AND NETWORK=

EDWARD AND FREDERICA WEEKS ATLANTIC MONTHLY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 10 PM 12 06

NB121 PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 10 612PME=

=EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR SPLENDID "SEE IT NOW" TELECAST LAST NIGHT. IMMEDIATELY AFTER IT WAS FINISHED I TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET YOU ON THE PHONE TO TELL YOU HOW EFFECTIVE AND USEFUL IT WAS. KIND REGARDS=

HERBERT H LEHMAN=..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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(02)..

NA304 PD=UD NEWYORK NY 10 1103AME=

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

1954 MAR 10 PM 12 06

A THOUSAND THANKS FOR ADDING THE DIGNITY AND CLARITY OF YOUR VOICE TO THE MCCARTHY ISSUE=

HORACE AND NANCY SUTTON 24 GRAMERCY PARK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX (231)

1954 MAR 17 PM 2-31

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA249 PD= SN WASHINGTON DC 11 150PME=

EDWARD MURROW=

=CBS=

HUBERT DID NOT HEAR YOUR DOCUMENTARY BECAUSE HE WAS ON PLANE ENROUTE TO MINNESOTA. I HEARD AND SAW IT AND THOUGHT IT SPLENDID. YOU HAVE DONE ALL OF US A GREAT SERVICE. MY CONGRATULATIONS AND PERSONAL THANKS=

MRS HUBERT H HUMPHREY

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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.AA945

2 A.SBB036 NL PD.=ST PETERSBURG FLO 11:

=EDWARD C MORROW=

1954 MAR 11 PM 11 3

485 MADISON AVE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=

I AM PROUDER THAN EVER TO BE ONE OF MORROW'S BOYS STOP, I SURE ADMIRE YOUR GUTS. STOP SINCERELY=

RED BARBER.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(49).

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.NA274 PD=WASHINGTON DC 11 212PME=

1954 MAR 11 PM 2 53

ED R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM =485 MADISON=

DEAR ED MANY THANKS WITH GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION YOURS=

PETER=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(54).

SYMBOLS
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.NA140 PD=GREENSBORO NCAR 11 1115AME=

1954 MAR 11 PM 2 03

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

WFMY TV IS ALWAYS PROUD OF SEE IT NOW BUT WE HAVE NEVER BEEN SO PROUD AS WE WERE ON TUESDAY NIGHT OF THIS WEEK. THIS WAS A GREAT PROGRAM, SKILLFULLY HANDLED, AND MUCH NEEDED. WE HAVE HEARD INNUMERABLE COMMENTS AROUND THE TOWN ABOUT THE PROGRAM AND THEY ARE ALL FAVORABLE. CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND CBS FOR YOUR INITIATIVE AND A JOB WELL DONE=

GAINES KELLEY GENERAL MANAGER WFMY TV=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA122 LONG PD=NR NEW YORK NY 11 1103AME=

1954 MAR 11 AM 11 45

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

ON BEHALF OF THE 70,000 MEMBERS OF THE HOTEL AND RESTAURANT AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL THROUGH ITS LOCAL JOINT EXECUTIVE BOARD WE WISH TO CONGRATULATE YOU FOR YOUR SPLENDID PROGRAM TUESDAY EVENING AT 10:30 PM. WE CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR SENTIMENTS MUST BE THE FEELING OF THE OVERWHELMING MASS OF ORGANIZED LABOR WHICH STANDS BEHIND YOU IN YOUR BRILLIANT EXPOSURE OF HALF TRUTHS, CHARACTER ASSASSINATIONS AND THE CREATION OF PANIC AND FEAR IN WHICH THE JUNIOR SENATOR HAS BEEN SO SUCCESSFUL. THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE MADNESS WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED AMERICA IN THE PAST AND HAS MADE US THE LAUGHING STOCK OF THE WORLD SHALL BE HALTED. YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO THIS HAS BEEN OUTSTANDING=

LOCAL JOINT EXECUTIVE BOARD HRE&BIU AFL DAVID SIEGAL PRESIDENT A SUSI SECRETARY TREASURER=

HRE&BIU PER CY=

WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 11 PM 8:25
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 073 PD

NEWYORK NY 11 752P

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

CONGRATULATIONS ON MR MURROWS EXPOSE OF MCCARTHY

VINCENT SARDI JR

802P

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

1954 MAR 11 AM 9 41

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NA022 DL PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 11 855AME=

ED MURROW=

CBS=

I REGRET I WAS TRAVELING AND DID NOT SEE YOUR TELECAST MRS OXNAM REGARDS IT AS THE MOST CONVINCING AND DEVASTATING ANSWER TO SENATOR MCCARTHY THAT HAS BEEN MADE. WE ALL REJOICE IN YOUR LEADERSHIP AND REVELATION OF WHAT TRUE REPORTING CAN BE AT ITS BEST=

G BROMLEY OXNAM=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(11).

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 11 PM 12 46

NA148 PD=AV NEW YORK NY 11 1138AME=

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

UNHAPPILY I WAS IN A BOARD MEETING AND COULD NOT SEE YOUR TELECAST ON MCCARTHY BUT EVERYBODY I HAVE TALKED WITH WHO SAW IT DECLARES IT TO BE ONE OF THE FINEST AND MOST COURAGEOUS PRESENTATIONS EVER MADE. CONGRATULATIONS ONCE AGAIN. I DO HOPE IT CAN BE REPEATED SOON AND OFTEN=

WALTER WHITE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1220

(14)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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. NA242 LONG PD= FAX WASHINGTON DC 11 144PME= 1954 MAR 11 PM 2 21

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

ON BEHALF OF MY FELLOW OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE UNITED RAILROAD WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO, I OFFER THEIR AND MY OWN EXPRESSION OF ADMIRATION FOR YOUR CRUSADING JOURNALISM OF HIGH RESPONSIBILITY AND GENUINE COURAGE IN PRESENTATING YOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM "SEE IT NOW" ON TUESDAY MARCH 9TH EXPOSING THE THREAT TO OUR DEMOCRACY AND THE DIGNITY OF OUR NATION BECAUSE OF THE IRRESPONSIBLE ANTICS OF A POWER-DRUNKEN LEGISLATOR. YOUR PROGRAM WAS A CLEAR INDICTMENT OF SENATOR MCCARTHY, HIS TACTICS AND HIS COMMUNIST PATTERNED INQUISITION NOW POPULARLY DEFINED AS MCCARTHYISM.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO PUT INTO WORDS THE HIGH REGARD AND PRAISE EXPRESSED BY OUR MEMBERSHIP FOR THE COURAGE AND FORTITUDE OF YOURSELF, THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM AND YOUR SPONSOR IN EXPOSING THIS CREATURE TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

YOUR FEARLESS REPORTING WILL SET THE PATTERN FOR OTHER COURAGEOUS NEWSMEN TO FOLLOW IN A CONTINUING AMPLIFICATION OF YOUR INDICTMENT OF MCCARTHY AND=

END 1=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1220

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 11 PM 2 21

NA242 SHEET 2=

MCCARTHYISM THAT WILL RENDER USELESS HIS TOOLS OF CONGRESSIONAL IMMUNITY AND HALF TRUTHS. AS A RESULT OF THE MANY FAVORABLE COMMENTS RECEIVED FROM OUR MEMBERS, THE HIGH REGARD OF MY FELLOW OFFICERS AND MYSELF FOR THE MAGNIFICENT JOB YOU PERFORMED ON THIS MATTER, I OFFER THIS TELEGRAM AS A TRIBUTE TO A COURAGEOUS, FEARLESS AMERICAN NEWSMAN EDWARD R. MURROW=

JOHN GREEN CHAIRMAN UNITED RAILROAD WORKERS OF AMERICA CIO=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(02) 1954 MAR 11 PM 12 10

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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..NA144 PD=AV NEW YORK NY 11 1138AME=

:WILLIAM S PALEY, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

=485 MADISON AVE=

:ONCE AGAIN CONGRATULATIONS TO CBS ON ED MURROW'S PROGRAM. HIS TELECAST ON MCCARTHY AND PUBLIC RESPONSE TO IT MAY BE TURNING POINT IN RESTORING SANITY AND DECENCY TO AMERICA=

WALTER WHITE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(45)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 11 AM 11 50

.NA 134 PD=UNIONTOWN PENN 11 1112AME=

=C B S TELEVISION STATION,

ATTN EDWARD R MURROW=

=KEEP PRESSURE ON MCCARTHY. STRONG EMETIC NEEDED=

DAVID E COHEN 7 COURT ST UNIONTOWN PENN=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(58)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 11 PM

NA357 DL PD=NCU NEW YORK NY 11 503

P=EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

AT A MEETING OF ELEVEN EXECUTIVE STAFF MEMBERS OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE TODAY IT WAS REQUESTED THAT I COMMUNICATE TO YOU THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS SUPPORTING HEARTILY YOUR CONTRIBUTION THROUGH THE NOW FAMOUS TELEVISION PROGRAM ON MACARTHYISM WE HOPE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR CBS TO REPEAT THIS PROGRAM SOON FOR THE BENEFIT OF PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WHO MAY HAVE MISSED THE ORIGINAL=

=LESLIE PAFFRATH CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTION

END

MINEDWARD MURROW CBS NEWS NY

AIR MAILING SPECIAL WRAPUP BOSTON REACTION YOUR MCCARTHY PIECE

SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON REQUESTS RECD HERE FOR LOCAL BROADCAST

BEST REGARDS AND CONGRATULATIONS

CHARLIE ASHLEY

ENDS

338 7/8

END

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 11 PM 12:24
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 12 AM 9:40
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

PCG RC2 AK

LS531 TB32 AU93 VIENNA 11 12 1312(DY)

PRESS COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NWYORK

PROCHURCH FOR MURROW CHEERS REGARDS

ALEX KENDRICK

FORM 101 PW—C

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(07)

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 12 AM 5 10

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NA047 PD=TDN SCARSDALE NY 10 444AME=

ED MURROW=

CBS=

DEAR ED YOUVE MADE ME VERY PROUD OF BEING A MEMBER OF THE BROADCASTING FRATERNITY BEST REGARDS

BARRY GRAY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WU068 PD

EU NEWYORK NY MAR 12 223PME

EDWARD R MURROW,COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

DEAR ED: YOU MAY WELL HAVE RESERVED A TERRIBLE TREND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN LIFE AND YOUR CONTRIBUTOXXX CONTRIBUTION WILL BE HISTORIC CONGRATULATIONS

CLARK EICHELBERGER

328P..

RECEIVED
1954 MAR 12 PM 3:33
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(11)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NA829 PD=TDWP HOBE SOUND FLO 12 843PME= 1954 MAR 12 PM 10. 16

ED R MURROW=CBS=

YOU WERE SUPERB IN YOUR REBUTTAL OF MCCARTHYS UNCALLED FOR ATTACK YOU LAID IT ON THE LINE SO CALMLY AND CLEARLY THAT ALL LISTENING MUST NOW REALIZE HOW MCCARTHY DISTORTS THE TRUTH TO SUIT HIS OWN DECEITFUL AND VICIOUS PURPOSES=

MARIE AND AVERELL HARRIMAN=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(31)..

X-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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RA630

R.CFA761 NL PD=CHARLOTTE NCAR 12= 1954 MAR 12 PM 8 38

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS RADIO 485 MADISON AVE NYK=

MAY YOUR BLEEDING HEART BE EVER BLESSED FOR TONIGHTS 745 SHOW=

NELSON BENTON WBTV=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CONGRATULATIONS

by WESTERN UNION

1954 MAR 12 PM 3 35

(58)

NA428 CGN PD=DULUTH MINN 12 714PMC=

ED R MURROW=CBS=

ON BEHALF OF OUR PROFESSION CONGRATULATIONS ON TONIGHTS RADIO BROADCAST STOP THANKS FOR ONCE AGAIN PROVING YOU ARE THE DEAN OF AMERICAN REPORTERS=

BOB BALL NEWS DIRECTOR WDSM TV DULUTH MINN=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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(321)

1954 MAR 12 PM 3 35

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA205 PD=EUREKA CALIF 121140AMP=

EDWARD R MORROW=

CBS RADIO NETWORK=

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIMELY MESSAGE. WE ARE PROMOTING YOUR REPLY TO MCCARTHY AND THAT RADIO COMMENTATOR, AND KNOW IT WILL BE IN THE USUAL HIGH EDWARD R MURROW TRADITION. CONGRATULATIONS=

FRANK R BROWN KHUM=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

(49)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1954 MAR 12 PM 1 50

NA112 PD=GD NEW YORK NY 12 1208PME=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, CARE EDWARD R MURROW=

485 MADISON AVE=

"SALUTE TO EDWARD R MURROW" -- EVERYBODY'S WORD FOR EVERY DAY. GOD BLESS YOU=

=POLA STOUT (MRS REX STOUT)=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

(37)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NA385 PD=NEWYORK NY 12 815P=

EDWARD R MURROW=CBS=

1954 MAR 12 PM 8 37

6306

DEAR ED TO OUR GREAT REGRET MADELINE AND I WERE OUT OF TELEVISION RANGE WHEN YOU DID YOUR TUESDAY BROADCAST ON MCCARTHY BUT WE HAPPILY HEARD YOU ON RADIO TONIGHT FRIDAY AND THOUGHT WHAT YOU SAID WAS SUPERB ESPECIALLY THE FINAL LINCOLN QUOTE= IT IS A BLESSED RELIEF TO HEAR AGAIN THE REAL VOICE OF AMERICA= LOVE FROM US BOTH=

=BOB SHERWOOD=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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B180CC 3K NL PD

ST PETERSBURG FLO MAR 12 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS NYK

AS A PREDECESSOR OF YOURS AS EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CBS-1929-31-
I SALUTE YOUR STAND ON MCCARTHY. THE WHOLE MCCARTHY BUSINESS HAS
BECOME ALMOST HILARIOUSLY FANTASTIC. MAY I SUGGEST THAT HE CAN BE
LAUGHED OFF THE STAGE MUCH QUICKER THAN BY RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION.

WARREN H PIERCE ASSOCIATES EDITOR
ST PETERSBURG TIMES

1120PM

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

)#,0002 INTL

ZP MUENCHEN 26 MAR 12 1325

LT EDWARD MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVE NYK

CHEERS THREE TIMES AND COUNT ME IN STOP ALLBEST TO YOU AND
JANET

ALLAN MICHIE.

907AMEST.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

(57)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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NA802 PD=JS DETROIT MICH 12 821PME=

1954 MAR 12 PM 10 05

ED R MURROW=

CBS=

COMMEND YOU ON YOUR REBUTTAL OF SEN MCCARTHYS CHARGES AGAINST YOU=

WALTER RADULOVICH 3953 NOTTINGHAM DETROIT MICH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TX ACR6-D F1916/CFL732

MUENCHEN 28XMI 1840 11

LT MURROW COLUMBIA

NEWYORKCITY

SINCEREST CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS IT IS VERY HARD TO DEFEND FREEDOM ABROAD WHILE WORRYING AS TO WHOM WOULD DEFEND IT AT HOME

JOHN JEFFERSON

PV 705A 12 MAR 1954

END

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

1954 MAR 12 PM 11 37

SYMBOLS

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The filing time shown in the [illegible]legrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1 AA934

A.WPA745 NL PD=TDWP PALM BEACH FLO 12=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR DIGNIFIED AND POWERFUL REPLY TO THE MINISCULE HITLER. YOU HAVE DONE A NOBLE SERVICE NOT ONLY FOR OUR COUNTRY BUT FOR FREEDOM EVERYWHERE=

WILLIAM H FINESHRIBER SR RIVIERA APARTMENTS=..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(25)..

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NA200 PD=FAX SEATTLE WASH 12 1128AMP=

ED MURROW, CBS=

485 MADISON AVE=

1954 MAR 12 PM 5 27

GO TO IT, ED. YOU WILL HAVE A TREMENDOUS AUDIENCE IN YOUR OLD HOME AREA TONIGHT WITH AFFECTION, RESPECT, AND ADMIRATION=

SAUL HAAS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(28)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1954 MAR 12 PM 9 53

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NA735 PD=TBR WASHINGTON DC 12 821PME=

ED R MURROW=

CBS=

=REMEMBER THE NIGHT IN LONDON WHEN OVER SEVERAL WHISKIES YOU SAID THE DANGER FROM WITHIN COULD BE AS MUCH AS THE DANGER FROM WITHOUT YOU WERE RIGHT THEN AND JUST AS RIGHT NOW YOUR 745 BROADCAST WAS A BEAUTY CONGRATULATIONS AND WERE STILL IN YOUR CORNER REGARDS=

JOHN HAYES W T O P=(

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(56)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

Wireless Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1954 MAR 13 PM 5 04

NA149 LONG PD=WASHINGTON DC 13 429PME=

EDWARD R MURROW, DELIVER=CBS=

THE TIME HAS COME TO SEND YOU ANOTHER WIRE, THIS IS A FINE THING YOU ARE DOING FOR A QUIET HOUR IF THERE ARE ANY I WOULD REMIND YOU OF JOHN MILTONS SPEECH TO THE PARLIAMENT 1644 QUOTE "AND THO ALL THE WINDS OF DOCTRINE WERE LET LOOSE UPON THE EARTH SO TRUTH BE IN THE FIELD WE DO INJURIOUSLY BY LICENSING AND PROHIBITING TO MISDOUBT HER STRENGTH, LET HER AND FALSEHOOD GRAPPLE WHOEVER KNEW TRUTH PUT TO THE WORSE IN A FREE AND OPEN ENCOUNTER", AS EVER=

MYRNA LOY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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,OB680 LA911

1954 MAR 13 AM 12 29

L.LLC530 NL PD=WUX LOS ANGELES CALIF 12=

=EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

DEAR ED HAVE JUST HEARD YOUR BROADCAST AND FEEL THAT HISTORY MAY WELL RECORD THIS AS ONE OF THE GREAT ONES OF OUR TIME. BEST REGARDS=

SAM GOLDWYN JR=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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The filing time shown i ME STANDARD TIME at point of destination

LLG017 SSB012 L.TZA054 WUC254 OB123

O.LBA575 NL PD=TDLB GARDEN GROVE CALIF 13=

CBS=DLR BY MSGR

HD HOLLYWOOD CALIF (RTE HD)=

MAR 14 AM 12

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE MURROW FIGHT AGAINST MCCARTHYISM=

A R SWANSON..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

46 Elmwood × Welwyn Garden City × Hertfordshire

15. 3. 54

Dear Ed,

As one of your old BBC friends I felt I must write a personal note to tell you how profoundly heartened I was to read (in the M.G.) of your stand against McCarthyism.

To people like me who <u>don't</u> resent the passing of world leadership from Britain to America the spectacle of McCarthy's progress has been horrifying – not the least because our sympathy went out to all those Americans who, hating his methods no less than we do, had no avenue of effective protest.

Until your voice was raised it seemed that there was no alternative but for us to face an 'agonizing reappraisal' of America's capacity to lead the free world.

I guess you have had this step in mind for some time. From the bottom of my heart I pray you have chosen your moment rightly. Anyway thank God you have had the courage to speak out.

(Incidentally, it's salutary for those of us who prefer public service to commercial TV, to see an occasion when only under a non-public service system was it possible for the right step to be taken!)

You will have many thousands of letters, I know, so of course don't bother to acknowledge this. (You may well have forgotten me anyway – I am Head of BBC Audience Research)

Yours very sincerely

Robert Silvey

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON, W.1.
7 15PM
15 MCH
1954
E

POSTAGE
EIIR
6d
LONDON & BIRM

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting S
Madison Avenue
New York City
U.S.A

Personal

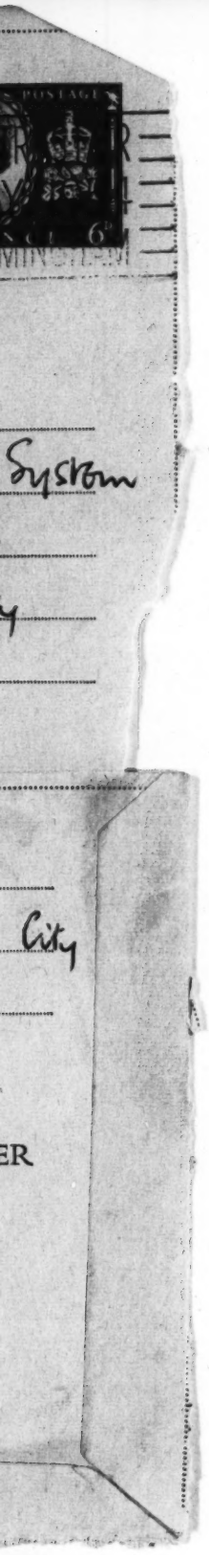
First fold here

Second fold here

Sender's name and address: Robert Silvey
46 Elmwood, Welwyn Garden
Herts. ENGLAND

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER
MAY BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

To open cut here


POSTAGE
6
System
City
ER

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(22)=

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1954 MAR 15 AM 2 25

NA011 PD=MILWAUKEE WIS MAR 14 1104PMC=

EDWARD R MURROW CARE CBS BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

DELIVER=

GOOD GOING LETS HAVE MORE ON MCCARTHY=

MICKELSONS=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1 SYC955

1954 MAR 16 PM 11 32

SY.MVA400 NL PD=MT VERNON NY 16=

EDWARD MURROW CBS TV

485 MADISON AVE NYK=

YOU ARE RENDERING A SUPREME SERVICE TO OUR COUNTRY ITS PRINCIPLES AND OUR WORLD DO NOT FAULTER YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL SET YOU FREE=

ADAM POWELL AND HAZEL SCOTT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(25)

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NA020 PD=NEW YORK NY MAR 16 1118PME=

1954 MAR 17 AM 12 33

ALUMINUM CO OF AMERICA=

CBS TV=

=YOUR MURROW PROGRAM ALWAYS EXCELLENT HAS BECOME A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN LIFE=

HAROLD GUINZBERG PRES VIKING PRESS 18 EAST 48 STREET=

The symbol WUX appearing in the dateline of this and other telegrams means THE SENDER HAS A DIRECT WIRE TO WESTERN UNION

WHEN TELEGRAPHING REPLY USE THIS SYMBOL WUX IN PLACE OF STREET ADDRESS FOR FASTER SERVICE

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(28)

FX-1201

SYMBOLS

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1954 MAR 17 PM 29

The time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA 154 PD=WUX TDL WEST LOS ANGELES CALIF 17 1139AMP=

EDWARD R MURROW=

CBS=

PLEASE TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF. YOU ARE TOO VALUABLE TO THIS COUNTRY TO LOSE FOR ANYTHING=

NUNNALLY JOHNSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

28

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NA026 PD=NEW YORK NY MAR 16 1134PME=

1954 MAR 17 AM 12 37

ED MURROW AND FRED FRIENDLY=

CBS=

WOW=

TED BERKMAN=

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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F20CC 5K NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAR 16 1954

EDWARD R MURROW AND FRED W FRIENDLY

CBS 485 MADISON AVE NYK

REPEAT THANKS TO YOU BOTH FOR CONTINUING COURAGEOUS BATTLE AGAINST THE DRAGON PLEASE KNOW THAT OFFER OF ASSISTANCE IS A CONSIDERED DECISION AND I WOULD ONLY BE GRATEFUL IF YOU HAVE ANY USE FOR MY TRAINING

LEONORE SILVIAN 340 EAST 52 STREET AND
CBS TV PRESS INFORMATION

1244A MAR 17

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

(12)..

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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WA424 RX PD=TDW ARLINGTON VIR 16 1103PME=

EDWARD R MURROW=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM NYK=

UNCLE ED IM PROUD OF YOU=

DON WHITEHEAD=

1954 MAR 16 PM 1 41

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED

1954 MAR 17 PM 1:30

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

WU 064 PD

SN WASHINGTON DC MAR 17 1200PME

EDWARD R MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

THANKS, ED

STUART

1255P..

CLASS OF SERVICE

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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1954 MAR 17 AM 12 44

0A887

0 STA308 NL PD=STOCKTON CALIF 16=

ED MURROW=

:CBS TELEVISION NYK=

:THE SIMPLE TRUTH MUST WIN OVER THE VICIOUS LIE AMERICANS CAN BE INFORMED ONLY THROUGH A PROGRAM SUCH AS SEE IT NOW=

:DON AMES NEWS CASTER RADIO STATION KXOB.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

(16)

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NA387 PD=PEORIA ILL 18 517PMC=

EDWARD R MURROW= COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM=

:485 MADISON AVE=

1954 MAR 18 PM 8 17

:FOR BACKGROUND ON AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION WHATEVER ITS WORTH SUGGEST ELIZABETH DILLINGS QUOTE THE RED NETWORK UNQUOTE PUBLISHED 1934= HAVE COPY IF YOU NEED=

:BROOKS WATSON=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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L11CC 5R NL PD

NEWYORK NY MAR 22 1954

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS BROADCASTING STATION NYK

ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BRONX WOMENS DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS I WISH TO EXPRESS DEEP GRATITUDE AND SINCERE APPRECIATION OF YOUR EFFORTS AND THOSE OF YOUR SPONSOR TO DEFEAT THE GROWTH OF MCCARTHYISM. AMERICA NEEDS MANY SUCH FEERLESS FIGHTERS FOR DEMOCRACY

DINAH ALLENTUCK PRESIDENT BRONX WOMEN DIVISION AJC

415P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RECEIVED

1954 MAR 22 PM 1:28

C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

542- LR CBSTVCITY LA MARCH 22,54

EDWARD R MURROW

CBS NEW YORK

MY DEEPEST GRATITUDE TO YOU AND FRIENDLY FOR BRINGIN YOUR VITALLY N NEEDED COURAGE AND BRILLIANCE TO THE ARENA OF MCCARTHYISM.

BEN BRADY CBSTVCITY HOLLYWD

COPY

Received
1954 Apr - 2 AM-9:41
CBS Traffic Dept. N. Y.

PARIS

PROCHURCH PROMURROW INFORMATIVELY EYE WILL BE AWAY WHEN MCCARTHY APPEARS YOUR SHOW TUESDAY NIGHT SO EYE WANT TO TELL YOU NOW THAT EYE AM WITH YOU ONE HUNDRED PERCENT NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENS STOP IT WOULD BE NO SURPRISE TO ME IF HE WERE TO TRY TO GET AT YOU BY SMEARING ENTIRE CBS STAFF PARTICULARLY YOUR CLOSEST COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS STOP PLEASE BELIEVE THAT EYE WOULD WELCOME ANY ATTACK THAT WOULD LINK ME TO YOU STOP ALTHOUGH I WOULD DEEPLY REGRET ANY EMBARRASSMENT THAT YOU MIGHT BE CAUSED THROUGH ME EYE WAS PROUD OF YOUR SHOW AND WOULD BE PROUD TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY WAY WITH YOU IN THIS FIGHT STOP IN FACT EYE WILL BE INSULTED IF EYE AM LEFT OUT STOP ALL THE BEST CHUM

SCHOENBRUN.

RECEIVED
1954 APR -6 AM 9:51
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

NP001 ZLA22 INTL FR

ZL LONDON VIA WUCABLES

78 6 243P

COLUMBIA

NYK

CHURCH FOR MURROW BEST WISHES TONIGHT STOP WANT YOU KNOW THAT I WOULD MUCH RATHER BE AT YOUR SIDE WITH RISK OF GETTING HURT THAN REMAIN UNDAMAGED AT COST OF MISSING FIGHT STOP FOR CHURCH I THINK YOU WISE ABOUT CONCERTED COMMENT STOP FORGIVE ME IF I ADD PIECE ADVICE WHICH PROBABLY ISNT NECESSARY COLON LETS NOT DEFEND OURSELVES SO EAGERLY THAT PUBLIC WILL FORGET THAT ISSUE IS NOT CBS BUT MCCARTHYS METHOD REGARDS

SMITH

954AEST..

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

RECEIVED
1954 APR -8 AM 9:30
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

PCG RC4/OJ PCG/LS364/TB22/IAT615 ROMA ORD 25 8 1301

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING NEWYORK (DY)

CHURCH FOR MURROW HE DIDNT LAY A GLOVE ON YOU OR ANYONE ELSE

STOP WHEN CAN WE BREAK TRAINING REGARDS

BILL DOWNS

FORM 101 PW—C

OVERTON BROOKS
4TH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

MEMBER OF
COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

April 13, 1954

Honorable Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D. C

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I think your broadcasts have been excellent - certainly they have attracted the attention of each side. You are fully vindicated in the controversy and I want to congratulate you.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Overton Brooks

Overton Brooks, M C.

OB:dsm

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
RCA COMMUNICATIONS

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

F(51)

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NA181 GOVT PD=BX WASHINGTON DC 14 354P APR 14 PM 4 54

EDWARD R MURROW, COLUMBIA BROADCASTING CO=

485 MADISON AVE=

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR EXCELLENT PROGRAM LAST EVENING. THIS PROGRAM AS WELL AS YOU PREVIOUS ONE HAVE DONE MUCH TO PLACE THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE PROPER PROSPECTIVE AND HAVE CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE RESTORATION OF INTERFAITH HARMONY AMONG THE FREE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD=

STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT MEMBER OF CONGRESS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

DL=Day Letter
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0A803

O. SDB338 LONG NL PD=LAJOLLA CALIF 14= 1954 APR 14 PM 10 53

EDWARD R MURROW PERSONAL=

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM 485 MADISON AVE NYK=

ED ONE FACT YOU HAVENT MENTIONED IN YOUR ANSWER TO THE SENATOR ACCORDING TO MY CALCULATIONS WHEN THE IWW WERE ACTIVE IN THE NORTH WEST YOU WERE ONLY A MERE LAD OF ABOUT 12 YEARS. I KNOW YOU WERE AN ENERGETIC YOUNG FELLOW BUT HARDLY MATURE ENOUGH FOR MEMBERSHIP IN SUCH ORGANIZATIONS. FROM THE PATTERN OF REASONING USED BY THE SENATOR ARE WE THEN TO ASSUME CASEY IS CARRYING A CARD BECAUSE OF HIS ASSOCIATION WITH HIS DAD.

¶ CONGRATULATIONS ED FOR TAKING SUCH A COMMENDABLE

OMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONC

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

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O.SDB338/2 1954 APR 14 PM 10 33

STAND IN FIGHTING FOR THE TRADITIONS AND PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED KINDEST PERSONAL REGARDS AND BEST WISHES=

EARL V FOSTER=..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

EARL V. FOSTER
7636 PEPITA WAY
LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

Feb. 8, 1954

Dear Ed:

Your signed release of payment on our company sale reached me via Gold Beach. I forwarded it on to the Trust officer of the First Natl Bank of Portland. We all approved the release.

My present correct address is at the top of this letter head. Better give it to your secretary so future letters will not be delayed.

OK
Edw

I would be most happy to see you during your visit to Los Angeles, Could your crowd in a week-end for us here at La Jolla would like to have you see our new home, This is the place you should settle when you retire.

My phone number is Glencourt 4-6055 La Jolla, Calif.

Kindest Regards

Earl.

We never miss your-TV-programs.

(13)

by WESTERN UNION

.NA049 CGN PD=WASHINGTON DC 15 1041AME=

EDWARD R MURROW

=CBS=

MY MOST HEARTY CONGRATULATIONS ON THE LATEST RECOGNITION OF YOUR VERY DISTINGUISHED SERVICES SINCERELY=

MIKE SCANLON=

41

WU PD

NEWYORK NY 28 709P

RECEIVED
1954 MAY 28 PM 8:33
C.B.S. TRAFFIC DEPT. N.Y.

ED MURROW

CARE CBS

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR MAGNIFICENT EXPLANATION OF
THE MCCARTHY SITUATION TONIGHT

STANLEY M RINEHART PUBLISHER

723P

THEO. HAMM BREWING CO.
720 PAYNE AVENUE SAINT PAUL 1, MINNESOTA

W. A. CURTIS
DIRECTOR OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS

June 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We are enclosing copies of letters which have been received at this office.

We believe they will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Curtis

WAC:ev

Encls.

C
O
P
Y

2248 Prince Street
Dubuque, Iowa
May 27, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I want to thank you for answering my letter that I wrote you in the past.

But there is one thing that I still don't agree with you in, and that is that in America you have the freedom of speech, but when expressing yourself you also have a duty and that duty is to tell the truth.

Thank you.

/s/
Loraine Oppelt

COPY

East Dubuque, Iowa
May 21, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
720 Payne Avenue
Saint Paul 1, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for your letter explaining your powers or controls over the Edward R. Murrow program.

I quite agree that speech has rights but with every right there follows a duty. We are free to say what we please providing it doesn't scandalize or hurt anyone. Error has no rights in any nation at any time. No one is free to give false ideas to people, who perhaps are uninformed and thus will be taken in.

Thanking you again for your interest in your listening public, I am

Yours truly,

/s/

Lorraine Speaker

C
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Y

Z

1509 Garfield Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
May 19, 1954

Hamms Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the answer I received to my letter some time ago.

You said anyone has a right to freedom of speech and can say what they want. I thoroughly agree with you but I also believe that every right has a duty. A person can't go around smearing another man's name in any way he wants to. You must think of the common good and it certainly isn't good if Americans can't even stick together. The Communists want Americans to fight each other and they are getting their wish. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

/s/
Nancy Hilbert

C
O
P
Y

Z

Cascade, Iowa
May 19, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
Saint Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I received your letter answering my comments regarding Edward R. Murrow.

As you said, we certainly do not wish to take away anyone's freedom, but every freedom or right has a corresponding duty - in this case it would be to tell the truth. I am not implying that Mr. Murrow does not tell the truth, by that statement.

You are doing a wonderful public service by sponsoring a news broadcast. Probably hundreds of people listen to him daily; that is why he has such a great responsibility of not slanting the news.

Thank you once again for answering my last letter.

Sincerely yoursk

/s/

Jean Hughes

C
O
P
Y

2548 Elm St.
Dubuque, Iowa
May 19, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

You will say that your reporter has the right to freedom of speech but with that right he has a corresponding duty. The duty to bring the truth to his listeners. The people of America today don't want half-truths or facts which are supposedly to have come from reliable sources.

The people appreciate what good your programs do and hope your company will continue to improve them.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Margaret J. Brimeyer

C
O
P
Y

2301 Queen Street
Dubuque, Iowa
May 19, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your response to the past letters. I do believe that we have press, speech and religion freedom. But, however, we also have a duty to refrain from infringing on the rights of others.

Whilest we know you can not dominate the program for your interest, as their sponsors, you could use influence on the type of broadcasts presented.

The public is confused enough without certain public figures using pointed methods of slanting the news. Give the public the plain, unmarred facts -- then let them use their commonsense and good judgement in reacting from there on in!

Grateful for your kind attention, I remain

Sincerely

/s/
Miss Betty MacFeltes

C
O
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Y

Cuba City, Wisconsin
May 18, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for your letter in answer to my remarks on Edward R. Murrow's news program. It is true that Mr. Murrow and everyone in our country has freedom of speech. But -- it must be remembered that with every right or freedom there is a corresponding duty. That duty is to be objective and truthful in all statements.

I only say these things because they are necessary for the freedom of our country. And as you and I both know we do want freedom and peace in our country. The kind of freedom that has its corresponding duties.

Thank you again for your reply.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Jane Ann Wilberding

C
O
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Y

2128 Kniest St.
Dubuque, Iowa

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

The radio commentators are doing a good job, but I would like to hear more about communism and how the communist situation is being handled.

We would like to hear more about priest and lay people in other countries and how they are meeting the problems.

The Army-McCarthy problem is another point that should be widely discussed.

Your news commentators have given us much and good news. I would like to compliment them on their work.

Sincerely,

/s/
Jeanette Cherrier

C
O
P
Y

451 W. 16th St.
Dubuque, Iowa
May 18, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I have noticed Mr. E. R. Murrow still takes some cracks at our junior senator from Wisconsin but I do feel he is much better.

I enjoy Mr. Murrow's presentation of the news very much and one can tell he has a moral law governing his life.

Thank you for remaining his sponsor.

Yours truly,

/s/

Beverly Derby

C
O
P
Y

1990 Whittier
Dubuque, Iowa
May 18, 1954

Theo. Hamms
Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Hamms:

I wish to thank you for your letter regarding the situation of your sponsoring various radio programs.

However we do know that every right has a corresponding duty and that the freedom of speech does have duties.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

/s/
Marlene Luber

C
O
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Y

Cuba City, Wis.
May 18, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for your letter. I realize that Mr. Murrow has rights but with every right there is a corresponding duty. Thus the right of public speaking has the duty of speaking the truth. This right of speaking holds that no one may be scandalized or misinformed.
Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Denise Timmerman

C
O
P
Y

2802 Burden Avenue
Dubuque, Iowa
May 18, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter concerning Edward R. Murrow.

It is true that there is a right of freedom of speech but let me remind you that along with each right there is always a corresponding duty.

Thank you for your interest in the radio audience and I hope you will continue this service.

Sincerely,

/s/
Patricia Lyons

C
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Y

2845 Central Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
May 17, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you for your previous letter.

Could you please influence your commentators to speak the truth at all times.

I think it would be a good idea to close each broadcast with a sentence from "Three Minutes a Day" by James Keller. Try it for a while and watch for a pleasing reaction.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Gayle Schuster

C
O
P
Y

Kansas City, Missouri
May 17, 1954

W. C. Figge
President and Gen'l. Manager
Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

The meaning of your letter would seem to be that any and everything should be put before the public, in print, and television, and radio, and then - "Caveat Emptor." Oh, no!

In this wonderful country of ours, it is unlawful to leave poison, without lables, around, for the unwary to swallow. That is for protection of the body.

What of protection of the mind?

These programs in question are allowed to say, in effect "This is good - no danger here - take this in and make it a part of your thinking.

The subtlety is in the manner of presenting many good (very good) innocuous programs, and then the one slipped in which causes an alertness, an awareness that something evil and destructive is being sent out, over the air. I had even thought it might be my imagination, until hearing from sources from other parts of the country, bearing out my feeling in this matter.

My reply from the Alcoa Aluminum was a form letter - so they evidently have been receiving more protests than you.

Your temerity in fostering such programs is notable, and whether wise, only time will tell. These programs should be edited, by someone very aware of the facts of life.

Sincerely,

/s/ Thomas Hall

C
O
P
Y

Cascade, Iowa
May 16, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul 1, Minn.

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letter concerning Edward R. Murrow.

I know that every man has freedom of speech but he also has a correspondent duty to always present the truth.

In the world today there are many uninformed people who can easily be taken in by untruth. That is a very prevelant danger of presenting untrue statements.

J. Edgar Hoover said a so-called liberal can perhaps do more than a real Communist because more people will listen and be influenced by liberals rather than real Communists. They realize what Communism is but liberalism is more subtle.

Thank you for your interest in the radio audience.

Sincerely,

/s/

Janoon Lyons

C
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Y

Dickeyville, Wisc.
May 14, 1954

Mr. W. C. Figge
Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
720 Payne Avenue
St. Paul 1, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I want to thank you for the answer I have received not too long ago.

But I just want to bring to mind that all rights are limited. No one has unlimited freedom of speech. Secondly, there is a duty connected with every right. No one ever mentions that. Freedom also includes the right to reject as well as to accept.

Very gratefully yours,

/s/

Yvonne Wiederholt

May 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Curtis:

Many thanks for sending me copies of the letters received by your office. They were indeed of great interest to me, and if it is not too much trouble I would greatly appreciate it if I could receive copies of any other such letters if they are sent to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. W. A. Curtis
Director of Public Relations
Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
720 Payne Avenue
Saint Paul 1, Minnesota

rh

THEO. HAMM BREWING CO.
720 PAYNE AVENUE SAINT PAUL 1, MINNESOTA

W. A. CURTIS
DIRECTOR OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS

April 28, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed are copies of letters which have been received by this office.

We are sending them to you in the belief they will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Curtis

WAC:ev

Encls.

C
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Y

2248 Prince St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5,1954

Dear Sir:

This letter is a request in which I would like to ask that the news in the program you sponsor be given a little more objectively.

I would like to ask this opportunity to thank your company for giving us this service and also to ask if the news commentator would give his reports more objectively and give less of his personal criticism of senate investigaton.

Maybe the company could give some anti-Communist program like "The Last Man Out."

Once again I would like to ask for some good moral news and the truth be reported.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Loraine Oppelt

C
O
P
Y

1527½ Central Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

This letter is a request in which I would like to ask that the news on the program you sponsor be given a little more objectively.

I want to thank your company for giving us this service and also to ask if the news commentator could give his report more objectively and give a little less of his personal criticism of senate investigators.

Perhaps the company could sponsor some anti-Communist program like "The Last Man Out."

Once again I would like to ask that good moral news and the truth be reported.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Mary Kiefer

C
O
P
Y

A. F. BRANN
Union National Bank Bldg.
Wichita 2, Kansas

4/24/54

Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Sirs:-

More than forty years ago I bought your beer from Lovell Anderson in Cainesville, Mo. You have deservedly prospered.

But as long as you continue to send your salesman Murrow to call on me I shall say "make mine Bud."

Sincerely,

/s/
A. F. Brann

P.S. I purposely waited to cool off after the Murrow "McCarthy" telecast.

C
O
P
Y

THOMAS HALL
Heating and ventilating refrigeration
Engineering

3232 HIGHLAND

Apr 19 1954.

Hamms Brewing Co.
720 Payne Ave.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

It may interest you to know that my Family and myself and our TV Appreciation Society have agreed NOT to listen to the TV program "Person to Person" or drink HAMMS BEER until the program is CLEANED of subversive touches by the conductor of said program.

Very Sincerely,

/s/
Thomas Hall et al

C
O
P
Y

WATERLOO ENGRAVING & SERVICE CO.
Arts & Crafts Bldg.
WATERLOO, IOWA

April 17, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Attention: Advertising Department

Gentlemen:

For a long time Ed Murrow's television show has been one of our favorites. At least it was until he got into his ridiculous fight with McCarthy.

I personally and quite a number of my friends would like to know why the Hamm's Brewing Company, whose money he and CBS is using, would allow a former very interesting entertainment to be used for evidently a personal fight in which he will in all probability be shown up somewhere from pink to red.

Maybe we are wrong,but a lot of us think that McCarthy is far more necessary to the safety of the U.S. than Murrow is. Our curiosity, if nothing else, has been aroused to the point where we thought we would write to you and ask why an otherwise first class entertainment has been spoiled to the point where many of us no longer listen to it.

May I say in closing that we think your commercials are without doubt the best on television. If we could tune in on them and out on Ed, we would certainly do it.

Yours very truly,

/s/
F. G. Weston

FGW/pd

C
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Y

Traer, Iowa
April 14,1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Have always purchased Hamms. But will not buy any as long as you sponsor Edward R. Murrow. I think he tells half truths. Would respect him more if he came out with one hundred percent lies. He is a dangerous man.

/s/ Paul Wieck

C
O
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Y

2484 Pinard St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 12, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you for the public service which you are sponsoring. It is very much appreciated. But would you please ask the commentator to be more objective? We are very much interested in the opinions of our commentators but we are very much interested in the facts also.

I also wish that the Senators and people in the government would not be criticized. They are doing the best they can.

Many good anti-Communists programs have had to go off the air because of a lack of sponsors. Many good programs such as "The Last Man Out." If only we could have more sponsors for these fine anti-Communist programs, the people of our United States would know the evils of communism, and they would prevent many people from even thinking about joining the Communist Party.

Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

/s/ Bonnie Hhuber

C
O
P
Y

Berwyn, Illinois
April 8, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

Attached is a copy of letter we have today sent to the Columbia Broadcasting Co. of New York, N.Y., which we believe is self-explanatory.

/s/ Fischer Family
3307 S. Cuyler Ave.
Berwyn, Illinois

COPY

Berwyn, Illinois
April 8, 1954

Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City 22, New York

Gentlemen:

Inasmuch as you are defending your Mr. Murrow one hundred percent, there isn't much we can do or say to alter your stand, -- however, we do feel, -- and you must too, to a small degree, that Senator McCarthy can't be entirely wrong or his job is in vain, which does not seem to be the case at all.

We also feel that you were wrong in allowing Mr. Murrow to choose such a controversial program attacking Senator McCarthy. Why should the listening public have to agree with Mr. Murrow's views because he chose among his friends communists, even tho he did not agree with their views, -- so he said.

Why should we also have to feel as Mr. Murrow does, especially when so many of our boys died fighting communism or doesn't Mr. Murrow have any feelings about this? In fact he should feel ashamed and humiliated to make such a statement to the American public, saying the communists were his "friends". But then he chose them knowing what they were didn't he?

Does Mr. Murrow feel we did the right thing by the Rosenbergs? Sorry we missed his commentary on this issue but probably would have quit listening to him long ago if we had.

We didn't need to wait for Senator McCarthy's reply to Mr. Murrow this week as we decided after hearing his attack on the "JUNIOR SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN" that the first time was the last time for us to listen to Mr. Murrow. How can he possibly reply to the "JUNIOR SENATOR", explaining the communists extreme love for him? But then Mr. Murrow is very clever and quite sarcastic and will think of something good to tell over the air, but not to this family of six (6) who refuse to watch or listen to him any longer and are sending copies of this letter to Alcoa and Hamm's Brewing Companies who sponsor the Murrow shows, telling them we have discontinued purchasing any of their products.

Why a large concern like Alcoa pays fabulous money to a man like Mr. Murrow to report on current news and topics that would be of interest to all, and not only on subjects that he wants to get off his chest is beyong our comprehension.

Yours truly,

Fischer Family
3307 South Cuyler Avenue
Berwyn, Illinois

cc - Alcoa, Hamm's Brewing
Senator McCarthy

C
O
P
Y

1544 South 75th St.
West Allis, Wis.
April 7, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

The purpose of this letter is to congratulate you on sponsoring the Edward R. Murrow news program. This is a very fine program, but it could stand a few points of improvement. One point would be to have Mr. Murrow give more objective news, another to have him go a little easier on the Senate Investigating Committees. These Committees are very fine. Of course all their methods may not be good but we don't want Communism to take over in our country. Speaking of Communism, it would also be very fine if you would sponsor some anti-Communist programs on both radio and T.V.

Thank you for reading this letter and I hope you will act on this advice.

Respectfully yours,

/s/
Barbara Ebbe

C
O
P
Y

1675 Elm Street
Dubuque, Iowa

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you for giving us the service of the daily news.

I would like to suggest that you have your reporter give us a more objective report of the news and less personal critizism in the investigations which are now going on.

The radio is a great means of communication and we must see that they give us the truth.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Marilyn Wagner

C
O
P
Y

April 7, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
% Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I didn't wish to make this a formal letter because, after listening to your programs so often and watching your very enjoyable "Person to Person," I feel almost as if I know you. Oh yes, Mr. Murrow, I want to congratulate you on your heartwarming Christmas show from Korea (even if it is a little late). There should be more people willing to sacrifice for the morale of the men fighting to defend us!!

There are a few questions I'd like to ask you, though. First of all, what do you have against McCarthy? His party? His religion? His ideals? His personality? Or don't you like investigations? I'm not as informed as you are on these things but he seems OK to me.

Another thing bothering me is Red China? Would it be better just to let her in the U.N. and have Russia quiet again? Or would this concession only start another demand from the Reds? Again, you know much more about this than I do. It seems to me, though, that a lot more good would come from keeping Red China out of everything!!

There is one request, Mr. Murrow, before I close. Could you use your power to get better news casts? This isn't meant to be a slur against you but, don't you think it would be better if the people were given both sides of a controversy and allowed to judge for themselves? After all, freedom of thought is one of our American rights, and if we're only given one side of an argument, how can we exercise this right?

Thank you so much for your time and consideration.

Gratefully yours,

/s/

Mary Dingbaum
Route 2, Dyersville, Iowa

C
O
P
Y

520 W. Brookside
Colorado Springs, Colorado
April 7, 1954

Hamm's Beer
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
St. Paul, Minnesota
Office of President

Dear Sir:

We are fortunate indeed to have men like Senator McCarthy working for our American way of life, while the most of us sleep, or hide behind indifference, but not any more!

We had no idea that a company like yours was sponsoring a leftist and fellow traveler of the Communist party, namely Edward R. Murrow.

Needless to say we shall boycott your product until he is removed from radio and television.

Sincerely,

/s/ Dorothy Ross
Mrs. Gladys Staab
Donald G. Stepp
Mrs. Elma Stepp
Geo. F. Ross
Mrs. Mary Ross

C
O
P
Y

April 7, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewery
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

I like Hamm's Beer, but I dont like your choice of Television talent. As long as you continue to sponsor a COMMUNIST I will discontinue drinking your beer. And I am not alone.

Howard W. Schendorf
719 Milburn Street
Evanston, Ill.

C
O
P
Y

April 7, 1954
2845 Central Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to congratulate and thank you for the splendid public service you are rendering to the people who listen to the radio programs you sponsor.

You are doing a wonderful job but would you encourage your reporter to be more so objective than emotional. I think your reporters should give less criticism of the senators who are on the investigating committees.

It would be excellent if you could sponsor more good anti-Communist programs. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Gayle Schuster

C
O
P
Y

2743 Jackson St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 7,1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

In regard to your six-forty-five nitely program. I think it is wonderful how you bring the news to the people.

Congratulations in your splendid work and please keep it up in the future.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Virginia Wieland

C
O
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Y

Sageville Road, R #1
Dubuque, Iowa
April 7,1954

Hamm's Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

We thank you for giving us the daily news, we would like to suggest that your commentator give less personal addresses. Also to limit the propaganda and have more truth.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Lois Ott

C
O
P
Y

2802 Burden
Dubuque, Iowa
April 7, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I am writing you in connection with the radio news broadcast you sponsor. I want to thank you for giving us this service.

I urge you to give a little less of personal criticism on Senate investigations. Why not sponsor some anti-communist program, for example -- "Last Man Out."

I also wish you would use your influence to convince your commentator to give news a little more objectively.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/Patricia A. Lyons

C
O
P
Y

St. Paul, Minnesota
April 7, 1954

Hamm's Brewery
720 Payne Avenue
St. Paul, Minn.

Attention: Public Relations Department

Dear Sirs:

Se. Joseph McCarthy accused Ed. R. Murrow "engaged in propaganda for Communists causes, chosen to act as a representative by a Soviet agency to do a job normally done by Russian secret police, that he sponsored invitations to students and teachers to attend indoctrination schools in Moscow." Mr. Murrow has not answered these charges satisfactorily only indulged in generalities.

In view of these charges how do you dare continue to have him represent you on TV?

A St. Paulite

C
O
P
Y

193 W. Winifred St.
St. Paul, Minn.
April 7, 1954

Hamm BrewingCo.
720 Payne Ave.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

This is to inform you that we won't be buying any more Hamm's beer because you sponsor that "Communist protector" Ed.R. Murrow who is trying to stop McCarthy from investigating commies at home here - while our boys are being drafted to fight Communists abroad.

/s/ Mrs. R. Miller
A Mother of Sons

C
O
P
Y

April 7, 1954
817 Lincoln Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa

Dear Sirs:

I would like to compliment you on the services which you have rendered in accordance with sponsoring the news program, heard each evening.

It is a good news program as far as it goes but, if you could donate any suggestions to the commentator please ask him to give more truth than his own opinion. On the other hand, if he attempts giving the truth, why not give the whole truth and not just half?

One more thing I would like to say is: I don't quite agree with the way he is critizing the senate investigating committee so much. He may not agree with them but does he want to become a slave in about a few years from now and lose his freedom?

Very truly yours,

/s/ Jeanette Duehr

P.S. Do you think it would be possible to get some good anti-communist programs on - maybe like the "Last Man Out" or something similar? Thank you!

C
O
P
Y

Dickeyville, Wis.
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I want to thank you first of all, for your fine public service you are offering.

I was wondering if you could ask your news commentator to do more of the following points:

First to be objective in his news comments. Give both sides of the story. Also give us all truth. Less criticism of the Senators who are in the Communist investigations. Give us more anti-Communist programs. Give us good moral listening.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Yvonne Weiderholt

C
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East Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you at this time for the great public service you are giving the American people by sponsoring a newscast.

However, could you please ask your reported to be more objective and less emotional? We Americans want the truth or nothing!

Perhaps less criticizing of senators engaged in congressional investigations would win the reporter a larger listening audience.

Anti-Communist programs, I am sure, would be a great help to the American public.

Gratefully yours,

/s/
Mary Catherine Zapf

C
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Cuba City, Wisc.
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I would like to ask your news commentator to give the news report a little more objectively. Also to eliminate his personal criticisms of congressional investigators.

Would you please sponsor some anti-Communist programs, for instance, "The Last Man Out." Good moral news reporting is a necessity in this hectic age.

Thank you for giving us this news service.

Cordially yours,

/s/

Denise Timmerman

C
O
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Y

2493 Hempstead Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

We thank you for giving us service of the daily news. We would like to respectfully suggest that your commentator would try to give us a more objective point of view and less personal point of view on senate investigations. Thank you.

Perhaps you could sponsor someone who does not criticize the senators who are carrying on these investigations or some anti-Communist program. We would like to suggest something like "Last Man Out."

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Joan Steger

C
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Y

R. R. I, Box 57
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you for your aid in public service.

There are a few things I think could be improved on your radio broadcast.

1. I don't think the news commentator should give his personal opinion.

2. Not to criticize congressional investigations.

3. Try to get anti-Communist programs on the radio, for example, "The Last Man Out."

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Maritta Behnke

C
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1918 Ellis St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

The news commentator which you sponsor advertising your product Hamm's Beer, does not clearly explain the subject of which he is speaking.

I think you would have more listeners if you sponsored more programs like "Last Man Out" and other anti-Communism programs.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Florence J. Kaster

C
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724 East 22nd St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I have a little favor to ask of you. I wonder if it is possible to have your news commentator which you sponsor give the news a little more objectively. I believe that every person is entitled to his own opinion but I do not believe that personal feelings should creep into news broadcasts.

I also wonder if it would be possible for your company to sponsor an anti-Communist program like "Last Man Out."

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Laura Welter

C
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Garnavillo, Iowa
April 6,1954

The Hamms Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the news broadcast which you sponsor. It has proven to be very interesting and entertaining because it gives everything in the way of latest news.

However I do earnestly think that the news should be given more objectively. The news commentator should not give his views or personal criticisms but only the facts. After all these are news broadcasts not broadcasts of a certain person's views and ideas. Above all other things I think the reports of personal investigations should be given objectively. After all these are complicated enough.

Sponsoring a news broadcast is wonderful but I think you would also be doing a job of untold value if you sponsored some anti-Communist program such as "Last Man Out" which now has no sponsor.

A program of this kind and other similar ones can do much to save our country from the onslaught of Communism.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Margaret DeSotel

C
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P
Y

705 Rhomberg Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

Your news broadcast is in my opinion very informative and interesting.

I do think, however, that the news commentator should present the daily news more objectively with less of his own personal criticism--especially his criticisms of personal investigators.

Besides sponsoring this news broadcast, would it be at all possible for you to sponsor some anti-Communist programs such as "Last Man Out" which has to discontinue broadcasting because of no sponsor.

Such a program would do a tremendous amount of good in our country.

Yours truly,

/s/

Joan McDonald

C
O
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Y

625 Rhomberg Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I would like to thank you for service of daily news but also suggest respectively your commentator would try to give a more objective side of the news rather than criticize certain senators and give personal views on investigations. The radio is a great means of communications. Its influence is wide-spread, therefore it should be wisely used.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/

Nancy Walker

C
O
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Y

2470 Pennsylvania
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the fine public service you have been giving but could I ask you:

1. To have a good anti-Communist program like "The Last Man Out" (This program had to go off the air because it lacked a sponsor.

2. That the news commentators be objective in giving the news.

3. That they would not criticize the senate investigations so much.

Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Mary Schmidt

C
O
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Y

April 6,1954
East Dubuque, Ill.

Theo. Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

As a listener of your radio news program, I would like to offer a few helpful suggestions.

It would be better to report the news more objectively, not taking sides or indicating individual preferences.

Also less personal criticism of congressional investigators would be advisable.

Your company would be doing the country a great service if it would sponsor an anti-Communist program, e.g. "Last Man Out."

We want good, honest, frank news reports. Radio is an American's great help in keeping up with world events.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Lorraine Speaker

C
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East Dubuque, Ill.
April 6, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I am writing this letter requesting that you ask your news commentator to give the news a little more objectively. Perhaps less criticism on senate investigations would make his presentations more interesting.

Has your company ever considered sponsoring an anti-communist program? Such a program would be "Last Man Out," which had to go off the air because of no sponsor. By backing up such a program you would be bettering the minds and attitude of our people.

Yours truly,

/s/

Mary Kay Wubben

C
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1509 Garfield Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Many times I listen to the news broadcasts that your company sponsors. I think they give a good over-all account of the news.

Couldn't the commentators give a more objective account of the news though. There is a little ~~to~~ much personal feeling that goes into it; especially personal feelings against Senate investigators.

If we had more programs on the air that were anti-Communist maybe the people would be more aware of it. Would there be a way for you to sponsor a program such as "Last Man Out."

Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/
Nancy Hilbert

C
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1003 Davis Avenue
Dubuque, Iowa

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

I want to thank you for bringing us the news over WMT but I wonder if it couldn't be given a little more objectively, on the 6:45 p.m. broadcast.

There are programs now on communism and its errors; they bring out the ways in which communists take over a country. Some of these have to discontinue because of no sponsors. Won't you please help them?

Yours truly,

/s/

Kay Thompson

C
O
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Y

Eagle Point Drive
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I would like to congratulate you on sponsoring such a fine public service as your news service over radio. But would you please remind your commentator to be more objective and show both sides of the story? Could we have less personal criticism of Congressional investigations and more real anti-Communist programs?

I know it would really have some effect if you would remind him of his duties to the American people.

Respectfully yours,

/s/

Miss Carol Sprengelmeyer

C
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2902 Muscatine Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Hamm BrewingCo.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you for giving us your service by sponsoring radio programs. But I wish you would sponsor more anti-Communist programs. Such as the "Last Man Out". It had to go off the air because no one would sponsor it.

I hope you will ask your news commentator to give more ot the truth and not so much of his own opinion. Ask him to stop criticizing communist investigations.

Why don't you sponsor good moral plays? It would benefit the country greatly.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Carol Weber

C
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Y

2600 Brecht Lane
Duhuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you for theprogram, "Edward R. Murrow and the News." However I wish you would please ask your commentator to be a little more objective in giving the news instead of being so personal. Many people do not like him because of his "I think" and "In my opinion." Also, please him not to criticize the Senate investigations too severely.

Could you possibly sponsor a good anti-Communist program like "The Last Man Out?"

Thank you for your consideration. God bless you.

Sincerely,

/s/
Shirley Mae Haupert

C
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Y

2227 Washington St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to you in regard to the Edward R. Murrow program which you sponsor. I think it is very nice but I think he should have more about anti-Communist. Another thing is that I wish that someone could sponsor the program "Last Man Out." It was an anti-Communist program and very good, too. It had to go off the radio because it did not have a sponsor.

Thank you for reading this letter and God Bless you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Jeanne Eigenbuger

C
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East Dubuque, Illinois
April 6, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:

Upon listening to your daily broadcast of the news I have a few suggestions to make regarding the program.

First, would you ask the commentator to be a little more objective in his news reports and not criticize Senate investagations so much, which I feel are organized to look after our civil liberties.

Second, I would like good moral, anti-Communist productions and I'm sure many others agree with me.

I hope you will do what you can in putting these suggestions into effect.

Thank you for your kindness in letting me express my opinion.

Yours truly,

/s/
Dorothy Wubber

C
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East Dubuque, Illinois
April 6, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I appreciate very much your sponsoring a news commentator - Edward R. Murrow - an excellent speaker - but I wonder if you would please ask Mr. Murrow to be a little more objective and less of his own opinion in reporting.

Kindly ask him to criticize the Senate investigators less.

My radio preferances are good, morale, and anti-Communist programs such as "Last Man Out" which has been discontinued to my disappointment.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/
Doris Tranel

C
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Y

2435 White St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

The Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

This is just a note to thank you for sponsoring the Edward R. Murrow commentary. However I do think that Mr. Murrow is entirely too harsh with Senate investigation committees. He might be more objective.

More anti-communist programs should be put on radio and television. An excellent program "The Last Man Out" has gone off the air for lack of sponsor. The best way to fight communism is to teach people its ruthlessness. No one is immune from the influence of radio and television.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Joan Schiltz

C
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920 Wilson St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Hamm's BrewingCo.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I would like to thank you for your public service by sponsoring good and worthy programs.

Would you please ask your news commentator to give us the truth and less of his personal opinion. I would also appreciate it if you would ask him to please not criticize the Senators and other people in our government. Except for these small incidents we appreciate his services greatly.

Everyone would appreciate it if you could sponsor more good anti-Communist programs such as "The Last Man Out."

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Gwen Carr

C
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Y

1609 Prescott Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:

This letter is written with regard to the news broadcasts sponsored by your company.

First of all, I want to thank you for the news broadcasts which prove to be most instructing and entertaining. But, as a listener, I feel that the commentator could express the daily events in a more objective manner, that is, leaving out his own personal feelings and comments.

As I have said before, your sponsoring the news broadcasts is well worthwhile but couldn't you manage to sponsor other programs, such as anti-Communists shows, the program "Last Man Out," an anti-Communist program, is forced to leave the air because of no sponsor.

Your aid in sponsoring a show as the one mentioned above, would certainly do a lot of good in our country.

Thank you once again and keep up the fine work.

Sincerely,

/s/ Miss Arlene Murphy

C
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Y

Shullsburg, Wisc.
April 6, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
Saint Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

I would like very much to take this opportunity to thank you for your news broadcast.

I think that the news commentator should present the daily events more objectively -- that is, less of his own personal criticisms should be incorporated in the news -- especially his criticism of personal investigations.

Your sponsoring this news broadcast is wonderful, but I also think you should sponsor some anti-communist program such as "Last Man Out" which has to leave the air because of no sponsor. Sponsoring this program would improve the world greatly and would be wonderful.

Yours truly,

/s/ Marilynn Wedig

C
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Y

490 Sensinawa Ave.
East Dubuque, Ill.
April 6, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I would just like to congratulate the fine work you have done in sponsoring many sports shows. I especially liked the Hamm's Scoreboard on WHBF-TV in Rock Island.

I would like to comment on the news commentator, Edward R. Murrow, whom you sponsor Monday thru Friday at 6:45.

He should be more objective in his reporting and less personal. The Senate Investigations should not be criticized quite so much. These things would help to improve your program.

It is my hope that you will, in the future, sponsor good anti-Communist programs such as "Last Man Out," which at the present time is sponsorless.

I hope you will take my views into consideration. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

/s/ Mary Kay Van de Drink

C
O
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Y

2926Elm Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

Thank you very much for sponsoring the news each evening, but would it be possible to give us a little more objective part of the news. I do not think he should express his personal opinion so strong in some cases.

There could be so many anti-Communist programs but no one will sponsor them. I think any sponsor who will put on these anti-Communist programs will help his country as well as his business.

Thanking you kindly, I remain

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Joan Gibbons

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Y

1670 White St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, L954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you for giving us the service of the daily news. I would like to suggest that your commentator try to give us a more objective part of the news. And also give us some anti-communist propaganda. For example, the program called "The Last Man Out". Iaappreciate this very much.

The radio is a great means of communication. And it is our duty to see that it passes along the truth. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Ileen Behnke

C
O
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Y

1975 Lincoln Avenue
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to ask you to present to your news commentator a few improvements. Would you please ask him if he could give the news a little more objectively and to leave out his own personal criticism on the Senate investigations?

You have been doing a good job in giving us this service. And if you could possibly do so, try to sponsor some anti-communist programs.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Shirley Miller

C
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Y

April 6, 1954
2631 Pinard St.
Dubuque, Iowa

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

May I commend you on your sponsorship of Edward R. Murrow and the news as a public service. As you are America-minded, I am sure you would like to know I look forward to seeing anti-communistic programs on your time.

Perhaps your commentator could tone down of few personal opinions or justify them with solid facts, but on the whole, his narration is full of vigor and a pleasure to listen to. I congratulate him on his gesture to the Wisconsin senator to use program time for the presentation of views.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

/s/
Karol Kueper

C
O
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Y

212 E. 13 Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 6, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Hamm:

Would you please ask the commentators if they would give their news somewhat more objectively. Ask them to give us less of their own personal attitude. I believe that this method will allow people to draw their own attitudes and decisions.

I and many others want good moral news. We want news that is the truth.

As a last request I would like to ask you to sponsor some anti-Communist program.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Marlene Kieffer

C
O
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Y

Cuba City, Wisconsin
April 6, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sponsoring a news program every evening. This is a fine service to our country. However, don't you think your commentator could give less of his opinion and be more objective in his views of current affairs?

Thank you once again for this worthwhile program. It is certainly encouraging to have someone interested in that type of program rather than all these "sensational blood and thunder" programs which seem to be so popular, but which are, in many cases, harmful to all.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Jane Ann Wilbuding

C
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Y

April 6, 1954
817 Lincoln Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I would like to compliment you on services which you have rendered in accordance with sponsoring the news program each evening.

If you could do anything in respect to the program, please encourage the commentator into giving more truth than his own opinion. It seems to be a little one-sided. Could there also be less criticism on the investigations being held by the senators and representatives.

Also, would you please give your support to anti-communists plays and programs that want to be on the air. Thank you.

Sincerely,

/s/ Lois Duehr

C
O
P
Y

THOMAS M. DUNLAP
925 South Homan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

April 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
75 E. Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Shouldn't every good American solemnly pledge not to buy or drink their favorite beer (Hamm's) so long as you sponsor Edward R. Murrow, whose fervor over McCarthyism is simply a form of concealing his anti-Americanism?

Not long ago Mr. Murrow had the audicity to put an admitted ex-Communist on "Person-to-Person." His questionable background disqualifies him as representative of any good American Company such as I believe yours to be.

Very truly yours,

/s/
T. M. Dunlap

TMD:ht

C
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Cascade, Iowa
~~April~~ 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for the news broadcast you sponsor daily. I listen to it whenever possible, and it is a wonderful public service.

However, I wish you would please ask your commentator to present the news more objectively. If both sides of a story are given truthfully, with less of the commentator's personal ideas, the public will be able to reach their own conclusions.

I especially think there should be less personal criticism of senators and representatives who are investigating Communism. They are doing wonderful good for our country.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Jean Hughes

C
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Y

Cascade, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your news broadcast which proves very interesting and entertaining.

However, I, as a listener, think that the news commentator should present the daily events more objectively--that is, less of his personal criticisms should be incorporated in the news--especially his criticisms of personal investigators.

Your sponsoring this news broadcast is wonderful, but I also think you should sponsor some anti-Communistic programs such as "Last Man Out," who has to leave the air because of no sponsor.

A program such as the formerly mentioned one can do a large amount of untold good for our country!

Sincerely,

/s/
Janaan Lyons

C
O
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Y

2406 Queen St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Dear Sir:

I am writing about your 6:45 news broadcast. We the radio audience would appreciate it very much if the news would be presented more objectively. A little less critism of Senate investigators.

We want good moral programs presenting only the truth. Sponsor Anti-Communists programs, they will be accepted by the public.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Joanne Weis

C
O
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Y

217 East 22nd St.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5,1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sirs:

I am writing to thank you for sponsoring the news each evening but I wonder if your news commentator couldn't give it a little more objectively. Maybe also he could forget his personal feelings in some instances.

There are also many anti-Communists programs which cannot go on the air because no one will sponsor them. Its a wonderful opportunity and opening for some sponsor who wants to help the country who has helped him so much, isn't it.

Sincerely,

/s/ Miss Jayne Leach

C
O
P
Y

1990 Whittier
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Mr. Hamm:

As it is that you are the sponsor for a news broadcast on radio, I believe you are in the position to see that the news is given more objectively. The news commentator should give less of his personal criticism of Senate investigations.

In my opinion, I think it would be an excellent idea if you would sponsor an anti-Communist program. A good example would be the Last Man Out which must leave the air because it is lacking a sponsor.

Yours truly,

/s/

Miss Marlene Luber

C
O
P
Y

2618 Queen Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I am writing to congratulate you on your sponsorship of such programs as Edward R. Merle and the many other programs. I do however differ on several points and I do think they could and should be changed for the better.

For instance I think the news commentators could be a little more objective in giving the news instead of so emphatically expressing their own ideas or opinions. A little foresight would be useful. They should also quit criticizing Senate investigations. They may personally disapprove of them but their personal feelings should be kept off-the-air.

Could you possibly give us more anti-Communist programs. I'm sure many such programs would be possible if they would have sponsors to back them. Such programs as "Last Man Out" were forced to go off the air because they had no sponsor. That was a wonderful program lost. Such programs keep people alert. Why not take it upon yourself to sponsor such a program in the near future. I'm sure it would have the appreciation of thousands of red-blooded Americans.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/

Theresa Stecklein

C
O
P
Y

2214 Windsor Ave.
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Sir:

I would like to congratulate you on your program "Edward R. Murrow and the News." However, I do believe Mr. Murrow could be a little more objective. Also I wished he would stop giving his personal opinion and stop criticizing the Senate investigations.

Why don't you sponsor a good anti-Communist program, like the "Last Man Out."

Yours truly,

/s/

Miss Donna Mae Hillard

C
O
P
Y

2314 Prince Street
Dubuque, Iowa
April 5, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

This is a little letter in regard to the program of which you are sponsor. Keep up your good work in bringing to the people of America the up-to-date news.

Please ask the reporter to use less of his own views and express both sides of the problem in question. It is best not to criticize one particular person or party.

The truth is most important. It is this that the people of our country most cherish.

Please do all you can to promote anti-communistic programs. Help keep America free.

Thank you kindly.

/s/ Gloria Dehlinger

C
O
P
Y

St. Paul, Minn.
April 3,1954

Hamm's Brewery Co.
726 Payne Ave.
St. Paul 1, Minn.

Gentlemen:

Get rid of that man Murrow. I have nothing against Hamm's beer, but I will not drink a drop of your beer while you keep him on.

/s/ An East Sider

C
O
P
Y

St. Paul, Minn.
April 1, 1954

TV Public Relations
Hamm's Brewery
720 Payne Avenue
St. Paul, Minn.

R. Murrow -

Your pretty smart on TV smearing a good American like Sen. Joe McCarthy.

I suppose you have a boy hiding behind the walls of the University instead of fighting in Korea.

Get Murrow off the air.

C
O
P
Y

March 29, 1954

Television & Public Relation Dept.
Hamm's Brewery
720 Payne Ave.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

Murrows attack on your T.V. program on Joseph McCarthy was a disgrace and shameful. If he appears on your program again I'll never buy your beer.

/s/ L. King
St. Paul, Minn.

C
O
P
Y

March 29, 1954

Television & Public Relations Dept.
Hamm's Brewery
720 Payne Avenue
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:

I wish to protest that T.V. personality Murrow on your program. His attack on Sen. Joseph McCarthy is unwarranted and cannot be substantiated. Therefore I will not allow him to come into my home nor will I buy any of your products if you continue to present him.

/s/

R. Denning
1207 Beech St.
St. Paul 6, Minn.

WESTERN UNION

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SPN 169PD MINNEAPOLIS MINN MAR 29 1954 240PMC

HAMMS BREWERY CO+= ADVERTISING DEPT

I THINK YOURE DOING A DISSERVICE TO YOUR SPONSORS THE HAMM BREWERY BY DOUBLE SLATING THE NEWS ON SENATOR JOSEPH R MCCARTY. YES HAMMS IS FROM THE LAND OF THE SKY BLUE WATERS BUT ALSO FROM A CITY THATS 76 HERCENT IRISH SAINT PAUL MINNESOTA I WANT TO REMIND YOUR MR MORROW WHEN THE IRISH PLAY THEY PLAY FOR KEEPS

COPY ALSO SENT TO EDWARD R MURROW

THOMAS E MCGOVERN
1619 LAGOON AVENUE

C
O
P
Y

EARL F. PAXSON
P.O.Box 461
Ottumwa, Iowa

March 26, 1954.

The Hamm Brewing Co.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Att. Advertising Dept.,

Gentlemen:

You manufacture a good beer. You have an especially good announcer on your T.V. program. You had a good T.V. show and I enjoyed it until Edward R. Murrow got into the Sen. McCarthy argument. It was none of his business and I think he took unfair advantage of McCarthy. Any way, I know of no other way to get back at him excepting thru his sponsor.

I will drink no more Hamm's Beer as long as they sponsor the Person to Person show. If you were to take a poll and not ask any leading questions, you might be surprised how many people feel just the same as I do, I'll bet you don't add another million users in the next few years, as you have in the last few.

Sincerely,

/s/

E. F. Paxson

C
O
P
Y

March 25, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

Your beer has been tops until I listened to Ed R. Murrow - my stomach went completely sour - still is when I think of a sponsor using anyone with the slightest leanings to left - or even with a pink slant - I don't like a cry baby either.

Sincerely,

/s/ Harry O. Frank
1150 Grain Exchange Bldg.
Minneapolis 15, Minn.

P.S. Los Angeles friends agree - like your product but not Ed R. Murrow.

C
O
P
Y

944 Pleasant St.
Oak Park, Ill.
March 24, 1954

Hamm's Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

We will <u>never buy your products</u> while you sponsor ANGLOPHILE EDWARD R. MURROW.

We suggest you have him sent back to LONDON or MOSCOW.

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Maurice O'Connor

C
O
P
Y

REGINALD DuBOIS
11322 Prairie Avenue
Chicago 28, Ill.

March 24, 1954

Hamm's
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

The spirit of fair play prompts me to take this time out to remind you that I like your beer, the advertising plug you give on TV, and that in my opinion it isn't necessary for you or your co-sponsor to enter the field of politics in any manner or form. Stick to selling beer, making it better and if at all possible cheaper.

Ask your TV mouthpiece to do likewise and we shall be good friends. Please don't force a pro-you to become an anti-you.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

Reginald DuBois

C
O
P
Y

Chicago, Ill.
March 21, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

You have E. R. Morrow. I'm back to Schlitz.

/s/ Joe Rauseo

C
O
P
Y

March 20, 1954
Chicago, Illinois

HAMM BREWING CO.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

I am writing to you, to ask you if you won't please withdraw Edward R. Murrow from your Friday night show "Person to Person"

I always use your beer and became acquainted with it during the last Milwaukee beer shortage. It was so good that now I never buy anything else. I don't think that any of us should go along tolerating any of those people who are against this American government.

When Sen. McCarthy told of his being connected with the Communist party school, that was enough for me. I refused to listen to your program from then on, while he is associated with your product.

Very truly yours,

/s/
Francis P. Murphy
Chicago, Illinois

FM:lp

C
O
P
Y

151 Amherst St.
St. Paul 5, Minn.
March 17, 1954

Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

You should be extremely proud to be the sponsors of Edward Murrow. The only person in the country so far who has shown up Senator McCarthy for the menace he is without losing his own dignity or integrity in the process.

Sincerely,

/s/
Mary S. Richards

C
O
P
Y

St. Paul, Minn.
March 17, 1954

Hamm's Brewery
St. Paul, Minn.

We strongly support the stand of Edw. R.Murrow against Sen. McCarthy and hope you will continue to back him and sponsor him.

Sincerely,

/s/ Mr. & Mrs. Harry L. Bratnoder, Jr.
295 Macalester St.

C
O
P
Y

903 Fairmount Avenue
Saint Paul, Minnesota
March 16, 1954

Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:

I wish to commend the Hamm Brewing Company for the part it is playing in bringing the issue of Senator McCarthy and what he stands for, to the attention of the public in this area.

I feel this country is most fortunate to have citizens, such as Edward R. Murrow, who are not afraid to expose where exposure is needed regardless of the personal risk involved.

Congratulations,

/s/
Hamilton S. Ross

C
O
P
Y

Law Offices of

RYAN, RYAN AND EBERT

Brainerd, Minn.

March 15, 1954

Hamm Brewing Company
St. Paul, Minnesota

Gentlemen:

I have been a Hamm's beer drinker for some time but after realizing that it is your money that is supporting Edgar R. Murrow I am herewith letting you know that if that support continues there will be one less Hamm's drinker.

Yours very truly,

/s/
Donald I. Ryan

DIR/efg

C
O
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Y

Chicago, Ill.
March 13, 1954

Hamm's Brewry,
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

Believing that Edward R. Murrow's attack upon Senator McCarthy was unwarranted, we the undersigned, have agreed that we will NOT purchase your product so long as your company sponsors any Television or Radio program that he (Edward R. Murrow) has any connection with.

Yours,

/s/

A. O. Smythe, 2528 Prairie St., Blue Island, Ill.
J. B. McBride, 10820 Maplewood Ave., Chicago 43, Ill.
E. E. Mayhugh, 11255 Homewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Owen Morris, 8801 South Justine St., Chicago 20, Ill.
E. F. Fuhrmann, 206 Division St., Joliet, Ill.

C
O
P
Y

Chicago, Ill.
March 12, 1954

The Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:

To think that an American Business would knowingly help, pay, and give comfort to a gifted man in position to slander American's that are trying expose Communists agents in our Government is beyond the realm of reason.

Joe Stalin with the power of press and radio has made the Russian people believe that God and Our Lord were criminals. Mr. Murrow's tactics can accomplish a great deal for the Kremlin.

How about directing his efforts against the Communists then we won't need any more investigations?

God Bless America, and to hell with fuzzy headed "Pink" and their Red masters.

Be American

/s/
Bud Wilker

C
O
P
Y

St. Paul, Minn.
March 12, 1954

Hamm's Brewery
St. Paul, Minn.

According to the paper Ed. R. Murrow was an adviser to a Communist propaganda school. No wonder he attacked our fine American Joe McCarthy. Please get some one else on your program. We don't want him coming into our home.

A St. Paulite

C
O
P
Y

Kankakee, Ill.
March 11, 1954

Hamms Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Gentlemen:-

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter, I have this day caused to be directed to the Grand Council of the United Commercial Travelers, of America, Columbus Ohio, which is self explanatory.

You will readily understand from this letter, that it is my intention to request the members of our organization to collectively protest to the Hamms Brewing Company the unprecedented attack on the Honorable Joseph McCarthy, United Senator from Wisconsin, by one, Edward R. Morrow, of CBS radio and TV system. Your sponsorship of this micraphone coward is being called to the attention to all UCT councils, as well as American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars posts and fraternal organizations where-ever your product is for sale.

Sponsorship of such slanting newscasters as Murrow is an insult to the fathers and Mothers of the boys that have fought and died fighting communists all over the world. Joe McCarthy has dug out a lot of communists that came into being during the administration of the king of demagogs, Roosevelt, and this left-wing presspunk Murrow, undoubtedly has been hurt because of the exposure by Joe McCarthy's investigation.

This micraphone coward conducted a program sometime ago, on which he has another left wing character Senator Kerr of Oklahoma. At that time Kerr and Murrow were exercised up over the drop in livestock prices, and Kerr pulled the prize story for Murrow's program by telling the public that conditions were so bad under the Republicans, that one of Kerr's constitutents had to sell a calf for $1.75, and Kerr pulled a paper out of his pocket saying it was a "bill of sale" for the animal. But that got by with Murrow, when any fifth rate Greek resturant would have bought the calf for the going price on hoof for from $10 to $25 depending on age etc.

The truth hurts thats why the left wing press punks would like to stop Joe McCarthy's investigation of the bed-fellows. The public wont support a product that sponsors characters of this kind.

Yours truly,
J.R.McCaffrie
Past Chairman Executive Committee
Kankakee Council 687

C
O
P
Y

1631 Hubbard
St. Paul, Minn.
3-11-54

Theo. Hamm Brewing Co.
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

Congratulations on the excellent TV program by Edward R. Murrow, which you provide each week.

We have always enjoyed it, and now it is more interesting than ever before.

Sincerely,

/s/ J. J. McEvay

C
O
P
Y

372 N. Cleveland
St. Paul, Minn.
March 11, 1954

Hamm Brewery
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sirs:

The only way I can express my disgust at your sponsorship of Ed Murrow's program is to stop drinking your beer. This I intend to do. Surely you are not opposed to hunting out and branding Communists. So why sponsor a man who is?

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Mrs. G. D. Wilder

Copy sent to
Leo DEORSEY
upon request
11-29-57

NIXON QUOTE
5-C-18

The New York Times - September 6, 1955 - By Russell Baker (9-5-55)

Denver: Then, the Vice President gave this interpretation of what he suggested had been Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's fatal error.

There was, he said, a politician adage to the effect that "you must not strike a king unless you kill him."

"Politically," he said, "you could say you must not strike a leader unless you destroy him. I think that our political history shows that when you have a great issue and an individual decides to take onthe top man, if he wins out on the issue he gains in popularity, but when you make a frontal assault on somebody bigger, you'd better be sure you win. If you lose, you're through."

MAssapequa 6-5100 - 5101

Affiliated With The Levittown Eagle

IRA L. CAHN, Publisher

1 GRAND AVENUE
MASSAPEQUA, NEW YORK

April 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
"See It Now"
WCBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Enclosed you will find our editorial of April 15, in which we comment on your "See It Now" program of April 13.

We are also enclosing our editorial of March 4, which we have just learned was entered into the Congressional Record on March 22 by Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr., of New Jersey. The editorials were written by Mrs. Cahn.

We think you will find both editorials of interest.

The Massapequa Post is a weekly newspaper, published every Thursday. Because of our consistent editorial stand against the McCarthy approach to the problem of subversion, and because of our opposition to fascistic, as well as communistic, methods generally, we have also been subjected to "the treatment," albeit in a small way, from a local pro-McCarthy weekly, the Tomahawk, edited by George Bricker. We have successfully fought this intermittent attack by calling attention to our strong anti-communist record in Levittown, where we formerly published the Levittown Eagle. Of course, we opposed the McCarthy approach in Levittown as well as in Massapequa, whether manifested in local school board elections or in international politics.

Despite the uncomfortable position of being the target of both the extreme right and the extreme left, we feel that we have been true to our tradition of the free press, and that we have helped stem the tide of extremism in our small way. We are proud to be a junior colleague of Edward R. Murrow.

Sincerely yours,

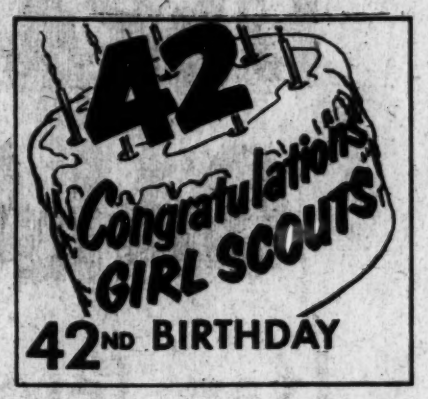
Ira L. Cahn

Ira L. Cahn

- SERVING -
MASSAPEQUA
NORTH MASSAPEQUA
MASSAPEQUA PARK
PLAINEDGE
SOUTH FARMINGDALE

MASSAPEQUA POST

A FREE PRESS IN A FREE SOCIETY



Vol. 3 No. 15 | Massapequa, L.I., N.Y. | Thursday, March 4, 1954 | 5¢ Per Copy

LOCAL CONGRESSMAN HITS 'TYRANNY'

WAINWRIGHT ON MC CARTHY ROLE IN STEVENS CASE

BY CONGRESSMAN STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT
Representative, First Congressional District of New York

The recent Stevens-McCarthy controversy has alarmed the nation. I have been asked to state my position on this unfortunate affair. It is this:

All good Americans are opposed to Communists in Government or in the Armed Services. Certainly, Secretary of the Army Stevens must be considered an outstanding proponent of this policy. He has told me on several occasions of his efforts to keep the Armed Services free of these evil people. Mr. Stevens, on the other hand, does not believe that distinguished American Army Officers should be called, in effect, traitors by U.S. Senators, simply because the officer in question was obeying orders of higher authority.

I agree with Secretary Stevens.

This must lead to a further examination of the conduct of Congressional investigations, not alone in the Communist field. I have been greatly alarmed by the abuses and threats to which innocent witnesses have been subjected. A good friend of mine from Nassau County was testifying as a Government witness in a contract case earlier this week. The Committee Counsel, apparently anxious to make a name for himself, felt that my friend had not given him enough information. He threatened the witness: "I'll go to your boss (a large New York corporation) and tell him you're not playing ball. He'll fire you quick!"

The question is, does this not smack of the Hitler Gestapo or the present Russian secret police? Our country's government is based on the philosophy which respects the dignity of man. We are innocent until proven guilty. My oath to defend the Constitution is sacred. Consequently, I will fight against tyranny and injustice whether it come from the menace of our evil breed of domestic Communists or from a fascist threat, veiled in a wicked purpose under the guise of "true Americanism".

MASSAPEQUA POST
A FREE PRESS IN A FREE SOCIETY

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IRA L. CAHN, Editor & Publisher
BARBARA FREIS CAHN, Co-publisher
GERALDINE REARDON, Editorial Assistant

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COMPOSITION RESPONSIBILITY
This newspaper will not be liable for errors appearing in any advertisement beyond the cost of the space occupied by the error.

OFFICES: One Grand Avenue, Massapequa, and 127 Merrick Road, Massapequa Park. TELEPHONES: MAssapequa 6 - 5100 - 01

Placed in Congressional Record

Wainwright's Statement Of Great Significance

We wish to call your attention to Congressman Stuyvesant Wainwright's article on the Stevens-McCarthy controversy elsewhere in the paper. His words deserve the most careful reading by everyone interested in preserving our American heritage and way of life.

It is heartening to see a young man, part of the regular Republican organization of Nassau and Suffolk Counties so completely aware of the implications regarding the recent conduct of our Congressional investigations. One could wish that his chief, President Eisenhower, who undoubtedly shares his views, had stated them so forthrightly and at the proper time.

Americans must be made aware of the fact that this nation faces two threats, one from the left and one from the right. Both would destroy our system of government, both are equally tyrannical. The communist threat is easy to see, because it owes its allegience to a foreign power. The fascist threat is not so easy, because its chief foreign exponents were defeated in the last war, and because its adherents in this country disguise it with a phony type of patriotism.

Communists and fascists alike want you to believe that if they accuse a man of something, the fact that they have so accused him must mean that he is guilty. No trial is necessary; no defense; no examination of the evidence. They wouldn't have accused him if there were any possibility of his innocence, they say. And to save our nation, they add, we must let them be in full charge, we must rely entirely on their judgement and we must be willing to give up our democratic freedoms. This is precisely the device that Hitler used. History has proven that once we agree to give up those freedoms, no one is going to hand them back to us without a fight.

These words of Congressman Wainwright bear repeating, and they are worthy to be part of the code of every American: "I will fight tyranny and injustice whether it come from the menace of our evil breed of domestic Communists or from a fascist threat, veiled in a wicked purpose under the guise of 'true Americanism'. We urge our readers to communicate their views on this matter to Congressman Wainwright in Washington, D.C.

Ask More Gas Stations -Don't We Have Enough?

In the POST this week, there are a number of legal notices which involve requests for zoning variances to permit the erection of gas stations. While we are anxious to see new industry and business enter this area, we believe that we already have enough gas stations in the community. In fact, we may already have too many.

The erection of still more gas stations will certainly hurt the business of the numerous stations already in existence, and this can help to depress the entire area. We urge those who intend to put up the stations (if allowed by the Town Board) to reconsider their action before they risk their capital. Above all, we urge the Town Board to carefully consider the effect on the local economy.

Anniversary Greetings To Our Own Girl Scouts

We could not let this week go by without saluting our wonderful Girl Scout troops and their leaders on the occasion of Girl Scout Week and the 42nd Anniversary of Girl Scouting. The important work of the Girl Scouts is too well known to bear repetition here. Character building, knowledge of specific skills and constructive use of leisure time are all the results of this work.

The Girl Scout troops are not sponsored by outside organizations. The Massapequa Town Committee is in charge of all the Massapequa troops; the Plainedge Town Committee of the Plainedge troops and so on. Funds are raised primarily through the annual cookie sale. The Girls Scouts stand on their own feet. We are proud of them.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FRIDAY, MARCH 5
JOINT SERVICE: Woman's World Day of Prayer, Grace Church, 2 PM.
MASSAPEQUA COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION: Meeting, Unqua School Cafeteria, 8:30 PM.

SATURDAY, MARCH 6
WESTMINSTER GUILD, PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITY CHURCH: Rummage and Cake sale, Merrick Rd. nr. Hicksville Rd., 10 AM - 6 PM.

SUNDAY, MARCH 7
MEMORARE COUNCIL, K. OF C.: Communion Breakfast, after 8 AM Mass at St. Rose of Lima R.C. Church, Pine Grove Inn.
SEVENTH, EIGHTH GRADE YPF GRACE CHURCH: Social, New Parish House, 1:45 - 3:30 PM.
COMBINED CUB PACKS: Hobby Show, Wantagh School, 2-5PM.

MONDAY, MARCH 8
BABE RUTH AUXILIARY: Meeting, Rm. 17, Fairfield School, 8 PM.
SISTERHOOD, BETH SHOLOM CENTER: Meeting, 39 Greene Ave., Amityville, 8:30 PM.
ROSARY SOCIETY, ST. WILLIAM THE ABBOT: Meeting after Novena, Church Hall, 8:45 PM.

TUESDAY, MARCH 9
JOHN W. ANDERSON GOP CLUB: Meeting, clubhouse on Parkhill Ave., 8:30 PM

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10
MASSAPEQUA WOMAN'S CLUB: Fashion Show and Tea, Grace Church Parish Hall, 2:30 PM

THURSDAY, MARCH 11
MASSAPEQUA PARK CIVIC ASSOCIATION: Candidates' Forum, East Lake School, 8 PM
FAIRFIELD PTA: Parent Education Meeting, first and second grades, Fairfield School, 8:30 PM.

Seek Members For MJC Choir

The Massapequa Jewish Center is seeking young adults for its choir. Those interested are asked to call Mrs. William Hoffnung, 70 Abbey St., MA 6-7616. Mrs. Hoffnung is also handling the distribution of children's books concerning Purim and Passover.

The Judaica Shop of the Sisterhood, under the direction of Mrs. Harry Erdheim, displays and sells handmade dolls, books, Israeli gift items and jewelry at all Congregation and Sisterhood meetings.

The monthly board meeting of the Sisterhood will be held Tuesday, March 9, at 8:30 PM at the home of Mrs. Dean Ellner, 5 Mohawk Dr.

K of C To Hold Breakfast Sun.

Memorare Council No. 3476, Knights of Columbus, will hold its Third Annual Communion Breakfast on Sunday, March 7, following Mass and Holy Communion at 8 AM in the St. Rose of Lima R. C. Church, Massapequa. The Breakfast will be held at the Pine Grove Inn.

Father Cyril Meyer, vice president of St. John's University, will be principal speaker, according to Eugene Gerimeno, chairman of the speaker's table. Bernie Ryan is general chairman; Bill Burden is chairman for Massapequa. Al Casey will be toastmaster. Stephen F. Curran is Grand Knight of the Council.

YPF TO MEET ALTERNATE SUNDAYS, NEED SUPPLIES

The seventh and eighth grade Junior Young People's Fellowship of Grace Church will meet in the new Parish House every other Sunday afternoon from 1:45 to 3:30 PM. The next meeting will be held March 7. Games, sports and dancing will be featured. Sporting equipment is badly needed. Those who would like to donate some are asked to call MA 6-2029.

WESTMINSTER GUILD

The Westminster Guild of the Presbyterian Community Church of Massapequa will hold a rummage and cake sale on Saturday, March 6, from 10 AM to 6 PM on Merrick Rd. one block from Hicksville Rd.

Church Notices

BETH SHOLOM CENTER:-Grene Avenue, Amityville, Rabbi Israel Renov. Friday evening service, 9 PM. Saturday, children's service, 11 AM.

COMMUNITY CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE:-East Lake School, Massapequa Park. Reverend Albert Stiefel. Sunday School and Adult Bible Class at 9:45 AM. Worship Service, 11 AM, Sermon: "Jesus Christ: Man or God?" Communion served. Junior Choir: "The Old Rugged Cross". Wednesday, Hour of Power at the Parsonage, 8 PM, studies in personal evangelism.

COMMUNITY METHODIST CHURCH: Park Boulevard, Massapequa. Rev. Stewart Hild. Sunday worship 9 & 11 AM. Sunday School 9 & 11 AM (3 years-1st grade), 10 AM (2nd grade-high School) Methodist Youth Fellowship, 7:30 PM., Young Adult Fellowship, 6:30 PM, Pastor's Preparatory Membership Class, Saturday, 11 AM. Bible Discussion Group, Thursday, 8:15 PM.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST: - 410 Merrick Road, Sunday services, 9:45 and 11:15 AM. Sunday School, 9:45 AM. Testimonial meeting. Wed. 8:15 PM. Reading room, 8 Central Avenue.

GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH:-Merrick Road. The Reverend John Malcolm Haight. Holy Communion, 8 AM. Parish Communion, 9:30 AM. Holy Communion and sermon, 11 AM. Church school for 1st-9th, grade 9:30 A.M. Preschool and kindergarten, 11 AM. Young People's Fellowship, 4-6:30 PM. Wednesday, Holy Communion, 6:45 AM.

MASSAPEQUA BAPTIST CHURCH:- 89 Parkhill Ave. Reverend Jacob Aardsma. Sunday school, 9:45 AM. Rev. Vernon Burlage, guest speaker. Morning service 11 AM; Evening service 7:30 PM.

MASSAPEQUA JEWISH CENTER:- Community Methodist Church Rabbi Hirsch E.L. Freund, Friday evening service 8:30 PM. Hebrew School, Saturday, 10 AM, Community Methodist Church. Sunday School, Fairfield School, 10 AM.

METHODIST CHURCH OF SEAFORD:-Washington Avenue at Waverly. Rev. Garfield H. Thompson, Pastor. Sunday School at 9:30 AM. Morning worship, 11 AM, Jr. High Fellowship, 6:30 PM, Methodist Youth Fellowship, 7:30 PM.

OUR REDEEMER LUTHERAN CHURCH:- 2025 Washington Avenue, Seaford. Reverend Arthur R. Hanser, Pastor, Church services at 9:30 and 11 o'clock. Sunday School at 9:30 & 11 AM, in the Parish House.

PLAINEDGE BAPTIST CHURCH:-96 Stewart Avenue, Plainedge. Rev. Gordon R. Arneberg, Pastor, Sunday School, 9:45 AM: morning worship 11 AM Wednesday, prayer meeting, 7:45 PM.

PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITY CHURCH:-Parkside School, Reverend William D. Glenn, Pastor. Sunday School, 9:30 AM and 11AM. Worship service, 11 AM. Sermon: "Faith, the Heart of Prayer".

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S EPISCOPAL CHAPEL:- (formerly Grace Episcopal Chapel): Hicksville Road. Rev. Douglas T. Haviland, Holy Communion at 8:30 AM. Church School at 10 AM. Holy Communion at 10 AM.

ST. DAVID'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH:-Massapequa Park, Village Hall. Reverend Charles E. Deitz, Pastor, Church school at 9 & 10 AM. Worship services at 11:15 and 8 AM. Holy Communion services on the 1st Sunday of the month.

ST. JAMES R. C. CHURCH:-Hicksville-Massapequa Road at Union Avenue, Plainedge. The Reverend William A. Delaney, Pastor. Sunday Masses at 8, 9, 10, 10:45 and 12:15.

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH:-Hicksville Road, 1 block south of Boundary Ave., Plainedge, Rev. Russell B. Helgesen, Pastor, Sunday school at 9:30 AM and worship at 8:15 and 11 AM. Mid-week Lenten services every Wednesday, 8 PM, until Easter.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS R. C. CHURCH:-Union Avenue, Amityville. The Reverend James J. Comerford, Pastor, Sunday Masses, 6:30 7:30, 9:00, 10:00, 11:00 and 12:45.

ST. ROSE OF LIMA R.C. Church:-Merrick Road, Massapequa, The Reverend Francis J. Burns, Pastor. Sunday Masses at 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 12:45. Baptisms at 2 PM. Religious instructions, Saturday 9-10:45 AM. Confessions, every Saturday and 1st Thursday, 4:30 - 5:45 and 7:30 - 9:00 PM.

ST. WILLIAM THE ABBOTT R.C. CHURCH: - Jackson Avenue, Seaford. Rev. Dermod Flinn, Pastor. Sunday masses at 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11:45 & 12:30. Weekday masses at 7 & 8. Baptism, Sunday, 2:15 PM.

SEAFORD BAPTIST CHURCH:-3833 Jerusalem Avenue, east of Seaman Neck Road, Seaford, Rev. L.H.R. Hass, Pastor. Unified Church School and Church Worship at 10:30 AM. Children's story: "All Things Beautiful"; and Sermon: "How We Know God". Wednesday, 8-9 PM, Fellowship of Prayer with the first of a series of Lenten discussions on the devotional life of Christian leaders, with the theme, "Better Living".

Impressive Rites Mark Southedge Dedication

Impressive ceremonies marked the dedication of the new Southedge School in District 18 (Plainedge) Sunday, February 28. Arnold Jenny was honorary chairman and master of ceremonies. About 400 attended the dedication, during which a speaker's stand from the Class of 1953 was presented by Arlene Cornell; an organ was presented by Charles E. Schwarting, past president of the Board of Education; an American flag was presented by Commander John Atanat of the Massapequa American Legion Post; and a school flag was presented by Mrs. Robert L. Shillito of the PTA.

Invocation was given by Rev. Russell Helgeson of the Lutheran Church in Plainedge; the prayer was given by Rabbi Samuel Epstein of the Farmingdale Jewish Center; and the benediction was given by the Rev. Father Flynn of St. William the Abbot R.C. Church.

Robert W. Eaves, executive secretary of the Department of Elementary Principals of the NEA gave the dedicatory address. Musical selections were presented by the Choral Ensemble, directed by Miss Agnes Schoebe; and an instrumental quartette, directed by Paul Willeman. Alonzo Gibbs gave the history of the Plainedge School District.

The school key was presented by Mr. Heidelberger, architect of the firm of Jagow and Heidelberger, designer of the school. Receiving the key were Robert Picken, president of the Board of Education; John W. Chisholm, district superintendent; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, supervising principal; Fred J. Prior, Southedge School principal; and John Tomasso, president of the Student Council of the Class of 1954.

MASSAPEQUA POST

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IRA L. CAHN, Editor & Publisher
BARBARA FREIS CAHN, Co-publisher
GERALDINE REARDON, Editorial Assistant

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Hitler's Anti-Communism Paved Way For Soviets, Warns Founder Of CYO

As Bishop Shiel of Chicago said this week, "Anti-communism is sometimes the scoundrel's first refuge." He described Hitler as one of the strongest anti-communists in the world, and pointed out that Hitler was not wrong because he was an anti-communist, but because he was an IMMORAL anti-communist. As a result, the Bishop went on, half of Europe, including half of Germany, is now under the communist yoke. Bishop Shiel is of the opinion that the results would have been quite different had Hitler been a MORAL anti-communist.

The Roman Catholic Bishop, who is a learned man, and the founder of the CYO, reviewed briefly 700 years of history starting with the Magna Carta. After going through the various freedoms acquired, often with great difficulty, during those years, he said it was incredible that they could all be lightly disregarded and tossed aside in an instant, but that appeared to be what was now happening in some cases.

His main thesis, in the talk he gave on Edward R. Murrow's See It Now television program Tuesday, was that IMMORAL anti-communism conditions people to such a state of moral bankruptcy that they are incapable of withstanding the pressures of communism itself. As proof, he offers the spectacle of Eastern Europe described above.

There is very little difference between the attitudes of the communist and the immoral anti-communist toward decency, honesty, truth, our great constitutional guarantees and what are usually considered our sacred rights.

Not all of Bishop Shiel's colleagues will agree with him. The time is fast approaching, however, when we shall have to decide on the one hand whether to fight communism and its ideology the way Americans have fought all tyranny since there was an America, or whether to replace it with a home-grown tyranny just as terrifying.

Incidentally, Murrow, who was accused by Senator McCarthy the previous week of having been praised by the communist Daily Worker, read the quote to which McCarthy referred. It said that McCarthy had become so objectionable that even Murrow, President Eisenhower, Senator Flanders and others had felt obligated to give him a "slap on the wrist." That's praise?

Watch Your Driving On This Holiday Weekend

Practically all of us look forward to the average week end as a time for rest and pleasure. We can catch up on our golf game, work around the house and have some fun with the children. It's the time for going to church, watching television, listening to the ball game or visiting or being visited by friends.

The week ends are all of those things - except on the highways. In 1953, 15,800 persons were killed and 800,000 were injured in week end accidents, according to figures compiled and recently released by The Travelers Insurance Companies. Forty-one per cent of the deaths and 36 per cent of the injuries were recorded on Saturdays and Sundays in 1953.

Saturday continued to be the most dangerous day of the week. One reason is that more cars are in use Saturday than on any weekday. There is another distinguishing feature which sets this day apart from the others. For too many people, Saturday night is a time when drinking and driving combine. No one knows exactly how many traffic accidents are caused by drinking drivers but everyone knows it is a major problem. Everyone needs to know that even one drink before driving is too many.

Week ends indeed are a time of rest. For too many they are the beginnings of permanent rest.

This week end, particularly, may be extra hazardous because of the double Easter-Passover holiday. More families than usual will be on the road. A lot of children will be in the family auto as visits are made back and forth.

Be especially careful this week end. As we have said before, we like our subscribers too much to lose them - for any reason.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

(For religious services see Church Notices.)

SATURDAY, APRIL 17

GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH: Annual plant sale, Floyd-Jones house, 8 AM on.

MONDAY, APRIL 19

MASSAPEQUA PARK VILLAGE BOARD: Budget hearing, Village Hall, 8:30 PM.

MEN'S CLUB, COMMUNITY METHODIST CHURCH: Tour of police headquarters, assemble at church at 7:55 PM.

MEN'S CLUB, GRACE CHURCH: Meeting, Floyd-Jones House, 8:30 PM.

TUESDAY, APRIL 20

TOWN BOARD: Hearing on park proposal, Town Hall, Oyster Bay, 10 AM.

PTA, OUR REDEEMER LUTHERAN CHURCH: Meeting, 8:15 PM.

COMM. METHODIST CHURCH: Meeting of Women's Society of Christian Service, 8:15 PM.

GRACE CHURCH: 110th annual meeting, new parish house, 8:30 PM.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF MASS. PARK: Meeting, Village Hall, 8:30 PM.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21

BETA SIGMA PHI: Meeting, 3504 Major Dr. E., Wantagh, 8 PM.

THURSDAY, APRIL 22

HARBOUR GREEN CIVIC ASSN.: Meeting, old parish house of Grace Church, 8:30 PM.

Continue Thank Offering Drive

The Congregational Dinner of Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, engaged in its 25th anniversary Thank Offering campaign, will be held on Friday, May 7, at 7 PM. All members and friends are urged to return their reservation post cards no later than April 23. The dinner committee is asking for donations of apple pies. Those interested should call Mrs. Russell Hoverman at SUnset 5-7202.

The first organization supper of the campaign will be held April 28 under the auspices of the Ladies Aid. The meals will be simple, since the chief purpose is to allow all visitors to come in time to hear all the instructions.

The regular monthly meeting of the Sunday School PTA will be held this Tuesday, April 20 at 8:15 PM. After the business meeting, there will be a talk on interior decorating and colors in the home. A gift will be given each person attending. All are welcome.

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Church Notices

BETH SHOLOM CENTER:-Greene Avenue, Amityville. Rabbi Israel Renov. Friday evening service 9 PM. Sermon: "Passover - Portrait of a People". Saturday, children's service, 11 AM. Passover services, Sunday, April 18, 10 AM.

BIBLE BAPTIST CHURCH:- 89 Parkhill Ave., Reverend Jacob Aardsma. Special Easter Sunrise Service, 6:45 AM, topic: "Christ Is Risen". Sunday School, 9:45 AM. Morning Service, 11 AM, sermon: "Christ's Resurrection in Old Testament Prophecy". Singspiration, 7:30 PM. Gospel service, 8 PM, sermon: "Knowing the Power of Christ's Resurrection". Prayer meeting, Wednesday, 8 PM.

COMMUNITY CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE:- East Lake School, Massapequa Park. Reverend Albert Stiefel. Easter Sunrise Service, 6:30 AM, Hempstead Lake State Park, Sunday School and worship combined, 10 AM, youth participating. Harold Brooks of Waltham, Mass., blind pianist, guest. Sermon: "The Lesson of Easter". Young People's service, Village Hall, 7 PM. Singspiration, 7:30 PM; Bible message: "Endless Power for Endless Living".

COMMUNITY METHODIST CHURCH:-Park Boulevard, Massapequa. Rev. Stewart Hild. Easter Dawn Service and breakfast, 6 AM. Sunday Worship, 9 & 11, 12 AM. Sunday School, 9 & 11 AM (3 years - 1st grade). 10 AM (2nd grade - high school). Methodist Youth Fellowship, 7:30 PM; Intermediate Youth Fellowship, 6:30 PM. Pastor's Preparatory Membership Class, Saturday, 11 AM.

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST: - 410 Merrick Road, Sunday services, 9:45 and 11:15 AM. Sunday School, 9:45 AM. Testimonial meeting, Wed. 8:15 PM. Reading room, 8 Central Avenue.

GRACE EPISCOPAL CHURCH:- Merrick Road. The Reverend John Malcolm Haight. Holy Communion and carols, 7 AM. Solemn Festival Eucharist at 9 and 11 AM. Children's Festival service, 4 PM.

MASSAPEQUA JEWISH CENTER:- Community Methodist Church. Rabbi Hirsel E.L. Freund. Friday evening service, 8:30 PM. Sermon: "Dreams that Endure." Hebrew School, Saturday, 10 AM, Community Methodist Church. Sunday School, Fairfield School, 10 AM.

METHODIST CHURCH OF SEAFORD:-Washington Avenue at Waverly. Rev. Garfield H. Thompson, Pastor. Sunday School at 9:30 AM. Morning worship, 11 AM, Jr. High Fellowship, 6:30 PM, Methodist Youth Fellowship, 7:30 PM.

OUR REDEEMER LUTHERAN CHURCH:- 2025 Washington Avenue, Seaford. Reverend Arthur R. Hanser, Pastor. Sunday School at 9:30 and 11 AM - in the Parish House. Confirmation classes, Saturday, 9 AM. Easter Sunday, Holy Communion at 8, 9:30 and 11 AM.

PLAINEDGE BAPTIST CHURCH:-96 Stewart Avenue, Plainedge. Rev. Gordon R. Arneberg, Pastor, Sunday School, 9:45 AM: morning worship 11 AM Wednesday, prayer meeting, 7:45 PM.

PRESBYTERIAN COMMUNITY CHURCH:- Ocean & Pittsburgh Avenues. Rev. William D. Glenn, Pastor. Sunday School, 9:30 AM and 11 AM, Worship Service, 11 AM, Sermon: "The Day of the New Life." Youth Fellowship, 7 PM, 17 Lincoln Ave., Massapequa Park.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S EPISCOPAL CHAPEL:- (formerly Grace Episcopal Chapel): Hicksville Road. Rev. Douglas T. Haviland. Holy Communion at 7:30, 8:30 and 10 AM. Children's Service, 4 PM.

ST. DAVID'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH:- Massapequa Park, Village Hall. Reverend Charles E. Deitz, Pastor. Church School at 9 and 10 AM. Easter Dawn Service, 6 AM, on the mall, at the Village Hall. Communion Service, 8 AM; Festival Service, 11:15 AM.

ST. JAMES R. C. CHURCH:-Hicksville-Massapequa Road at Union Avenue, Plainedge. The Reverend William A. Delaney, Pastor. Sunday Masses at 8, 9, 10, 10:45 and 12:15.

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH:- Hicksville Road, 1 block south of Boundary Avenue, Plainedge. Rev. Russell B. Helgesen, Pastor. Sunday School at 9:30 AM, special Easter service for children. Easter Worship services, 6, 8:15 and 11 AM.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS R. C. CHURCH:-Union Avenue, Amityville. The Reverend James J. Comerford, Pastor, Sunday Masses, 6:30 7:30, 9:00, 10:00, 11:00 and 12:45.

ST. ROSE OF LIMA R.C. CHURCH:- Merrick Road, Massapequa. The Reverend Francis J. Burns, Pastor. Sunday Masses at 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 12:45. Baptisms at 2 PM. Religious Instructions, Saturday, 9-10:45 AM. Holy Saturday, High Mass, 8 AM.

ST. WILLIAM THE ABBOTT R.C. CHURCH: - Jackson Avenue, Seaford. Rev. Dermod Flinn, Pastor. Sunday masses at 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 11:45 & 12:30. Weekday masses at 7 & 8. Baptism, Sunday, 2:15 PM.

SEAFORD BAPTIST CHURCH:- 3833 Jerusalem Avenue, east of Seaman Neck Road, Seaford. Rev. L.H.R. Hass, Pastor. Unified Church School and Church Worship at 10:30 AM. Children's program; sermon: "Power Supreme." Fellowship of Prayer, Wednesday, 8-9 PM, with theme, "Man's Supplication."

Easter, Passover Facts

(continued from page one)

for orthodox Jews. It is named for the pass-over of the angel of death in Egypt. The Passover is, in fact, a twofold observance, a spring festival and a commemoration of the flight from Egypt and deliverance from bondage. On direction of Moses, the night before the days of the exodus, the Jews remained indoors, packed and ready. They ate unleavened bread that night and on the journey: hence the matzoth of today.

The feast is observed generally in the home. For weeks ahead, the home is cleaned and special Passover dishes prepared.

The Seder is held in the home and symbolic foods are eaten in commemoration of the flight from Egypt, or the Exodus. Scripture readings, parables, religious chants and prayers mark this special ceremonial meal as the Haggadah is read. Orthodox Jews observe the Seder for two nights; reformed Jews for only one night.

In the synagogue, chapters from Exodus are read as well as the Numbers, and the Song of Songs, because of its beautiful description of Spring in Palestine. Prayers and ceremonies are held. The festival is probably the most important of all for Jews, and it should be remembered by Christians that the Last Supper was the opening feast of the Passover. Best wishes to all on this joyful feast. The Christian and Hebrew faiths are interwoven in many ways.

The Argonaut

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Monday, April 19, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
The Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Ave.,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I am mailing you under seperate cover, our April 16 issue of THE ARGONAUT.

The Lead Editorial is entitled: "EDWARD R. MURROW, A SYMBOL OF AMERICAN INTEGRITY."

Hope we can be of help in our own small way.

Cordially,

George Miller

George Miller
Executive Editor

April 15, 1954

Mr. Arthur H. Hall
Aluminum Company of America
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Hall:

You and Mr. Wilson may be interested in the attached editorial from the Hartford Courant, the oldest newspaper in America and the most widely circulated morning paper in my state--and of course I send it to you because of its praise for the Aluminum Corporation for its support of Ed Murrow. I send this to you as a postscript to our previous correspondence.

Very sincerely yours,

William Benton
Publisher

mkg

cc
Mr. Murrow with editorial.

The Sponsor And Independence

Hartford Courant 4/6/54

A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in England has made a significant point in the discussion of sponsored television there. An audible group has been protesting sponsored television. The BBC is a government-created independent agency and pays for itself by taxes. The Churchill government has proposed that the American sponsor system be applied to the more costly television schedules, to secure for the viewing public a wider choice. This has aroused those who believe in government control, those who oppose what they call nauseating commercials, and those who are against anything American.

But many of these same persons have been violently critical of Senator McCarthy, too. They recently cheered the forthright attack on McCarthyism by Edward R. Murrow, which had been duly reported to them. Now comes a correspondent to point out something that is a standing truth in the communications industry. Mr. Murrow may well have been a brave and courageous man to launch a controversial attack. But the real hero and the real champion of freedom is the Aluminum Corporation of America — the sponsor. It is that organization that stood to lose directly by reaction against the program. And, the correspondent notes, the BBC, obliged by government regulation to be as neutral and as non-controversial as possible, might well have felt itself unable even to talk about Senator McCarthy, were he a British problem, let alone criticize him.

This point should give considerable pause to those who have faith and confidence in the American system of free enterprise. It is the private support, the financial independence, guaranteed by advertising, that permits free and open discussion. When weakness arises, as in the case of threats and suggested reprisal used in recent years against outspoken commentators and news magazines, there is inevitably a desire to pull punches or to dodge issues. Then strong support means independence. But what of the desire for objectivity and the big government advocates' cry for impartiality? The end result of such non-controversial treatment is that even the devil may not be criticized; he must be allowed equal time.

My piece for April 14 issue

FREEDOM ANSWERS COMMUNISM

No. 21 -- WHO ARE THE IMPERIALIST WAR-MONGERS?

Words to Remember

"I have in my hands a speech which the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs made in Moscow on Oct. 31, 1939. Already the war was on and in Mr. Molotov's own words, 'It needed only one swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing remained of this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty.'"
-- Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, Feb. 2, 1954

"A series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States is inevitable."
-- Lenin

One of the oldest tricks used by Communist propaganda is to shout "stop thief!" The real thief tries to throw off his pursuers by shouting "stop thief" at the innocent man.

In 1947 Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky used the "stop thief" trick at the United Nations. He tried to pin the term "imperialist war-mongers" on the United States and "certain other powers," notably Britain and France.

But what are the facts? The nations of the free world have been rapidly freeing their former colonies. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has been enslaving formerly independent countries, and supporting wars against Greece, Indo-China and Korea.

The Communists have been following the advice of Lenin. Long ago Lenin said, "The road to London and Paris runs through Peiping and Calcutta." Communism is well along on that "imperialist war-mongering" road to world domination.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." Let us see who cultivates the fruits of liberation, and who grows the thistles of imperialism and war.

Last January, an 83-year-old lady Mrs. Leo J. Grove received a distinguished visitor in her Florida home. Almost fifty years before, as a young American school teacher in the Philippines, this white-haired lady ~~Mrs. Leo J. Grove~~ had taught the principles of freedom and democracy to a very bright Filipino boy.

Ambassador Carlos Romulo, her eager pupil half a century before, had come to pay his respects to a great teacher.

"My life and thoughts have been shaped by your early teaching," Romulo said. "I want to thank you and tell you what you have done for world freedom."

As she looked through misty eyes at the world-famous man, pictures of him flashed through her mind's eye. She saw him as the little boy who had such an intense way of speaking. She saw him lugging armfuls of books from her library

to read about Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and the other philosophers of freedom.

She saw him wading ashore on the Philippines with General MacArthur in February, 1945, to liberate his homeland from the Japanese. In that picture he was the "little general." Then he was standing before the diplomats in 1946 at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Conference in Atlantic City. He was surrounded by charts and graphs, making an eloquent plea for immediate relief for the war-torn Philippines.

She saw him presiding as President of the U. N. General Assembly in 1949.

"And what are you doing now, Carlos?" she asked.

"Talking, as usual," he replied with a smile. "I am just finishing a lecture tour of America. I have been trying to alert your people to the Communist menace in Asia and win their support for the new government of the Philippines in its fight for freedom in Asia."

She nodded her head. "I always read about you, Carlos. I was so proud of you when you stepped aside as a candidate for the Presidency to unite your country for good government. Do you remember the American statesman who said, "Sir, I would rather be right than be President?"

"Henry Clay," answered her former pupil. "I was right, as well as for the right man for President. And we won -- not only in our country but for democracy in Asia."

"Do you think you can win in Asia?" she asked.

"Yes, we will win," Romulo assured her. "We can show the people of Asia from our own experience that American democracy liberates, while Soviet communism enslaves."

Then he recalled the early days of his youth. His father had been bitter against the Americans during the Spanish-American War, after Admiral Dewey had sunk the Spanish fleet. He believed American rule was just being substituted for Spanish rule. He fought against the Americans.

"But, father," young Carlos would argue, "President McKinley promises us freedom and independence when we are trained and ready for it."

"Don't believe it," warned his father. "Imperialists never let go without a fight."

William Howard Taft, who later became President of the United States, was the first Governor of the Philippines. He called for 1,000 American teachers to help prepare the Filipinos for self-government.

"Yes, I remember," the old lady said. "But I never thought I would have a future world leader in my class. I went with fear and trembling. People said I would get shot by rebels."

As rapidly as they were educated, Filipinos stepped into local government posts, the police, the courts, all the way up to judges in the Supreme Court.

"You see, father," Romulo would insist, "the Americans mean what they say. We are the judges now. We even sentence American law-breakers. Is that the way of an imperialist?"

Then, in 1934, the United States Congress set a definite date for full independence. General Romulo and the Filipinos fought the Japanese militarists in 1941.

They rejected Imperial Japan's false promise of "Asia for the Asians." They could see that "thought control" prevented the Japanese people from having control of even Japan itself. They believed the American promise, and fought to become masters in their own house as free men.

On July 4, 1946, the United States proved its promise right on schedule. The Philippines entered the family of nations as an independent country.

General Romulo became the new nation's leading spokesman in the world forum of the United Nations.

Carlos Romulo patted the hand of his former teacher and said, "You didn't realize that you and the rest of the thousand teachers were doing more than regiments of soldiers to fight for freedom. You didn't realize more than forty years ago that you were preparing a bastion of strength for your country in the Pacific, did you?"

"No, Carlos," she replied. "I guess we teachers just don't know our own strength."

Romulo smiled. "I thank you for myself, and I thank you for my country. For without devoted teachers freedom falters, democracy fails."

While Romulo was fighting the Japanese, the Soviets were preparing to enter the Pacific war. Six days before the Japanese surrendered, the Red Army marched into Manchuria.

The Communists <u>talked</u> "liberation." But how did they <u>act</u>? They acted like old-fashioned imperialists.

Under the direction of Japanese imperialists, the Chinese had built modern industries in Manchuria. The Communists took over the position of the defeated Japanese imperialists. They dismantled the factories and carted away to Russia a billion dollars worth of machinery,. For six days fighting, they claimed this

as war reparations. They left hundreds of thousands of Chinese workers without work-shops.

After the war was over, the Soviets broke their word to the Chinese government. They supported the Chinese Communists and helped them to seize China with weapons the Reds had taken from the Japanese.

The Soviets broke the pledges they made at Yalta and Potsdam -- pledges signed by Stalin as one of "the Big Three." They refused to let the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria choose their own leaders. Instead, Communist conspirators, with the help of the Red Army, took over these governments and made them puppets of Soviet Russia.

While the Soviets talked peace, they started and supported war. In 1950, their Communist forces in North Korea launched an armed attack on the Republic of Korea. The United Nations ordered the North Koreans to halt and return to the 38th Parallel. The Communists ignored the U. N. They smashed through the weak defenses of the Republic, and marched to the southern tip of the peninsula.

The U.N. called upon all members to honor their pledges in the Charter -- to refrain from giving aid to the Communist aggressors and to help the victim of aggression. Fifty-three countries supported the United Nations move for peace. Five Communist countries supported the war of aggression.

The Soviets admitted in the U.N. that they supplied the Communist forces with weapons and jet planes. But the battered Chinese Communists finally called for peace. They got a truce. It remains to be seen whether they will make a peace and withdraw Chinese invaders from Korea.

Who are the "imperialist war-mongers"? The answer is to be found in deeds not words.

MESSAGE TO AMERICAN YOUTH FROM CARLOS ROMULO

One of your radio comedians used to amuse me with a program called, "It Pays to be Ignorant". But seriously, today ignorance pays off in slavery and death.

Freedom and Communism are in mortal competition for the minds and hearts of youth all over the world.

Freedom has to win every day, every year, every generation in order to prevail. Communism has to win only once.

Then dictatorship puts out the light of reason. It drives its victims into a dark tunnel of thought-control where people soon go blind.

I am heartened to see Scholastic Magazines focussing attention of American youth on the meaning of the struggle between Freedom and Communism. For only those who understand both the tactics and propaganda tricks of the Communists

and the great principles of Freedom can help overcome the evil in Communism with the good of Democracy.

Today the struggle centers in Asia and the Pacific. There a billion and a half people who hate old-fashioned imperialism and who live on the edge of starvation are the targets of Soviet propaganda. Few of these people understand that the self-appointed men in the Kremlin and not the elected servants in Washington are the "imperialist war-mongers".

There is one dramatic exception - the Filipino people. In the Philippines we know from first-hand experience that democratic America is a true apostle of Freedom. My people stand in the world as exhibit A for the liberating policies of the U.S.A. They stand in sharp contrast to the unfortunate people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and 600 million others who have been enslaved by Soviet imperialism since Stalin made his war-unleashing pact with Hitler in 1939.

My people speak the language of Asia in waging the fight of Freedom through good and honest government.

Only as we of the free world work together, strengthen and support each other, and reason out our common policies in the United Nations can we patiently and gradually build a peaceful future on the foundations of real Freedom and Justice.

That future is in your hands. God grant that the work of your hands will be guided by enlightened heads and devoted hearts.

Carlos P. Romulo
Philippine Ambassador

4/12/54

New Republic

Helen Fuller, MANAGING EDITOR

1824-26 JEFFERSON PLACE, NW WASHINGTON 6, DC

This may not be of any use to you; then again, it may. I think you're doing a very good job of reminding us all of what sanity and restraint can accomplish. Best of luck.

Tom Fitzsimmons

The addition of Mers-el-Kebir and Bizerte to the chain of bases, equipped for the stocking of new (atomic) weapons, along the Radford Line will—if it takes place—be catastrophic news for the French enemies of the EDC—from the neutralists to the nationalist imperialists. It will on the other hand confirm Generalissimo Francisco Franco and General Garcia Valino in the wisdom of their calculated gamble against the French in North Africa. And if the French flag cedes to or even shares with the American flag over these nominally French empire harbor-bases while the Spanish flag alone flies over the nominally American bases in Spain, Madrid's stock in the Arab world will rise high and fast.

From the point of view of the US New Look, the new bases will go far toward completing the Southern chain which extends—or will extend—from Europe to Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan. The visit of the new Iraqi king to Karachi is a plain indication of what is going on behind the scenes. But men close to the NATO inner circle deny the French claim that the shift of the west-center of the Radford Line to strong points in North Africa means a turn by the US from territorial to peripheral defense of the European continent.

The US, they say, still founds its strategy both on the EDC and on territorial defense, that is, the presence of US troops in Western Europe. This is just as necessary as British presence militarily on the continent—or even better, British joining of the EDC—and French acceptance of German rearmament. But whether or not the French join the EDC, one of the purposes of the Adenauer trip is to sketch the geopolitics of a connection between the Western European pattern and the Balkan alliance.

For what is involved is the new "double Dulles doctrine"—*both* territorial *and* peripheral defense, both the foresight of little wars and of the one, big annihilatory war. Agonizing or not, the reappraisal already has taken place. Some time in May, perhaps after the Geneva Conference, perhaps after the French National Assembly's discussion of the EDC, or perhaps before—if the Russian New Look becomes more militarily menacing—the block in Bonn to the first step in German rearmament—already voted by both houses of the German parliament—will be removed. If the French High Commissioner continues on the orders of Paris to object, ways will be found by the US and British High Commissioners to give the green light anyway.

The Russians know this quite well. One indication is the rain of protests that has been pouring from Moscow on all the European capitals which are accepting their roles in the US New Look. Another is the fact that in all the Russian satellites, from the Baltic to the Balkans, Russian officers, or Russian-trained ones, are taking over control of the armies; and into the posts of ambassador are going trusted Russian Communist Party stalwarts.

As for the French, a leader of the resistants to the EDC, the Gaullist Sen. Edmond Michelet, threatens the organization of "new conscientious objectors" against "the dangerous Europe of the denationalized stateless and the technocrats"—meaning the Germans and the Americans. This "living resistance," he says, "will rest on popular bases founded on ideas as simple and as old as the world itself: the defense of altars and homes." It doesn't seem a kind of power that can compete with the new bomb at Bikini—500 or 600 times as great as that of the bomb at Hiroshima.

As Seen from Eastern Europe

Soviet propaganda is saved from fantasy by a flesh and blood man

by Thomas Goldstein

SENATOR McCARTHY is at great pains these days to identify the Communist Party as the source of all resistance to his drive for power. Flinging copies of *The Daily Worker* on to the press tables below his public platform, he cites its editorials as proof that the Communists must, as a matter of life and death, destroy him, and adds in sorrow that they seem to be dragging misguided liberals, Democrats, and even a few Eisenhower Republicans along in tow. An analysis of recent editorials and radio broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain, however, suggests that McCarthy's claim is far from the truth.

The Communist hate-America campaign was languishing when McCarthy launched his attack on the Army. Then, in March, new orders went out to Communist radio commentators and editorial writers from Leningrad to Bucharest. In place of the overworked fabrications about American fascism the propagandists were ordered

Thomas Goldstein is a writer who specializes in the study of Communist propaganda.

to work more closely to actual events, and to conclude from them that a recognizable fascist movement was in the making on Capitol Hill. Not a figment of Soviet propaganda, but a flesh and blood man was held up to the subject peoples of Russia and the satellites to justify the oppression and excesses of Communist rule.

Thus, on March 17, Warsaw's radio commentator Gustav Kaden compared McCarthy to the Poles' well-remembered enemy, Adolph Hitler. Building his case, Kaden added that McCarthy was being financed by Texas oil millionaires, "the most reactionary and war-minded section of American monopoly capitalism," just as their counterparts, the Ruhr industrialists had paved Hitler's road to power. Moscow Radio on March 6 reported the "whipping up of hysteria on a nationwide scale" in America and took pains to corroborate McCarthy's thesis that he speaks for the Republican Party. Moscow Radio said of the Senator on March 6: "He is actually doing the work which the ruling quarters find necessary." Again, Kaden, elaborating on this new thesis, spoke of the climate of mutual spying and distrust, the compulsion to turn in "false accusations against one's friends, acquaintances and family," the terror "particularly among white-collar workers of being summoned for the fatal hearing" (before the McCarthy Senate Subcommittee), the attack on constitutional rights and civil liberties and the impending triumph of fascism in America. To the South, the Czechoslovak newspaper *Pràca* of Bratislava informed its readers that the American fuehrer's "scandalous popularity" was increasing "by the hour rather than by the day." *Pràca*, on March 7, warned Czech workers to have no confidence in America, speaking of "the reactionary hysteria, the muddy waters of which are flooding the entire public life of the USA."

The initial surrender of Army Secretary Stevens on the matter of General Zwicker was fully exploited as additional proof of the Communist case. *Pràca* even reported in an editorial "a rebellion inside the Army" in support of McCarthy—inciting its readers to draw the parallel in the rise of the Nazi party.

Communist propaganda exploits McCarthy rather than opposing him for the Kremlin. McCarthy is too valuable to be destroyed. Yet there remains a knot in the Soviet line. If McCarthy's advances permit an approach toward reality in Soviet propaganda, with undoubted gains in acceptance among its audiences, reality presents also the curious phenomenon of open opposition to McCarthy, with the possibility that it may gain in strength. The initial Soviet directives seem to have mastered this dilemma in customary fashion. Every Iron Curtain editorial and radio comment on the Stevens incident accorded with the analysis presented by Valentin Zorin on a Moscow home broadcast. There was, Zorin conceded, a "wave of discontent" sweeping the United States, which found fault with McCarthy; nonetheless (as Zorin explained) the US "ruling circles" were on the whole highly pleased with McCarthy's achievements.

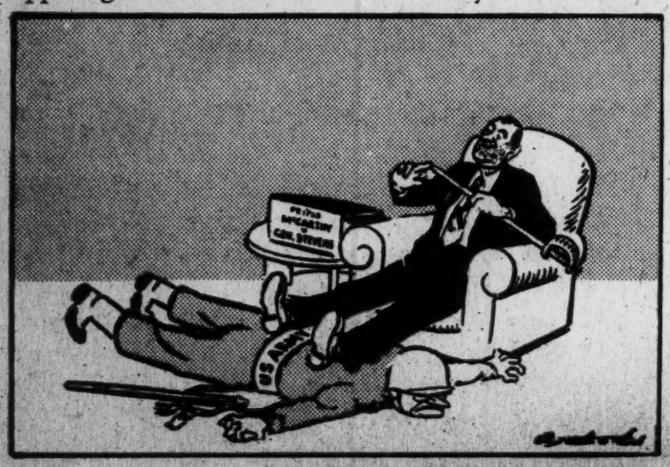
The motives of the ruling-circles were outlined in characteristic Marxist terms. As Valentin Zorin explained to Soviet audiences on March 4: "The acute aggravation of the economic situation in the United States, the steady rise in unemployment, and the constant decline in the living standards of the workers arouse discontent among the American people. . . . Under these circumstances, the top crust of the Republican Party has decided to push Senator McCarthy on the political stage, hoping that his unbridled propaganda campaign will divert the attention of the American workers from their pressing problems."

Once this has been explained, the wholesale "fascistization" of America seems to follow. As the Hungarian paper *Magyar Nemzet* of March 10 adds: "The Eisenhower-McCarthy duel is nothing but a show. The Morgans and the du Ponts are simply telling the two sides to use a somewhat different tone."

For the first time in years, the Soviet propaganda script is not just a series of hollow clichés. Many an Eastern European Socialist, cut off from all unbiased information, may have been struck by the unaccustomed ring of truth and the sudden flow of factual reports from the US.

The Communists have achieved this gain in credibility at a calculated risk. In relinquishing the realm of fabrication to report McCarthy's successes, they have become dependent on the ups and downs of American ethics. As long as McCarthy rides the crest of the wave, the Communists can tell their story convincingly. But as soon as it appears that McCarthy may be checked, his value is undermined for the Communist psychological warfare team. That ominous parallel with Hitler Germany, which the Communist propaganda machine has been publicizing with all its power, would break down at the decisive point. Iron Curtain propaganda would once more be forced to take flight into its world of fantasy. It would have the additional burden of explaining how it is that a people can halt a totalitarian movement in its tracks.

Roughly since mid-March, Iron Curtain media have again fallen silent on McCarthy and the "fascistization" of America. Moscow's chief propagandists seem to suspect that they have gone out on a limb. They are undoubtedly keeping a close watch to see whether events will help or hinder their propaganda line.



—from the Czechoslovakian Newspaper, "Praca"

"The newest picture of the great fighting force of the Western 'democracy'."

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P. O. Box 215
East Haven, Conn.

April 12, 1954

Edward R. Murrow
% Radio Station WCBS
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I would like to add my little bit to your flood of mail on Senator Joseph McCarthy's televised attack on you. The enclosed editorial expresses my feelings about this.

I'm sorry to say that I don't see your T-V commentary regularly. But what I have seen, I have liked. Your radio commentary I hear a little more frequently and enjoy hugely. I like best the fact that you do not hesitate to handle controversial issues. In a time when many are afraid to speak out, your's is one of the few courageous news programs devoted to getting at the facts.

I agree with you that McCarthy is giving comfort to the enemy. I agree with him that he ought to be removed from the Senate.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Jonathan Czar

Jonathan Czar

The East Haven News

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Entered as second class matter on May 15, 1952, at New Haven, Connecticut, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Request For Minutes

The East Haven News has asked for access to the executive minutes of the Board of Education. In a letter to the board, this paper has made it plain that we seek to view these records for the purpose of using as material for news stories any matters about which it is felt the public ought to be advised.

We have made clear in our original request that we have no desire, and did not intend, to use information which dealt with personnel problems or matters the disclosures of which might result in injury to innocent persons.

From the very start, the editor of the East Haven News has recognized the importance of the board's handling such matters in closed session. That is the accepted purpose of executive sessions.

However, in view of the lengthy closed sessions being held by our present school board plus the fact that at least one important matter was kept from public sight until it "leaked" out, there is serious question whether the board is not handling many other matters in these sessions, simply to keep the public from knowing what is going on.

When the present board took office last October, its chairman, Francis Walsh, said that executive sessions would be kept at a minimum and that decisions taken in these sessions would be made available after the closed meetings.

There is now a question whether this promise has been fully kept. In comparison with its predecessor, it would seem to reporters that the present Board of Education is holding a "mighty" lot of executive sessions.

The question has been raised regarding this newspaper's right to make this request for the minutes on behalf of the public. In the absence of a "public demand" in the real sense, how can the News press its request?

The request is made in behalf of what we believe is the public's "right to know what is going on" if we may use the words of First Selectman Frank S. Clancy. The public has not "demanded" these minutes any more than it has "demanded" that reporters cover the meetings of the Board of Education.

The East Haven News made plain its editorial views on this score during the political campaign last year. Our job is to report all of these doings that are not properly confidential.

The board has now voted to have a committee which may study the executive minutes to see what is releasable. We have misgivings about such a plan. It would make it appear that the Board of Education was still intent on "censoring" its own reports on its activities. We urge that the special committee concentrate its study on our request for access to all of the executive minutes.

Typical Performance

Sentaor Joseph McCarthy's "performance" Tuesday night instead of furnishing proof of his reckless charges against CBS Commentator Edward R. Murrow served in Murrow's own words - as "Just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to communism anyone who disagrees with him."

The Wisconsin senator's diatribe, televised on the invitation of Murrow, who has the very un-communistic reputation of presenting both sides in any dispute, was nothing more than warmed-over hash. His "documentation" would have been thrown out of any court in the land.

Incidentally, the Daily Worker and the American Communist party always express a great love for, and endorsement of the Constitution of the United States. Following McCarthy's logic, this would be reason enough for throwing out this bulwark of our liberties.

In no instance did McCarthy prove a single point of his contentions about Murrow. At the same time, he failed to disprove the serious charges which the commentator has already leveled at him. Instead, he took up most of his alloted time with a weary deliverance of a very generalized history of the growth of Marxist communism.

Then, in typical fashion, the senator made a statement which has every appearance of being a bald attempt to capitalize on the present concern over the hydrogen bomb by distorting the facts. By implication, he blamed "Communist" influences for delaying the development of the H-bomb for 18 months and claimed great damage.

McCarthy failed to reveal what the damage was, and his claim of a delay by subversive influences was not sustained by President Eisenhower, who said he knows of no such delay, and by Republican Rep. W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The senator is slipping. He used to be able to put on a better show than this. His popularity is also slipping. It would appear that many who formerly endorsed him are now recognizing that the senator is interested less in weeding out communists than in securing headlines and in eliminating all those who stand in his way toward gaining greater political power.

The Columbia Broadcasting System should be commended for its stand on, and support of Murrow. Of course, one of these days the senator from Wisconsin, who himself had accepted support of the Communist party in his first campaign for the Senate, will confide to a radio audience, over a rival network, that CBS really stands for "Communist Broadcasting System." He may even give us a quote or two to "prove" it.

Telephone: Regent 5977

Telegrams: Herakles Piccy, London

Collins Publishers

14 · ST. JAMES'S PLACE, LONDON, S·W·1

8th April, 1954

Personal

Mr. Edward Morrow,
C.B.S.,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22.

Dear Ed,

I don't want to add uselessly to your correspondence, but it just occured to me that Alistair Cooke's (as it seems to me) first-rate article in today's paper might not reach you. I am, therefore, enclosing a copy.

I hope things go well with you and Janet and Casey.

V
Ths

George Hardinge

MAN

NCHESTE

Guardian 8 April

THURSDAY

McCARTHY'S NEW "DISCLOSURES"

H-Bomb Delayed by Communists

From Alistair Cooke

NEW YORK, APRIL 7.

While the Senate McCarthy Committee was looking for an objective counsel to help it in its inquiry into the senator's dispute with the Army (see page 9), the senator himself was taking a rest from the headlines as complete as he did on his honeymoon.

But last night the Senator went on the offensive again before millions of televiewers when he accepted the invitation of Edward Murrow, the television commentator, to reply to his attack broadcast in his now celebrated programme of March 9. Senator McCarthy recorded a half-hour film in New York last week-end and Mr Murrow played it on his programme without comment last night. The senator sat comfortably all the while behind a desk which was littered with a familiar array of notes and "documentary evidence."

This consisted of photographs of three Communist publications, including the "Daily Worker," which dammed McCarthy and McCarthyism and praised Mr Murrow.

Without elaboration the Senator allowed the television audiences to infer the first and foolproof proposition of McCarthy's Principles of Logic; namely, that if A, a Communist, denounces B, and C also denounces B, then C is a Communist. The Senator described Mr Murrow as "the leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

McCarthy's Mistakes

He wrongly called Mr Murrow the "educational director" of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a post Mr Murrow has not held for nineteen years. He said Mr Murrow was "by his own admission" once a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the radical terrorist labour group in America during the first two decades of this century. Mr Murrow, in fact, has never admitted being a member, since he has never been one.

The Senator made much of Mr Murrow's youthful association with the Institute of International Education, which was founded in 1919 to arrange student and teacher exchanges with most of the countries of Europe. It was about as conservative and high-minded a project as such things can ever be and had the blessing and support of the ineffable Dr Nicholas Murray Butler, who as president of Columbia University was accused of many things but never of the slightest tinge of pink. Senator McCarthy described this institute as one chosen in the early 1930s "by the Soviet Government to select teachers and students to attend a Communist school in Moscow in 1934 — a selection job that would normally be done by the Russian Secret Police." In fact, the Russians denounced the institute as a centre "of international propaganda" and after 1934 would have nothing to do with it.

The Senator assisted another odious inference by turning the title page of a book dedicated "to my friend E. R. Murrow." It was written by Harold Laski, whom McCarthy described as "an admitted Communist propagandist."

Standard Ammunition

Senator McCarthy spoke in his best latter-day style, with persuasive calm, an earnest resonance, and in the manner of a man who has quietly reconciled himself to martyrdom. It is always a moot point after one of these documentary revelations to decide whether the Senator believes his own "facts" or whether he is not rather a master of the propaganda techniques immortalised by the late George Orwell. One element of the Senator's magnetism is his almost hypnotised abandonment of the process of trial and error. He quietly pronounces something to be a fact, whether it is a fact or a false inference or a half truth or an easily provable falsehood. But once it has been used it becomes standard ammunition and if only by the din of repetition sinks into his hearers' consciousness as an emotional fact. Mr Murrow last night issued a statement refuting the Senator's charges against him and his political associations. If the Senator follows his usual practice he will not deign to take up again the accuracy of the original charges. He will simply pile up an arsenal of other "facts" or move on to the next victim.

At his news conference this morning President Eisenhower was asked if he had any knowledge of Mr Murrow as a subversive character. He replied that he had known Ed Murrow throughout the war and always regarded him as a friend.

Another reporter took up the astonishing charge, which the Senator made for the first time last night, that Communist agents in the United States had managed to "delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the hydrogen bomb."

The President said he had never heard of it, that he was in close touch with Mr Lewis Strauss, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and that there had been any suggestion [illegible]

March 29

Memo to Murrow

If you don't know it already you should at least read up Harvey O'Conner, who is the outstanding First Amendment rebel against McCarthy. Here is his letter and some material. I think he hopes your interest will get some attention from you some way. It was sent to me to make sure you would see it. I can say that if you want ammunition, there is some here.

Raymond Swing

O'CONNOR
LITTLE COMPTON
RHODE ISLAND

March 23, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Apropos your courageous and most effective fight against McCarthyism, may I call your attention to my own case.

I am the only person who stands cited and indicted for refusing to answer Joe's idiotic line of questioning. The ACLU, the CIO, the United Auto Workers and my own union, the Oil Workers, have all taken a position backing me. I have conducted an offensive of my own across the country, with the backing of my union and branches of the ACLU, along with liberal church people. I estimate I have reached half a million people by radio, TV, etc. in the past few months--a pitiful figure compared with your audience, but about as far as one of McCarthy's victims can hope to reach.

In Dallas, the Republican committee in charge of McCarthy's $100 a plate Lincoln Day dinner agreed to a joint TV interview between Joe and me. Of course Joe ran out when he heard about it, and we appeared tandem on the Texas Newsreel of Feb. 11. NBC says it used the interview nationally as well, but how widely I don't know.

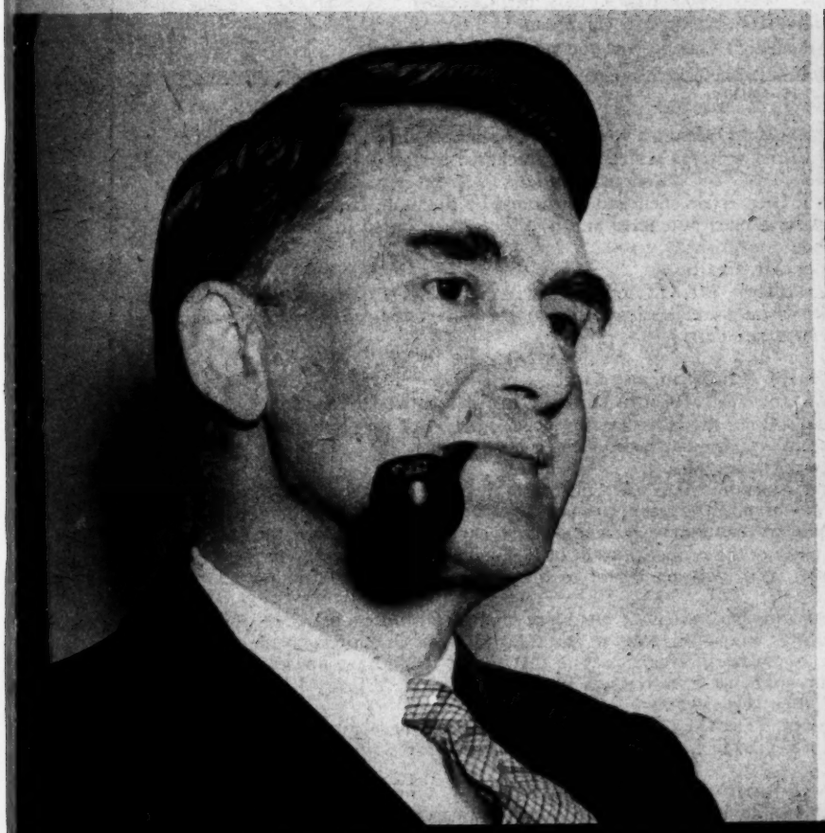
Joe was floored when asked: "Senator, what do you think of Governor Shivers' proposal that all Communists be shot?" He hemmed and hawed and then said he couldn't comment until he had seen "the full speech." Natch! What would Joe do for a racket if all the Communists were shot? For my part, I stuck closely to the thesis that Joe is ~~the~~ Malenkov's best friend in America. The interview was at the Press Club and was handled by the TV station of the Dallas Morning News. That paper, incidentally, carried not a word about it although the Times-Herald gave it quite a story.

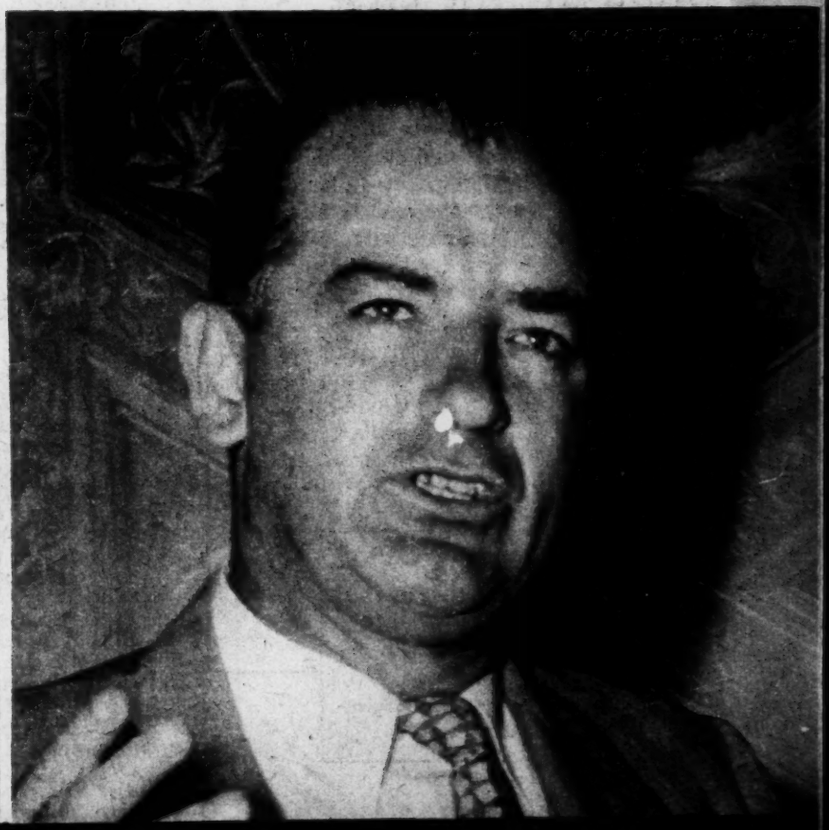
I enclose some descriptive material on my case.

Sincerely,

Harvey O'Connor

The Issue:





HARVEY O'CONNOR *vs.* SEN. JOE McCARTHY

"Is a man's mind his own?"

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

FACTS ON THE CASE

This is the first and only case pending in the courts challenging the right of Senator McCarthy and his committee to pry into the minds of citizens.

Harvey O'Connor testified under subpoena before the McCarthy Committee on July 14, 1953. He was cited for contempt of the U. S. Senate on July 23. He was indicted by a federal grand jury on Oct. 16.

His attorneys are Leonard B. Boudin of New York; Gerhard Van Arkel of Washington, D. C., counsel for the International Typographical Union-AFL; and Lindsay P. Walden of Denver, Colo., counsel for the Oil Workers International Union.

O'Connor had been grilled in a private hearing before the public hearing was held. No transcript of the private hearing is made available.

O'Connor's crime!

A typical McCarthy fabrication; O'Connor received no royalties on books acquired for State Department overseas libraries and therefore there could have been nothing for "the communist coffers" or for any other coffers.

O'Connor was ordered to answer nine times.

Now it's "the old Dulles State Department!"

The second invitation to plead the Fifth Amendment.

Following text of O'Connor's testimony before the McCarthy committee is reprinted from the *Congressional Record:*

THE CHAIRMAN. Who is your first witness, Mr. Counsel?

MR. COHN. Harvey O'Connor, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connor, will you take the witness chair?

You are reminded, Mr. O'Connor, that you were administered the oath this morning. You are still under oath.

* * *

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connor, you have been subpoenaed here today to answer questions in regard to the writings which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department. Before we ask you any questions, may I ask:

Mr. Cohn, has it been established and confirmed by the State Department that Mr. O'Connor's writings have been purchased and have been distributed in various information centers throughout the world?

MR. COHN. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN. Then, Mr. O'Connor, we will ask you this question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old State Department, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

* * *

MR. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement?

THE CHAIRMAN (Senator McCarthy): No. You will answer the question.

MR. O'CONNOR. About my objection to the jurisdiction of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN. Yes, you may make a statement on that.

MR. O'CONNOR. Thank you.

Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Will you get nearer to the microphone, Mr. O'Connor, so that we can hear you?

MR. O'CONNOR. My second point would be that this committee has no right to inquire into my writings, under the point of the constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in that regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in overseas libraries, and most certainly I had nothing whatever to do with their selection there.

In the third place, I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views.

THE CHAIRMAN. Just for your information, Mr. O'Connor, we are not concerned with any political views of yours. We would not be concerned about your writings. You are entitled to write whatever you care to write. Any American or anyone else is entitled to purchase your book, your writings. You are here this morning because your writings were purchased by the old Acheson State Department, distributed throughout the world, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting communism. Now, when the taxpayers pay for your books, when the royalties of your books paid by the taxpayers, go into the communist coffers, then this committee is concerned with that. For that reason, I again ask you the question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased with taxpayers' money and put in our information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the communist conspiracy?

MR. O'CONNOR. I object to the question on the three grounds I have already stated.

THE CHAIRMAN. You can object. Now you will answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you.

MR. O'CONNOR. I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me.

THE CHAIRMAN. Then you are ordered to answer.

MR. O'CONNOR. I have already answered.

THE CHAIRMAN. I apparently did not hear your answer, then. You are ordered to answer whether or not you were a member of the communist party.

MR. O'CONNOR. On the three grounds I have stated, I have declined to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let us have the record clear, so that we will know what you have declined to answer. I will repeat the question. At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department and distributed in our information centers, were you a member of the communist conspiracy?

MR. O'CONNOR. My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR. Apparently.

THE CHAIRMAN. Not "apparently." Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR. I refuse to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN. You are refusing on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

MR. O'CONNOR. I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination.

THE CHAIRMAN. You are not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination. All right. You may step down.

Incidentally, I think Senator Mundt wishes that a meeting of the subcommittee be called to have this man immediately cited for contempt. I will call a meeting of this subcommittee at the earliest convenience for that purpose.

The Providence Journal

Is There Still a Place for the Honest Dissenter?

The federal indictment of Harvey O'Connor of Little Compton, writer, for contempt of Congress heads towards the Supreme Court an important issue involving a citizen's civil rights before a congressional investigation committee.

O'Connor's indictment is the consequence of his asserted right, as a witness before Senator McCarthy's committee, that as a private citizen not holding public office he could not be interrogated on his political beliefs, writings and private affairs.

The same position was maintained by Leo Huberman, who called himself a "Marxist and a Socialist" but not a Communist, and by Corliss Lamont, leftist son of the late partner in the House of Morgan, a philosophy teacher at Columbia, who denied membership in the Communist Party, in their appearances before Senator McCarthy.

The significance of the issue as presented by these three recalcitrant witnesses is that it challenges the scope of the power of investigating committees by invoking the First Amendment, the freedom of speech, religion, press and assembly clause of the Constitution.

Hitherto witnesses who did not want to testify pleaded self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment. But in the public mind the shelter of the Fifth Amendment became, as the Association of American Universities pointed out, "an indication of probable guilt." The witness who invoked the Fifth Amendment set up in the popular opinion the fixed judgment that he had something to hide.

In the meantime, an important principle was left undefined, one that needed clarification in view of the tremendous expansion of the committee's investigative power into the realm of opinion, thought and belief and the abuses of that power. The issue is: to what extent can a congressional committee enter into the opinions and personal affairs of a private citizen? Are there boundaries beyond which the power of investigation of private citizens by Congress cannot invade?

What about the honest and stubborn dissenter against committee power on the ground of principle, the man who has no ideological axe to grind but believes his private beliefs are no business of Congress? If he invokes the Fifth Amendment, he runs the risk of being branded disloyal by association and unjustly hurting his name.

We hold no brief for the individuals who have challenged the committee investigation on the ground of the First Amendment. Certainly we do not endorse their political beliefs. It is the issue that is of importance. The Supreme Court has never passed directly upon this matter of civil rights. It is a healthy thing, with the right of dissent being challenged as it is, that the issue be threshed out.

(Providence Journal, Nov. 1, 1953)

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865
EDITORIALS
October 3, 1953

How to Stop the Demagogues

The struggle to determine the limits of the Congressional power of inquiry is being edged along, slowly and painfully but with remarkable persistence and courage. In the last few years the relevance of the Fifth Amendment has been established in the courts. But those who invoke its protection are by this fact precluded from testing such limits, nor does the amendment protect the individual against the savage reprisals of private groups. Now, for the first time since 1947, the struggle is centering on the meaning of the guaranties embodied in the First Amendment. Harvey O'Connor and Leo Huberman tendered the first clear-cut challenge on this score. More recently Corliss Lamont has carried the fight a step farther by maintaining, first that the committees cannot inquire into the personal affairs of private citizens and, second, that the committees are usurping the judicial power. This is essentially the position outlined by Philip Wittenberg, who appeared as counsel for Mr. Lamont, in an article in *The Nation* of May 9 (How to Stop the Demagogues). By not invoking the Fifth Amendment these men have challenged the power of the committees in a manner that makes court tests possible. This is the way to proceed. The power of inquiry must continue to be challenged from as many different standpoints as possible until our courts are finally forced to reassert the supremacy of the Constitution over the whims and biases of committee chairmen.

THE DENVER POST

First Amendment Tester

HARVEY O'CONNOR, who is in Denver this week on his tour of a number of western cities, is making a courageous one-man stand for American civil liberties. He has been indicted for contempt of congress because he refused, on First Amendment grounds (NOT Fifth Amendment), to answer Senator McCarthy's question as to whether or not he was a Communist when he wrote certain books McCarthy's sleuths turned up in an overseas library of the state department. The first amendment, of course, is the one that guarantees free speech and freedom of the press.

O'Connor makes no bones about denying he is or ever was a Communist. But, in effect, he told the investigating senator that it was none of congress's business whether he was or not. He is not a government employe, received no return from the sale of his books to the government, and is not interested in any attempt of McCarthy's to get something on the state department under the Acheson secretaryship. Nor are the contents of his books or their effect at issue.

O'Connor is neither trying to win support for his case nor otherwise to benefit from his speaking tour before it goes to trial. He merely is steamed up over the issue and wants to discuss it with people and let them think about it for themselves. The courts must decide whether he was right or wrong in refusing to answer McCarthy, or whether the senator himself was out of line. And O'Connor hopes his test of the first amendment in such circumstances will go to the supreme court for the first time.

It is an important case that could affect any American citizen. O'Connor may lose, and he knows it. But he is ready to serve a jail sentence if he loses, and he figures even so it is worth the fight for a matter of principle.

You've got to admire a man with such strength of conviction. Not many of us either would or could make such a stand for the sake of what we believe in.

(The Denver Post, January 29, 1954)

LABOR BACKS O'CONNOR

International Oil Worker

Harvey O'Connor Defies Book-Burner McCarthy

Harvey O'Connor, former publicity director of Oil Workers Intl. Union, was hauled up before Senator Joe McCarthy's infamous mudslinging committee on July 14 and asked if he were a communist.

O'Connor told McCarthy, in effect, to mind his own business. He refused to answer McCarthy's questions on the grounds that his political views were none of the senator's business. x x x

O'Connor was called before the committee as a part of McCarthy's current book-burning campaign because some books written by O'Connor have been placed in overseas information libraries by the U. S. State Department.

O'Connor invoked the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution in refusing to answer McCarthy's questions. The First Amendment provides that "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

O'Connor told the committee that authors are not accountable to members of Congress for their political views.

(International Oil Worker, official publication of Oil Workers Intl. Union, CIO, July 27, 1953)

Texas CIO Council Report

Former Texas CIO Man Builds Book-Burning Fire Under McCarthy

Harvey O'Connor, the first Texas CIO man to be called before McCarthy and his mud-slingers, gave the committee something new to think about. He refused to answer the guilt-before-proof question, "Are you a communst?" but did not use the fifth amendment as protection. Instead he invoked the first amendment, which prohibits Congress from making laws which abridge the freedom of speech or of the press. He was called before the committee because some of the several books he has written displeased McCarthy. He told McCarthy, in effect, to mind his own business and let the American people mind theirs for themselves.

It is apparently O'Connor's intention to initiate a test case in which the Supreme Court would have to rule on the constitutionality of McCarthy's self-decreed investigating activities. In a statement to the press O'Connor said, "I believe someone has to take a stand in these matters, and I for one am willing to do so." McCarthy secured a contempt citation from the Senate on July 23. Long and expensive litigation will follow. x x x

(Council Report, official publication of Texas State CIO Council, for August, 1953)

CIO News

Harvey O'Connor Gets Oil Worker Backing

Support for Harvey O'Connor, author and former CIO Oil Workers publicity director, in his refusal to testify on his political beliefs before Sen. McCarthy's investigating subcommittee was voiced editorially in the latest issue of the Intl. Oil Worker, the union's official publication. x x x

Although he refused to answer McCarthy, O'Connor freely answered questions about his political views by Providence, R. I., reporters who met the train when he was en route home from the hearing.

He told the local newspapermen:

"I am not a Communist.

"I have never been a Communist.

"I am perfectly willing to tell anyone how I stand except on demand from such a legislative group. They have no right to inquire into my politics."

(CIO News, official publication of Congress of Industrial Organizations, Aug. 24, 1953)

DEFIANCE MAKES NEWS!

Washington Daily News

The McCarthy Investigating Committee today was heading for a court test on whether it has the power to subpena private citizens to inquire about their political beliefs, and affiliations.

First witness at today's session of the Senate Investigating Committee refused to answer questions, not on the usual ground of self-incrimination, but on the grounds that under the first amendment to the Constitution his writings and political ideas "are of no concern to this committee."

Harvey O'Connor, author of "Mellon's Millions," also told Sen. Joseph McCarthy his committee was exceeding its authority under the statute that created it by inquiring into his political beliefs. x x x

"My political affiliations or my lack of political affiliations are of no legitimate concern of this committee," Mr. O'Connor replied, emphasizing that he was not asserting a privilege against self-incrimination.

(Washington Daily News, July 14, 1953)

New York Herald-Tribune

Washington, July 14. — Pointedly declining to take refuge in the Fifth Amendment, two authors used other grounds today to refuse to tell the Senate Investigations subcommittee headed by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, R., Wis., about books they had written.

A court test of their approach appeared likely when Sen. McCarthy said after the brief testimony of Harvey O'Connor, one of the witnesses, that he felt the subcommittee should be asked immediately to cite the witness for contempt. x x x

Both witnesses justified their refusal to reply on grounds of freedom of speech and of the press, combined with a charge that the subcommittee is exceeding its statutory authority in questioning authors about books used in the library program.

(New York Herald Tribune, July 15, 1953)

The Denver Post

A 57-year-old author said Wednesday night in Denver he will go to jail if necessary to test in court Senator McCarthy's right to question citizens about their spoken or written beliefs or their political affiliations.

Harvey O'Connor, at a press conference preceding a series of speaking engagements in Denver and Boulder, said he was the first person actually to face trial for his refusal to answer the Wisconsin Republican senator's questions on the grounds of the first—not the fifth—amendment to the U. S. constitution. He has been indicted for contempt of congress and will be tried in federal district court in Washington.

(The Denver Post, Jan. 28, 1954)

Fall River Herald-News

Harvey O'Connor, Little Compton Author indicted by a Federal Grand Jury yesterday afternoon on charges of contempt of Congress for his refusal to answer questions before the McCarthy Senate Investigations Subcommittee, said today the action didn't surprise him.

O'Connor said that in a way he welcomes the indictment. "It is the only way to determine whether Senator Joseph R. McCarthy has a right to pry into the political convictions of a citizen," the Little Compton man declared. x x x

O'Connor said today at his Warren's Point home that McCarthy's question was "phony."

"If the Senator wanted to know whether I was or am a Communist he could check the Federal Bureau of Investigation files. They're supposed to have a list of all the Communists," he said.

The author said he declined to answer the question put to him at the Washington hearing because it was so "obviously fake."

O'Connor emphasized that he has never been a Communist and is "getting tired of telling people about it." x x x

(Fall River (Mass.) Herald-News, Oct. 17, 1953)

London Daily Telegraph

Mr. Harvey O'Connor, an American writer, was to-day threatened by Senator McCarthy with contempt proceedings for challenging the right of the Senate Investigating Sub-Committee to question him about his writings and political beliefs.

He refused to reply to the question whether he was a "member of the Communist conspiracy" when he wrote books which were later used in the State Department's overseas libraries. He said the subcommittee had no jurisdiction to ask about his writings. x x x

(London Daily Telegraph, July 15, 1953)

The News (Mexico City)

Washington, July 14. (UP). — Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy exchanged sharp words with two authors today and threatened to cite one of them for contempt of Congress for defying his all-Republican permanent investigating subcommittee.

The Wisconsin Republican said he would seek a contempt citation against Harvey O'Connor, of Little Compton, R. I., bush-browed biographer of American millionaires who refused to say whether he was a "member of the Communist conspiracy." x x x

O'Connor x x x contended that his writings and political opinions "are of no concern" to the subcommittee.

(The News, Mexico City, July 15, 1953)

O'CONNOR FIGHTS BACK

Harvey O'Connor has been taking the fight for the First Amendment to audiences from Coast to Coast.

He has addressed college groups at Brown, Bard, Amherst and Williams; the University of Chicago and Denver University; churches in Sunday morning pulpit appearances in Philadelphia, Denver, Long Island and Westchester County, New York, and church groups in Denver and Boulder, Colo.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Seattle, Washington; Los Angeles, Calif.; Kansas City, Mo., and elsewhere; civic groups such as the Denver Kiwanis and Chicago City Club; civil liberties organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Denver, Chicago, Boston, Pittsfield, Mass.; Denver, Boulder, Colo.; Austin, Tex.; San Francisco, Calif.; Los Angeles, Calif.; labor organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Fort Worth, Tex., Dallas, Tex., and elsewhere.

O'Connor has also appeared on TV (in addition to the public hearing provided by Senator McCarthy in Washington) and on radio, in many cities from Coast to Coast.

While Senator McCarthy has access, free of charge, to nationwide audiences through TV reaching tens of millions of Americans, O'Connor is reaching a more limited audience — the more limited audience available to the individual citizen who insists that freedom of thought requires also freedom of access to the press, radio and other avenues of communication in a democracy. But although his audiences have measured only in hundreds, compared to McCarthy's thousands, he has been extremely well received.

More Editors Go To Bat for O'Connor

New Republic

Challenge to Witch Hunt

An old line of defense is being revived in an attempt to stem the McCarthy-Jenner-Velde intrusions into the private affairs of private citizens. The revival can be traced back to June 11, when Professor Einstein urged American intellectuals to defy Congressional witch hunters and refuse to answer inquisitorial inquiries into their personal beliefs and activities. Then on July 14 Harvey O'Connor, the author of *Mellon's Millions,* declined to answer McCarthy's questions as to whether he had been a Communist when he wrote books used in government libraries overseas. He made it clear that his refusal was not based upon his right under the Fifth Amendment not to be forced to incriminate himself; rather he based his refusal upon the First Amendment, challenging the right of the McCarthy Committee as an agent of the government to inquire into his writings and personal affairs. The Senate thereupon voted to cite O'Connor for contempt.

Corliss Lamont, the son of Thomas W. Lamont and the author of various writings dealing with Russia, has now taken the same position. x x x But he differed from O'Connor in that he specifically denied that he is now or ever was a member of the Communist Party, a point which was disputed by the indefatigable Louis Budenz.

This First Amendment defense is an honest and thorough challenge to the operations of Congressional committees that are disposed to invade areas where Congress itself dare not tread. Whether the challenge will be successful, however, is another matter. The same basic defense was made by the Hollywood Ten in their defiance of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 and by the directors of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Their use of the defense proved futile and they were jailed for contempt. But the Supreme Court declined to review the cases, and there has thus been no definitive judicial adjudication of the validity of this First Amendment defense. Some hope has been expressed that the Supreme Court might now be disposed to rule on the issue. Last March the Court held that the House Select Committee on Lobbying exceeded its authority under a House resolution in seeking to require Edward A. Rumely to disclose the names of those who made bulk purchases of books sold by the Committee for Constitutional Government. In concurring in the result, Justices Douglas and Black reached the constitutional issue now posed by O'Connor and Lamont and stated that the investigative power of Congressional committees is limited by the First Amendment, precluding them from inquiring into personal and private affairs.

The time may very well be at hand when the individual's right of privacy will receive a long overdue recognition from the courts. The O'Connor and Lamont cases provide the opportunity for that recognition.

(New Republic, Oct. 5, 1953)

The Evening Bulletin

O'Connor Makes His Point . . .

By EDWARD J. MILNE
Bulletin Washington Correspondent

Washington — A private citizen boldly told Joe McCarthy yesterday to mind his own business, but the Eisenhower administration continued to be less forthright in its dealings with the chairman of the Senate investigating committee. x x x

The private citizen was Harvey O'Connor, author of "Mellon's Millions" and other books, some of which have found their way to the shelves of U. S. overseas libraries being investigated by McCarthy's permanent Senate investigating committee.

Like many an earlier witness before the McCarthy committee, O'Connor refused to say whether he had been a Communist. But he brought a fresh approach to the refusal.

Instead of pleading that his answer might incriminate him — when witnesses do that they have the protection of the Constitution and there's nothing frustrated senators can do about it — O'Connor refused to answer on the ground that authors are not accountable to members of Congress for their political views.

"Not Such An Authority"

"If the books violate any law," O'Connor said, "the author is subject to appropriate action by the law enforcement authorities, and Congress is not such an authority."

What's more, he went on, the McCarthy committee was not discharging a legislative function in asking his political views, for it wasn't he who put his books into the overseas libraries.

He also declared the inquiry about his political beliefs to be beyond the powers of the investigating committee under the statute creating it.

O'Connor in effect was deliberately inviting McCarthy to try to get the Senate to vote a contempt of Senate citation against him. Lest anyone think he was indulging in quixotic tilting at powerful political windmills, his testimony should be considered in the light of the Senate speech a day earlier by Senator Monroney (D-Okla) attacking McCarthy's aims and methods in the bluntest fashion of the present session.

"I fail to find that even by the most generous stretching of its jurisdiction has the (McCarthy) committee the carte blanche authority to act in the name of the United States Senate in many of the fields it has preempted," Monroney said.

(Providence Bulletin, July 15, 1953)

Uncle Joe

—Page in Louisville Courier Journal

O'Connor Bucking McCarthy to 'Stiffen Backbones'

By JAMES BAAR

LITTLE COMPTON, R. I., Oct. 30 (UP)—Author Harvey O'Connor, charged with contempt of the Senate, said today he deliberately defied Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Investigating Subcommittee to force a "test of McCarthyism in the courts."

"McCarthy is right on the Hitler line," O'Connor said in an interview at his seaside home in this old Yankee village. "First cowing and terrorizing, then trying to take over."

O'Connor said that someone "has to take a stand. If we can establish the rights of citizens not to have to be subjected to McCarthy's smears and terrorism, we'll have made a beginning. We'll stiffen some backbones."

A former labor newsman and caustic biographer of millionaires, O'Connor refused to tell the McCarthy Committee whether he was "a member of the Communist conspiracy" when he wrote books later included in American overseas libraries.

"Of course, I'm fortunate," said O'Connor as he sat in his dining room sipping coffee. "I can afford all this and I don't give a damn about going to jail. If, like so many others who come up against McCarthy, I had to worry about feeding the wife and kiddies, I would have said, 'No, I never was a Communist,' and gone home.

Boston Evening Globe — SPORTS FINAL NEWS

"But here's a chance to do something. And there's no way to get this thing adjudicated in the courts unless you challenge him."

O'Connor said the government "has no right to ask a citizen what his politics are."

"McCarthy's question was phony anyway," he said. "I've never been a Communist. I've known plenty of them. Anyone connected with labor as long as I've been has known them. It never had any appeal for me. But if McCarthy really wanted to know about my past he wouldn't ask me. He'd ask the FBI."

Of course, O'Connor said, "that's not McCarthy's purpose."

"His purpose is to smear and use me and others as a club—as pawns. First against the New Deal. He's beaten them pretty well now; if you were a New Dealer, ipso facto you're a Red. The next target is the liberal Republicans . . . Eisenhower himself. Then he'd have just about the whole bloody thing: No one left but Joe McCarthy and his admirers."

(Boston Globe, Oct. 30, 1953)

Fort Worth Press

By FREDERICK C. OTHMAN

WASHINGTON, July 18—I do wish the lovers and the haters of Joe McCarthy would keep their hobnailed boots off my neck. x x x

Maybe it's the heat. All I know for sure now is that the situation grows more outlandish by the minute. Take the latest proceedings in the Senate caucus room:

Everybody was there, including the TV men with their hot lamps, but the senator, himself. He was downstairs in the coffee shoppe trying to grab some refreshment and explain simultaneously to two dozen eager correspondents what was cooking. x x x

He strode into the chamber 15 minutes late, followed by the reporters and two Republican members of his committee. The Democrats weren't there. They'd resigned from the enterprise because of what they called the high-handed way Senator McCarthy was running it. He said they were nice fellows. He liked them and he wished they'd come back. x x x

So he banged his gavel and called up

Sen. Joe's $64 Query is Evaded

Harvey O'Connor, an author, whose books had been placed in State Dept. libraries around the world. The question was whether O'Connor was a Communist and, if so, was the purchase of his books a proper way to spend the taxpayers' money.

O'Connor was a striking-looking citizen in a greenish suit. His hair was dark brown, his eyebrows slate gray, his mustache snow-white and his defiance of Senator Joe complete.

He said his political beliefs were no concern of the senator's. As for his books, all he did was write 'em. Not until this minute, he said, did he know the government had bought them. Yes, insisted Senator Joe, but was he a Red?

O'Connor said he objected. Senator Joe said all right, now answer. O'Connor said he would not, either, and he was not claiming that his answer might incriminate him. He said he still insisted his politics were his own business.

So the senator told him to step down and announced that he'd seek to have him cited for contempt.

(Fort Worth Press, July 15, 1953)

Who is O'Connor?

HARVEY O'CONNOR was born on March 29, 1897, in Minneapolis, Minn., and attended schools in St. Paul, Minn., and Tacoma, Wash.

After working in the logging camps of the Pacific Northwest and serving in the U. S. Merchant Marine during World War I, he became labor editor of the Seattle Union Record, the nation's first trade union daily, 1919-1924. He was assistant editor of the Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland, O., 1924-1927; eastern bureau manager of Federated Press, the labor news service, 1927-1930; and editor and publicity director of the Oil Workers International Union-CIO, 1945-1948, of which he is still a member.

His books include: *Mellon's Millions,* John Day, 1933; *Steel-Dictator,* John Day, 1935; *The Guggenheims,* Covici-Friede, 1937; *The Astors,* Knopf, 1941; *History of the Oil Workers International Union,* 1950.

He lives in Little Compton, R. I., where he is finishing a book on current trends in the oil industry.

In 1930 O'Connor married Jessie Lloyd; they have two children, Stephen, 13, and Kathleen, 11.

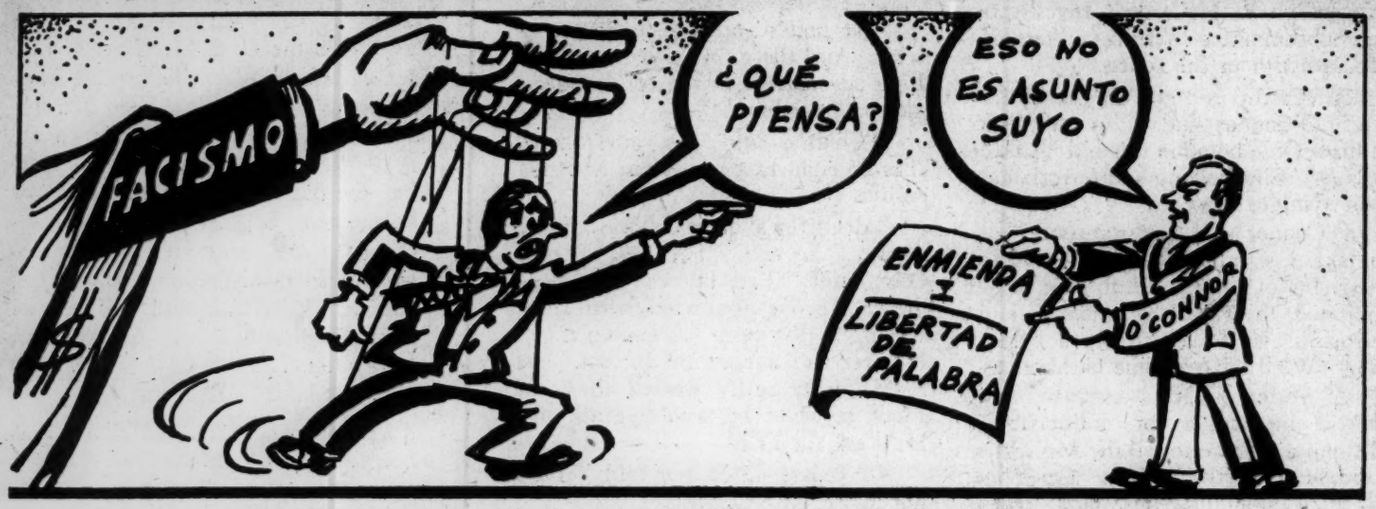
While a resident of Chicago, 1937-1945, O'Connor was chairman of the education committee of the City Club and a member of its board of governors; member of the board of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee (American Civil Liberties Union branch); chairman of the residents' committee, Hull-House; member of the Unitarian Church (Evanston and the Third Church); co-editor of the book, *Civil Liberties in Illinois.*

In Fort Worth, Texas, where he served as publicity director for the Oil Workers International Union, he was president of the Tarrant County Industrial Union Council-CIO, chairman of the Tarrant County labor legislative council, and a founder of the Fort Worth Unitarian Church.

In Little Compton, R. I., a Yankee village on the shores of the Atlantic, he reports membership in the Parent-Teachers Association, the Men's Club of the Congregational Church, and in the Sakonnet Yacht Club.

Boletín
LATINO AMERICANO DEL CIO

SEPTIEMBRE - OCTUBRE 1953



ESCRITOR OBRERO DESAFIA EL INQUISICIONISMO DE McCARTHY

LA creciente controversia suscitada entre los elementos liberales y progresistas de los Estados Unidos y el Sena-

sí mismos". Esta enmienda lleva implícita la aceptación de culpabilidad.

Unión de Trabajadores del Petróleo ha declarado

The puppet McCarthy asks: "What do you think?", and O'Connor, holding a paper entitled "First Amendment, Freedom of Speech," answers, "That's none of your business." The O'Connor case has attracted wide attention in Latin America and in western Europe — more perhaps than in the United States, as the first court test of McCarthy's powers.

International **OIL WORKER**

We Support O'Connor

An Editorial

As reported in this and the July 27 issue of the *Oil Worker,* Harvey O'Connor has stood on legal and constitutional grounds and refused to answer an impudent and impertinent question asked by Sen. Joe McCarthy. As a result, the Senate has now cited O'Connor for contempt and we expect that he will have to stand trial in a federal court.

Harvey O'Connor was publicity director of OWIU from 1945 to 1948 and still maintains his membership in Local 208. He is known, both personally and for his work with the union, by literally thousands of OWIU members. These members admire and respect O'Connor. They believe him to be a good man and a good citizen.

We believe Harvey O'Connor did a good thing in refusing to answer Joe McCarthy. We believe that McCarthy served no good purpose by asking the question. We believe that he had no legal right to do it. We believe more citizens should boldly oppose, as O'Connor has, the McCarthy witchhunt and smear campaign.

We hope that when O'Connor stands trial the jury sees fit to endorse his stand. We are on Harvey O'Connor's side of this argument every inch of the way.

(International Oil Worker, official journal of Oil Workers Intl. Union, CIO, issue of August 10, 1953)

For additional copies of this pamphlet, write to Harvey O'Connor, Little Compton, R. I.

Additional information on the O'Connor case may be obtained from Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y. Write there for:

***Rights,* October-November, 1953, which contains a discussion of this and other cases involving the First Amendment. 20¢.**

***Mind of Your Own, Harvey O'Connor's Stand,* by Josephine Herbst, a review of the principles involved in the case. 10¢.**

***Why I Said No to Joe—The "Age of Cringe,"* an article by Harvey O'Connor which appeared in The Nation of Sept. 26, 1953. Reprint, 5¢.**

International OIL WORKER

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SEEKING TEST CASE:

Harvey O'Connor Defies Book-Burner McCarthy

Harvey O'Connor, former publicity director of Oil Workers Intl. Union, was hauled up before Senator Joe McCarthy's infamous mudslinging committee on July 14 and asked if he were a communist.

O'Connor told McCarthy, in effect, to mind his own business. He refused to answer McCarthy's questions on the grounds that his political views were none of the senator's business.

Senator McCarthy immediately indicated that he would seek to have O'Connor indicted for contempt of Congress.

O'Connor's refusal to answer McCarthy's questions was based on his strong feelings against the gestapo tactics of McCarthy and does not reflect any hesitation on his part to discuss his politics with friends.

En route home from Washington, where he appeared before the McCarthy committee, O'Connor was met at the Providence, Rhode Island, railroad station by local newspaper reporters and asked his political views.

He told the reporters:

"I am not a communist.

"I have never been a communist.

"I'm perfectly willing to tell anyone how I stand except on demand from such a legislative group. They have no right to inquire into my politics.

"I'm interested in their politics, as a voter. It's they who are running for office. I'm not."

●

O'Connor was called before the committee as a part of McCarthy's current book-burning campaign because some books written by O'Connor have been placed in overseas information libraries by the U. S. State Department.

O'Connor invoked the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution in refusing to answer McCarthy's questions. The First Amendment provides that "Congress shall make no law * * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

O'Connor told the committee that authors are not accountable to members of Congress for their political views.

"If the books violate any law," O'Connor said, "the author is subject to appropriate action by the law enforcement authorities, and Congress is not such an authority."

He said the McCarthy committee was not discharging a legislative function in asking his political views, for it wasn't he who put his books into overseas libraries.

●

As a matter of fact, the books were written by O'Connor several years ago and he was not even aware that the State Department had put them in overseas libraries.

From newspaper dispatches, it is not clear which of O'Connor's books were involved in McCarthy's latest book-burning effort.

Apparently one of them was the official "History of Oil Workers Intl. Union," written by O'Connor under a commission granted by the executive council of the union in 1948 and published by the union in 1950.

The union has been asked by various government agencies at various times for copies of the book for overseas distribution and has on all occasions supplied copies of the book, without charge, as a service to the government. This was the last book written by O'Connor. Since writing it, he has been writing a book about the oil industry, but it has not been completed.

Many years earlier O'Connor wrote several other books, including "Mellon's Millions," a biography of Andrew W. Mellon, the Pittsburg financier, published in 1933 by John Day; "Steel Dictator," a study of the steel industry, published in 1935 by John Day; "The Guggenheims," a biography, published by Covici Friede in 1937; and "The Astors," a biography, published by Knopf in 1941.

O'CONNOR

The entire matter of O'Connor's summons before the McCarthy committee was carried out in the usual high-handed methods employed by that committee.

June 30, the phone in O'Connor's home in Little Compton, Rhode Island rang and the speaker on the phone identified himself as Roy M. Cohn, representing the McCarthy committee. (Cohn is the gumshoe boy, who, along with G. David Schine, made a flying tour of Europe a few months ago and terrorized the European employes of Mr. Dulles' State Department.)

Cohn — or the voice representing itself as Cohn — told O'Connor that inasmuch as copies of his books had been found in overseas libraries, the committee wanted to question him on Friday, July 3 (three days later) in New York. The voice said the telephone message would be confirmed by a telegram.

Late the night of July 1, two days before the appointed time, Western Union telephoned a telegram signed by McCarthy bidding O'Connor to come to New York.

On the eve of the date for the questioning, however, O'Connor still had not received written confirmation of his summons.

He ignored the telephoned summonses, believing them not valid, and taking the position that he would not testify unless a formal subpoena was issued.

Several days later, McCarthy did issue a formal subpoena calling O'Connor to Washington and O'Connor did appear in response to it on July 14.

●

In refusing to answer McCarthy's questions and in basing his refusal on the First Amendment, O'Connor was making a test case of the validity of Joe McCarthy's investigating activities.

Shortly before appearing before the committee, O'Connor wrote Sen. Green of Rhode Island that he would not recognize the validity or the constitutionality of the McCarthy committee's procedure.

"I realize that the Supreme Court will not let that stand in the way of me going to jail for 'contempt'," he told Sen. Green, "but I believe someone has to take a stand in these matters, and I for one am willing to do so."

As of the time this paper went to press, McCarthy had not secured a contempt indictment against O'Connor, although it was still considered likely that he would do so. Such an indictment undoubtedly would lead to a long and expensive period of litigation. If convicted, O'Connor would be subject to a federal prison sentence.

●

O'Connor is a veteran trade unionist, labor journalist and author. He has worked on various labor newspapers during his career in that field, beginning in 1918. When OWIU established the International Oil Worker, O'Connor was appointed as its first editor and assumed his duties Jan. 1, 1945. He continued as editor and publicity director until he resigned effective June 1, 1948.

Shortly before he left the staff, the International Executive Council entered into an agreement with O'Connor providing that he would write an official history of the union. During the next two years he did extensive research work and traveled throughout the oil country in preparing the book, which was completed and published in 1950 by the union. Writing the book was a money-losing proposition for O'Connor. The payment he received from the union was insufficient to cover even the expenses of the travel necessary to gather information.

●

Since leaving the OWIU staff, O'Connor has been living in Little Compton, Rhode Island and devoting his time to research and writing. However, he was asked by Pres. O. A. Knight to accept an emergency assignment doing public relations work for the union in California during the 1948 strike. Within a matter of hours after getting the call, he flew to California and did strike publicity work for several weeks.

Since leaving the staff, O'Connor has contributed occasional articles to the International Oil Worker, including a series of stories about oil workers in the Caribbean area and another series about the Mexican oil industry. He maintains his membership in OWIU's Fort Worth, Tex., Local 208.

Reprinted from--

International Oil Worker

Issue of July 27, 1953

(Page 1)

Federal Grand Jury Indicts Harvey O'Connor for Contempt

Harvey O'Connor, OWIU member, former publicity director of the International union, and author of OWIU's official history, was indicted for contempt of Congress Oct. 16 by a federal grand jury in Washington, D. C.

The indictment was requested by Sen. Joseph McCarthy (Rep.-Wisc.) last summer after O'Connor refused to answer a question asked of him by McCarthy.

The question asked was whether O'Connor was a "member of the Communist conspiracy" at the time he wrote certain books which were placed on overseas library shelves by the State Department. O'Connor refused to answer the question because he said it interfered with his freedom of speech and press as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution and because he did not believe McCarthy's committee had a legal right to conduct such investigations.

A few hours after refusing to answer McCarthy's question, O'Connor told newspaper reporters that he was not and never had been a communist, but that he did not think McCarthy had the right to call any citizen before his committee and inquire into his politics.

The indictment for contempt made by the Washington grand jury means that O'Connor will be tried in Federal District Court in Washington, presumably sometime within the next few months. If convicted, he will be subject to a sentence in federal prison.

After the indictment, O'Connor told newspaper reporters at his home in Little Compton, Rhode Island, that in a way he welcomed the indictment.

"It is the only way to determine whether Senator Joseph R. McCarthy has a right to pry into the political convictions of a citizen," he said.

O'Connor said the question was phony. "If the Senator wanted to know whether I was or am a Communist he could check the Federal Bureau of Investigation files. They're supposed to have a list of all the Communists," he said.

In this newspaper interview, coming right after the indictment, O'Connor again emphasized that he has never been a Communist and said he was "getting tired of telling people about it." He said he was an innocent bystander in a feud between McCarthy and the Dean Acheson crowd.

"I resent being used as a tool in this fight between McCarthy and the former State Department leaders," he asserted.

O'Connor has repeatedly pointed out that he had nothing to do with the distribution of his books to overseas libraries and that they were distributed without his knowledge by the State Department. Books involved include "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," and "The History of Oil Workers Intl. Union."

Oil Workers Intl. Union has voiced its support of O'Connor in the position he has taken before McCarthy. A number of OWIU locals also have written O'Connor complimenting him on his stand and assuring him of their support.

O'Connor was publicity director for the International from Jan. 1, 1945 to June 1, 1948. Between 1948 and 1950 he wrote the OWIU History, on commission of the International Executive Council.

Reprinted from--

International Oil Worker

Issue of October 26, 1953
(Page 3)

Senate Indicts O'Connor For Defying McCarthy

A resolution citing Harvey O'Connor, OWIU member and former OWIU publicity director, for contempt of the Senate has been rammed through the U. S. Senate.

The resolution was passed by motion of Sen. Knowland, Republican of California. The **Congressional Record** account of the passage shows that there was no debate on the question and no vote. Presumably the resolution was of the type which is considered automatically adopted unless objection is raised from the Senate floor. As a matter of so-called "Senatorial courtesy," such resolutions rarely are objected to. They run through in cut-and-dried fashion.

Following adoption of the resolution, Sen. McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, received permission of the Senate to read into the record a report of O'Connor's appearance before his investigating subcommittee. It was because of O'Connor's refusals to answer a question by McCarthy that the contempt citation was issued.

O'Connor's case is now in the hands of the Department of Justice, which presumably will seek an indictment from a Washington grand jury. If the grand jury indicts, O'Connor will be tried for contempt in a federal district court in Washington.

●

The specific question asked O'Connor by McCarthy was this:

"At the time you wrote the books which were x x x put in information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?"

As reported in detail in the last issue of the **Oil Worker,** O'Connor refused to answer on the grounds that McCarthy had no legal or constitutional right to an answer. In speaking with newspaper reporters later, O'Connor freely and readily stated that he was not a communist, that he had never been a communist, and that he was ready to say so to anyone except on demand from such groups as McCarthy's, which have no right to ask the question.

●

Following is the full text of O'Connor's testimony before the McCarthy committee:

Mr. O'CONNOR: Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement?

The CHAIRMAN (Senator McCarthy): No. You will answer the question.

Mr. O'CONNOR: About my objection to the jurisdiction of this committee?

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, you may make a statement on that.

Mr. O'CONNOR: Thank you.

Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN Will you get nearer to the microphone, Mr. O'Connor, so that we can hear you?

Mr. O'CONNOR: My second point would be that this committee has no right to inquire into my writings, under the point of the constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in that regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in overseas libraries, and most certainly I had nothing whatever to do with their selection there.

In the third place, I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views.

The CHAIRMAN: Just for your information, Mr. O'Connor, we are not concerned with any political views of yours. We would not be concerned about your writings. You are entitled to write whatever you care to write. Any American or anyone else is entitled to purchase your book, your writings. You are here this morning because your writings were purchased by the old Acheson State Department, distributed throughout the world, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting communism. Now, when the taxpayers pay for your books, when the royalties of your books, paid by the taxpayers, go into the communist coffers, then this committee is concerned with that. For that reason, I again ask you the question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased with taxpayers' money and put in our information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the communist conspiracy?

Mr. O'CONNOR: I object to the question on the three grounds I have already stated.

The CHAIRMAN: You can object. Now you will answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you.

Mr. O'CONNOR: I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me.

The CHAIRMAN: Then you are ordered to answer.

Mr. O'CONNOR: I have already answered.

The CHAIRMAN: I apparently did not hear your answer, then. You are ordered to answer whether or not you were a member of the communist party.

Mr. O'CONNOR: On the three grounds I have stated, I have declined to answer.

The CHAIRMAN: Let us have the record clear, so that we will know what you have declined to answer. I will repeat the question. At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department and distributed in our information centers, were you a member of the communist conspiracy?

Mr. O'CONNOR: My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Do you refuse to answer?

Mr. O'CONNOR: Apparently.

The CHAIRMAN: Not "apparently." Do you refuse to answer?

Mr. O'CONNOR: I refuse to answer.

The CHAIRMAN: You are refusing on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. O'CONNOR: I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination.

The CHAIRMAN: You are not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination. All right. You may step down.

Incidentally, I think Senator Mundt wishes that a meeting of the subcommittee be called to have this man immediately cited for contempt. I will call a meeting of this subcommittee at the earliest convenience for that purpose.

Your other witness, Mr. Cohn?

Reprinted from--

International Oil Worker

Issue of August 10, 1953
(Page 5)

We Support O'Connor

An Editorial

As reported in this and the July 27 issue of the **Oil Worker,** Harvey O'Connor has stood on legal and constitutional grounds and refused to answer an impudent and impertinent question asked by Sen. Joe McCarthy. As a result, the Senate has now cited O'Connor for contempt and we expect that he will have to stand trial in a federal court.

Harvey O'Connor was publicity director of OWIU from 1945 to 1948 and still maintains his membership in Local 208. He is known, both personally and for his work with the union, by literally thousands of OWIU members. These members admire and respect O'Connor. They believe him to be a good man and a good citizen.

We believe Harvey O'Connor did a good thing in refusing to answer Joe McCarthy. We believe that McCarthy served no good purpose by asking the question. We believe that he had no legal right to do it. We believe more citizens should boldly oppose, as O'Connor has, the McCarthy witchhunt and smear campaign.

We hope that when O'Connor stands trial the jury sees fit to endorse his stand. We are on Harvey O'Connor's side of this argument every inch of the way.

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Fighter for Freedom

Harvey O'Connor, who visited and spoke in Denver last week, is a shining symbol of the struggle to cleanse this nation of the disease known as mccarthyism, just as the recent disgraceful episode in Norwalk, Conn., is a symptom—and one of the most shocking symptoms so far—of the disease itself. Thus two events, two thousand miles apart in geographical distance, converge to frame and focus the dilemma which this country faces.

In Norwalk, leaders of a Veterans of Foreign Wars post have set themselves up as spies, thought police and judges over their fellow citizens. They have taken it upon themselves to report to the FBI all those whose expressions or activities—which they will keep under close surveillance—cast suspicion upon their beliefs or motives.

Seldom has there been a more flagrant violation of the rights of men, a more agonizing distillation of the poison of mccarthyism.

While all this was going on, Harvey O'Connor, of Little Compton, Rhode Island, almost a neighbor of the Norwalk inquisitors, was speaking in Colorado.

Seldom has the assault on our cherished freedoms been exposed in all its stark, utter nakedness as it was to the citizens of this state by Mr. O'Connor—and it was heartening how many of them did avail themselves of the opportunity to hear him—in his many personal, radio and TV appearances. He seemed to possess the faculty of piercing to the heart of the issue in simple, down-to-earth language. Thus, in relating his ordeal before the McCarthy inquisition, he observed:

"When a public servant presumes to demand to know a citizen's political opinions he is no longer a servant, but a master." Has the totalitarian reach toward thought control ever been better and yet more simply expressed?

Or, when he asserted that, since the first amendment to the Constitution states that Congress "shall make no law. . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press . . ." then Congress has no right to terrorize the minds of men by conducting inquisitions whose only aim must be such legislation.

But what made O'Connor's remarks all the more pregnant with meaning for his listeners was the fact that he himself faces a one to twelve month prison sentence if convicted of the contempt for which he was cited by McCarthy for refusing to answer the question of whether he was "a member of the Communist conspiracy."

He faces his forthcoming trial with full awareness of its implications for the future of democracy and freedom in this country. He knows, as all who hear him know, that he is not a Communist or a conspirator. Yet his country—the country whose welfare he cherishes—is trying to jail him for doing his best to uphold its own shining tradition of freedom of conscience. A lesser man in his position might easily turn bitter, lose faith in this country's institutions and adopt a cynical attitude akin to the Communists'—and Fascists'—own scorn of man's innate and sacred dignity.

But not O'Connor. As he puts it, he is taking this risk in order to prove that freedom is not dead in this country—that the Constitution and the founding fathers were right, and the little Hitlers and VFW fuehrers of today are wrong.

Our money is on the fighting Irishman from Little Compton—and on the millions of fighting Americans who have not been brain-washed by the wave of inquisition.

MIND OF YOUR OWN

Harvey O'Connor's Stand

A man knows he has a right to his home, to his bank account and his car. Anyone who tampers with such possessions is called a robber. Is the mind of man less precious?

Harvey O'Connor thinks not. Put to the test, challenged to make a crucial decision, he decided to practice what he preached and to stand up for his rights as a free citizen in a free country.

He was quietly at work at his home in Little Compton, Rhode Island on June 30 when he got a telephone call. Writing books is O'Connor's business and the new book he was working on was all about Oil. He is an authority on the subject. The phone call was from a person who said he was Roy Cohn of the Senate Investigating Committee. The voice stated that O'Connor's books had been found on the shelves of the Overseas Libraries and the Committee wanted to question him.

The time was when the information that an author's books were in any library, anywhere, would be a matter of pride. This time it was different. Almost overnight a book was the same as a stick of dynamite.

O'Connor found it hard to believe in the voice. Taken with the facts, it seemed more likely to be a hoax.

He was minding his own business. He had broken no laws. He was at his work, peaceably, as any other man who goes to work and does what he has to do. He had a family and at the end of the day they all sat around on the front porch admiring the sailboats passing by at sea. O'Connor knew

his books, inside out. He wrote them. Libraries had known them for years. His publishers were in high repute. When he wrote Mellon's Millions, a biography of Andrew W. Mellon; Steel Dictator, a study of the steel industry; The Guggenheims, a biography; The Astors, a biography, no objections had been raised anywhere. On the contrary.

This was the first time he had ever heard about any books of his on any Overseas Library shelves. He hadn't made a point of peddling his work to the State Department. He had never had any royalties from the sale of such books to the State Department that he knew of. It was all news to him. But now a mysterious voice over the phone tried to make him feel guilty about something.

That's one way to rob a man. To try to make him feel guilty. But O'Connor didn't intend to be robbed. He sat tight and decided to disregard this mystery voice. Even when a telegram followed the voice, signed "Joe McCarthy" and "confirming telephonic directions" he remained incredulous. This high handed method wasn't the legal way to summon witnesses. O'Connor would abide by the law. When another message came announcing that the hearing had been postponed to "Tuesday, July 5," O'Connor was more suspicious than ever. For no such date appeared on the calendar. Tuesday was July 7. O'Connor sat back and waited.

McCarthy had finally to submit to legal procedure to get his man. He issued a subpoena in valid form. This was for July 14 and O'Connor responded at once and went to Washington.

The meeting of the Committee took place at 10:45 a.m. that day with Senator Joseph McCarthy, chairman, presiding.

Books may have started the inquiry but once McCarthy had established the fact that books by O'Connor had been purchased and distributed in various information centers about the world, books were the last thing in McCarthy's mind. Had McCarthy ever read a book by O'Connor? From the evidence, it is fair to say, this is doubtful. Only one question was important to McCarthy. Was O'Connor a member of the Communist Party at the time he wrote the books?

O'Connor was prepared for the question. He had decided that there was only one answer he could make. Whatever he said had to be in line with his life and all he had written. This late in the day he couldn't cut himself into pieces, not for anyone. Certainly not for Joe McCarthy. He could hardly go back on the First Amendment, now. It had been FIRST with the founding fathers and it was the ground on which free men had to stand or fall. He might have used the Fifth Amendment and so escaped the risk of a possible jail sentence. It was a lawful and honorable course to take but to use it left a loophole for McCarthy to escape for further questioning of other private citizens. By sticking to the First Amendment, O'Connor saw a chance to bring the entire issue out into the open for men to see.

So he answered McCarthy with a challenge of his own.

O'Connor said: "Under the first amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings I have written, that is the proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee."

He made a second point: "This commit-

tee has no right to inquire into my writing, under the point of constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in this regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in Overseas Libraries and most certainly had nothing whatever to do with their selection."

His third point stated: "In the third place I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views."

McCarthy answered: "You can object. Now will you answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you."

O'Connor: "I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me."

McCarthy: "Then you are ordered to answer."

O'Connor: "I have already answered."

McCarthy once more offered O'Connor the privilege of refusing to answer on the grounds of self-incrimination and once more O'Connor refused. He was then ordered to step down.

Who overstepped his right? Did O'Connor, a private citizen, take advantage by rejecting McCarthy's right to question him? Or did McCarthy, as head of a standing Committee of the Senate in Washington, whose powers are clearly defined under Rule XXV section (g) go beyond his allotted authority? What, exactly, is McCarthy authorized to investigate?

McCarthy is chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, known until last year as the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department. This is a kind of super-auditing body whose changed name did not alter the original purpose or authority of this com-

mittee. According to the Rules, McCarthy is NOT given any authority to inquire into the political beliefs and associations even of persons employed by the government, much less of persons not on the public payroll.

But he subpoenaed O'Connor to Washington for exactly that purpose.

O'Connor's answer to such a question was *none of the Committee's business.* The government also buys cars for use overseas. Has Ford ever been summoned to Washington to be asked probing questions about his personal views? A book is as easy to decipher as a car. A car has many parts; a book words, paragraphs and chapters. Anyone who can read can see what it is.

O'Connor's books say what he learned about life. Born in Minnesota, O'Connor has been working at the problem of how men live most of his life. When he got out of high school in Tacoma, Washington, he went to work in the logging camps of the Northwest. What he learned there led to the desk of the Seattle Union Record, the first daily union paper every published. As a cub reporter, labor editor, city editor and news editor, O'Connor sharpened the tools of his trade. But the material to work with was men and society and he never stopped inquiring into the why and wherefore. You can read the output of his thirty years of exploration and discovery in his books—and many people have. Here and abroad, he has made an honored name for himself as a man who has taken pains to know his field.

If it is a crime to specialize in the fate of people who work, day in and day out, and to wish for a quickened, brightened life for every citizen, then O'Connor has committed many a grave offense. But he is in

good company. No attempt to erase the blackboard of our history can wipe out all those names.

It is McCarthy's error to imagine that people can totally forget past history. To forget the meaning of history is to sell one's birthright to freedom. But McCarthy can and has brought confusion. The cure for the crisis of our times may be complicated but it is only hopeless when the door to inquiry and criticism is slammed tight.

WE should get it straight. McCarthy is not letting in light upon darkness when he says in effect: Think as I do—or else.

Was O'Connor unwilling to say if he had ever been a Communist or only unwilling to answer McCarthy's unlawful questioning? He answered the reporter who met the train on which he returned from Washington to Providence. The reporter asked, "Have you ever been a Communist?"

O'Connor answered, "I am not a Communist. I have never been a Communist. I am perfectly willing to tell anyone how I stand except on demand from such a legislative group."

McCarthy is not helping his country to solve its problems by attacking language, the most human of all man's tools. You can't separate the fate of the spoken and written word from the common fate of man's condition on earth.

To hand over language to top-sergeants, to bark orders at it, is to bring man himself to the goosestep. Even a child knows this and resents it. To think and to speak freely is the law of our free land. Variety is an organism. Uniformity is a mechanism. We say, variety is life. Uniformity is death. But mere declamation gets nowhere. The deed has to back up the word.

When Harvey O'Connor said NO to McCarthy, that was a deed.

For such a deed he was cited for contempt on July 23. The citation went to the U. S. Attorney for the District of Columbia who had no choice in the matter of presenting the case to the Grand Jury. A Senate citation is mandatory and the U. S. Attorney must act. He might have told the Grand Jury that in his judgment there was no case. But in the present climate of Washington is this to be expected? The answer came on October 16 when the Federal Grand Jury of the District of Columbia indicted Harvey O'Connor for contempt of the Senate.

O'Connor will face trial. If he is convicted he could go to jail for up to a year. If he is acquitted, the Bill of Rights will be back once more in the Constitution where it belongs for the use of every citizen. *Not in McCarthy's pocket.*

JOSEPHINE HERBST

October 22, 1953

This pamphlet is published by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in the hope that the American people may still be aroused to support the true patriots. Additional copies are available at 10¢ each, $5 a hundred or $25 a thousand.

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CIO

Boletín
LATINO AMERICANO DEL CIO

SEPTIEMBRE - OCTUBRE 1953

ESCRITOR OBRERO DESAFIA EL INQUISICIONISMO DE McCARTHY

LA creciente controversia suscitada entre los elementos liberales y progresistas de los Estados Unidos y el Senador McCarthy por las prácticas inquisitoriales y totalitarias utilizadas por éste en el curso de las investigaciones realizadas por el Comité Senatorial que preside, está llegando a su climax. Recientemente, el escritor obrero Harvey O'Connor, miembro de la Unión Internacional de Trabajadores Petroleros (OWIU) y antiguo director de publicidad de dicha organización sindical, ha sido procesado por "desacato" por negarse a contestar preguntas de dicho comité que O'Connor consideró como cuestiones personales y sobre las cuales la Constitución de los Estados Unidos no ha dado jurisdicción al Poder Legislativo.

El punto focal de esta controversia estriba en que O'Connor basó su negativa en los derechos garantizados por la Enmienda I de la Constitución que dice:

"El Congreso no aprobará ninguna ley con respecto al establecimiento de religión, o "prohibiendo el libre ejercicio de la misma; o limitando la libertad de palabra o "de la prensa o el derecho del pueblo a reunirse pacíficamente y elevar peticiones al "gobierno para la corrección de injusticias".

Hasta el presente el Comité de McCarthy ha aceptado como base para negarse a contestar, los derechos garantizados por la Enmienda V de la Constitución que otorga a los individuos el derecho a "no declarar en contra de sí mismos". Esta enmienda lleva implícita la aceptación de culpabilidad.

La Unión de Trabajadores del Petróleo ha declarado su apoyo decisivo a O'Connor en el proceso que se avecina y que será de suma trascendencia en el futuro, pués él determinará hasta que punto son efectivos en la práctica el derecho a la libre expresión del pensamiento, la libertad de credo político, e implícitamente el secreto de las urnas.

El Sr. O'Connor, que no tuvo inconveniente en contestar libremente a los periodistas que lo interrogaron, afirmó que no era, ni nunca había sido comunista, pero consideró que el Comité de McCarthy estaba infringiendo sus derechos constitucionales al interrogarle. La pregunta específica hecha por McCarthy a O'Connor fué la siguiente: "Cuando Ud. escribió los libros que fueron puestos en las bibliotecas de información a través del mundo, en esa época, ¿era Ud. miembro de la conspiración comunista?

El Senado aprobó una resolución por moción presentada por el Senador Knowland, republicano de California, por la cual se cita al Sr. Harvey O'Connor por "desacato" al Congreso. La moción fué aprobada sin debate y sin votación. El caso de O'Connor se encuentra ahora en manos del Departamento de Justicia.

A continuación transcribimos el texto completo del testimonio de O'Connor ante el Comité de McCarthy:

(A reprint)

O'Connor.— Sr. Presidente, me permite hacer una breve declaración?

El Presidente (Senador McCarthy).— No; Ud. contestará las preguntas.

O'Connor.— Sobre mis objecciones en cuanto a la jurisdicción de este comité?

El Presidente.— Sí, puede hacer una declaración sobre eso.

O'Connor.— Gracias.

De acuerdo con la Enmienda I de la Constitución, mis escritos, mis libros y mis opiniones políticas no constituyen una preocupación legítima de este comité. Si he violado alguna ley en mis escritos, ello es preocupación correspondiente a los organismos encargados de ejecutar las leyes y no preocupación que corresponda a este comité.

El Presidente.— Quiere Ud. aproximarse algo más a los micrófonos, Sr. O'Connor, de modo que podamos oirle

O'Connor.— Mi segundo punto es que este comité no tiene derecho a inquirir sobre mis escritos de acuerdo con las limitaciones constitucionales de los derechos del Congreso y sus comités. Debo decir con relación a esto, que hasta este momento no sabía que mis libros estuvieran en las bibliotecas de ultramar y muy ciertamente, no tuve absolutamente nada que ver con su selección.

En tercer lugar, he de objetar la autoridad de este comité, de acuerdo con el estatuto por el cual fué creado por el Congreso, para inquirir sobre mis escritos o mis puntos de vista políticos.

El Presidente.— Para su conocimiento Sr. O'Connor; no estamos interesados en sus opiniones políticas. No nos preocupamos de sus escritos. Tiene Ud. el derecho de escribir lo que mejor le plazca. Cualquier americano u otra persona cualquiera tiene el derecho de comprar sus libros y sus escritos. Ud. está aquí hoy porque sus escritos fueron adquiridos por el viejo Departamento de Estado de Acheson y distribuídos a través del mundo ostensiblemente con el propósito de combatir el comunismo. Ahora, cuando el contribuyente paga por sus libros, cuando las utilidades de sus libros, pagados por los contribuyentes, van a parar a los cofres comunistas, entonces este comité se preocupa por ello. Por esta razón, de nuevo le hago la pregunta: En la época en que Ud. escribió los libros que fueron comprados con dinero de los contribuyentes y colocados en nuestras bibliotecas de información a través del mundo, en esa época, ¿era Ud. miembro de la conspiración comunista?

O'Connor.— Objeto la pregunta en las tres bases que ya he manifestado.

El Presidente.— Ud. puede objetar. Ahora, contestará a menos que Ud. considere que la respuesta pueda incriminarle.

O'Connor.— Yo no considero que la respuesta pudiera incriminarme.

El Presidente.— Entonces le ordeno que conteste.

O'Connor.— Ya he contestado.

El Presidente.— Aparentemente yo no oí su contestación. Le ordeno que conteste si Ud. era o no miembro del partido comunista.

O'Connor.— Por las tres razones que he mencionado, he declinado contestar.

El Presidente.— Establezcamos los hechos claramente de modo que sepamos qué es lo que Ud. ha declinado contestar. Repetiré la pregunta. En la época en que Ud. escribió los libros que fueron comprados por el viejo Departamento de Estado de Acheson y distribuídos en nuestros centros de información, ¿era Ud. miembro de la conspiración comunista?

O'Connor.— Mi filiación política o falta de filiación política no son preocupación legítima de este comité.

El Presidente.— ¿Rehusa Ud. contestar?

O'Connor.— Aparentemente.

El Presidente.— No aparentemente. ¿Rehusa Ud. contestar?

O'Connor.— Rehuso contestar.

El Presidente.— ¿Rehusa contestar basado en que la respuesta pudiera incriminarle?

O'Connor.— No me estoy valiendo del privilegio contra la auto-incriminación.

El Presidente.— Ud. no se está escudando en el privilegio contra la auto-incriminación. Muy bien. Puede marcharse.

Incidentalmente, creo que el Senador Mundt desea que se convoque immediatamente una reunión del subcomité para que este hombre sea citado por desacato. Convocaré una reunión de este comité lo más pronto posible para esta finalidad.

EL CIO Y LA LUCHA CONTRA LA SEGREGACION

EL CIO continúa su lucha infatigable contra todas las prácticas discriminativas en forma concreta y práctica.

Actualmente se está librando una batalla legal en el Tribunal Supremo de los EE.UU. para ilegalizar la práctica común en muchos Estados de separar los alumnos de las escuelas públicas según el color de la piel.

Los opositores de la discriminación alegan que esta práctica estatal viola los derechos garantizados por la Constitución y han llevado el caso hasta el Tribunal Supremo para obtener una decisión definitiva.

El CIO, fiel a sus principios ha donado $2,500 para ayudar en los costos del litigio. El Sr. Carey, Secretario Financiero del CIO y a la vez presidente del Comité de Derechos Civiles del CIO hizo entrega de un cheque por la cantidad mencionada al Sr. Thurgood Marshall de la Asociación Nacional para el Mejoramiento del Pueblo de Color, quien se ha destacado activamente en el largo proceso contra la segregación en las escuelas.

En el momento de la entrega el Sr. Carey ofreció la más decidida cooperación y ayuda del Departamento Legal del CIO bajo la dirección de Arthur J. Goldberg.

WHY I SAID NO TO JOE

The "Age of Cringe" . . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

IT IS annoying, at the best, to be hauled up before the McCarthy committee, even if you have the satisfaction of telling Joe to go peddle his papers. It is somewhat sobering, later, to receive letters from fine people commending you for doing what, after all, is only a simple and rudimentary act of citizenship. Their appreciation shows how far, in recent years, we have slipped down freedom's hill.

In olden times—at least as far back as 1910, say—it was a cardinal point of Americanism that a man's politics were his own business. Now they seem to be the business of any McCarthy, Jenner, or Velde who cares to stick his nose in. If a man's home is his castle, a man's mind is his own. Many Americans seem to have forgotten this. All the more honor to a new American, Albert Einstein, for reminding us that we have a duty not to cooperate with the book-burners.

One fine summer day a person who said he was Roy Cohn of the Senate Investigating (McCarthy) Committee, telephoned me to announce that I was summoned to appear. My crime: I had written books which, this voice said, had appeared in overseas libraries of the State Department. Later I received telegrams from a person teletyped as "Joe McCarthy" which "confirmed telephonic directions." (I hope I will be pardoned for referring to the gentleman as plain, simple "Joe." That is the way he signs himself.)

I was summoned to appear in Washington on "Tuesday, July 9." As this was an improbable date for 1953, I decided to pass it up. After Tuesday had come and gone, Joe was reported to have said that I was already "in contempt." Later he apparently revised his offhand opinion and issued the kind of subpoena which all other Congressional committees regard as the normal means for summoning witnesses.

As I was determined not to enter into a political discussion with Joe, my appearance before his committee was short and to the point. I said, in effect, "None of your business." My political affiliations, or lack of them, could be of no legitimate concern to him or his committee; that is, if our elected officials are in reality our servants and not our masters.

It is appalling that such an answer seems to be novel nowadays. Back in the 1600's in England, Catholic kings, and queens, hacked off Protestant heads, and Protestant kings, and queens, hacked off Catholic heads, because some stiff-necked people regarded their religion as their own business. Finally the English got around to agreeing that a man's religion is no business of the state. In the 1700's the agreement was extended to apply to a man's politics. This was accepted as good doctrine in the United States until a few years ago. Now it appears that we must fight to get back liberties conceded more than two centuries ago.

Of course the witch-hunters have been lurking around the corner from the earliest days. Usually the citizens had more guts than the witch-hunters. At times, however, the balance shifted, and the Joes got the upper hand. After World War I the Industrial Workers of the World put it this way: "Free speech—say anything you want to, but keep your mouth shut." Fortunately, for the wobblies this was mere irony; their free-speech fights are part of the great American tradition.

One has only to glance at labor history to see how far we have slipped. Workingmen back in the 1880's and 1890's expressed themselves with a freedom and vehemence that today, under the Smith act, would land them behind the stockades for twenty years. Gene Debs's frank speech is now astounding to a generation brought up on the desiccated pap of denatured opinion. The principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Bill of Rights, which seemed fresh only a scant thirty years ago, today are suspect as being if not outright subversive at least soft-headed. Jefferson is accused of being a sentimentalist.

IF THIS IS the Age of Cringe and Scatter, let us so pronounce it. Let us time-life-fortune the Bill of Rights into the sickly wisdom of 1953; let "free enterprise" be boldly proclaimed as the ultimate in Americanism; let the Nevinses rewrite our history so that John D. Rockefeller may be exalted.

HARVEY O'CONNOR, noted labor editor and journalist, is the author of "Mellon's Millions," "The Astors," and other books.

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I for one refuse to believe that freedom must vanish. To paraphrase Lincoln, it is possible to scare some of the people all the time and all the people some of the time; but the current hysteria will pass, and people will marvel that so many hapless witches could have been burned for so little reason.

Take, for example, a current case. The State Department obtains the books of an author for its overseas libraries. The assumption is that royalties on these volumes are paid to the author. The further assumption, by McCarthy, is that a portion of these royalties is paid by the author to the "Communist conspiracy." Ergo.

It can be, as in my case, that no royalties whatsoever were received as a result of the State Department's acquisition of the author's books. It can be, as in my case, that none of the non-existent royalties were paid to the "Communist conspiracy." Nevertheless, one can be haled before the McCarthy committee to answer an idiotic line of questioning based on these assumptions and winding up with the clincher: When you wrote these books bought by "the old Acheson State Department" were you a member of the "Communist conspiracy"?—whatever that may be, as defined by McCarthy.

IN OTHER TIMES it might have been a matter of pride to a writer that his books were selected by his country for overseas libraries, as an exhibit of the American way of life. But today, if Joe sees fit, this choice may be the author's open sesame to the federal penitentiary.

The excuse for this outrage is that Joe's committee is empowered to inspect the economy and efficiency with which the government's money is expended. With the budget running around eighty billion dollars a year, there may well be quite a bit of legitimate business awaiting a committee on government expenditures. Instead, Joe concerns himself with non-existent royalties on books and the non-existent percentage of these non-existent royalties paid to the "Communist conspiracy."

The medieval schoolmen are said to have indulged in similar feats of logic-chopping; one such debate on a pinhead involved the standing room of angels. Joe's involves human beings, and happy is Joe if the writer on *his* pinhead loses his contracts, loses his publisher, starves a while, and also spends some time in the hoosegow. That will teach him to write books and to assert his simple rights as a citizen.

McCarthy, of course, is not too much concerned about writers, preachers, and other purveyors of opinion. He is busy fighting the future. If he can keep us occupied fighting for freedoms imbedded in the Constitution 160 years ago, he can keep us from examining the cause and cure of the crisis of our own times. Thus he can keep us from inspecting the rotting foundations of a system which acts as if it sees its perpetuation only through war—and the destruction of the human species.

McCarthy is busy at the moment befouling one of the finest periods of our history—the Roosevelt thirties, when people awoke with hope that they could do something to better their lot. The people's faith in their own capacity and in their own leaders must be rooted out. Then only the McCarthys will be left as leaders.

That is the real meaning of this calculated campaign of confounded and confounding idiocy. The people must stand bemused and paralyzed.

McCarthy will fail, as other demagogues have failed, if enough of us refuse to be bemused and paralyzed. If a wretched governmental bureaucrat of the McCarthy type presumes to ask us our politics, it is fitting and proper to tell him to mind his own business. If the penalty for contempt of such demagogues and loyalty to the Bill of Rights is one to twelve months in the penitentiary, then when was the chance to fight for freedom ever offered so cheaply?

YOU don't have to wait 'til you are subpoened to say "No" to Senator McCarthy. By rising to the support of Harvey O'Connor you can help to stop the inquisition. NOW is the time for unified resistance to tyranny !

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee needs your help in working for the O'Connor defense. Send us suggestions and contributions.

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

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IT'S YOUR WASHINGTON

by Willard Shelton

ONE OF THE LESSONS to learn here is to avoid labeling congressmen in rigid categories. The latest example involves Sen. Walter F. George (D., Ga.), who tossed a time bomb into Republican ranks by proposing higher personal exemptions for low-paid people burdened with income taxes.

The Eisenhower corporation presidents and Wall St. lawyers didn't think Sen. George would do this to them. *They were planning tax "relief" solely for corporations and stockholders of corporations.*

Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to "purge" George from the Senate in the Democratic primary of 1938.

He isn't a liberal in any contemporary American sense of the word. He doesn't do anything to control Gov. Talmadge of his state, who is planning to secede from the public school system if the Supreme Court rules against race segregation. *His votes on various issues could not possibly have displeased Coca-Cola and the Georgia Power Co., two important business influences in his state.*

Yet suddenly he proposes that personal tax exemptions be raised from $600 to $800 this year and to $1000 in 1955. He would give tax "relief" to the vast majority of wage earners and small-salaried people rather than just to corporations and stockholders.

A sudden attack of unexpected liberalism? A feeling, developed in a lifetime in public office, that the people have rights that deserve respect? A belated discovery that the American system requires widespread purchasing power, and that it isn't good even for business for all tax "relief" to go to a handful of toppaid people?

Whatever the reason, George's outstanding reputation as a conservative makes his suggestion all the more difficult for the Republicans to resist. His influence makes his ideas mean more than similar proposals filed by almost any other senator you could name.

In short, it looks as if Walter F. George, conservative, is about to do the people a favor.

Trouble

The Wall Street Journal says the business dip worries GOP officials more than they are admitting.

Trouble is, they believe the Republican party is the party of depression.

—PAC Pipeline

★

Example Of The 'Big Lie'

Here is the way a "big lie" gets established—in this case the big lie to the effect that the term "McCarthyism" was invented by subversives, Communists and people loosely associated by accusation with subversives or Communists.

The China Lobby character, Alfred Kohlberg, in a magazine article claimed that Owen Lattimore first used the word "McCarthyism" on May 3, 1950, and that the Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, picked it up next day.

A letter printed in the *New York Times* on Jan. 21 said that the term was "first provided" by Lattimore on May 3, 1950, and echoed on May 4 by the *Daily Worker*.

The only things wrong with this tale are: (1) Lattimore's alleged "invention" of the word is meaningless, because Lattimore up to now is simply a scholarly victim of McCarthy and Sen. McCarran, indicted for perjury but convicted of nothing; (2) the dates and alleged facts are wrong.

Max Lerner, a very definite non-Communist, says in the *New York Post* that he used the term "McCarthyism" on Apr. 5, 1950. The word was used in the Apr. 17, 1950, edition of the New Republic, a non-Communist magazine. *I shouldn't be surprised if I myself, along about April of 1950, after McCarthy had revealed his style of operation, wrote something about "McCarthyism." I was thinking it, whether or not I got the word into print.*

It will be interesting, in the American struggle with the "big lie" technique, to see how often Kohlberg's phony magazine "facts" and the lying letter to the *New York Times* are reprinted and quoted as "documented" evidence that nobody but a Communist refers to McCarthyism as a peculiar type of political terrorism including both exaggeration and blackmail.

★

The State Of The Capital

A Negro named Paul Phillips turned down a high-ranking job in the Eisenhower Administration because he couldn't tolerate the racial discrimination rampant in this enlightened capital of our democracy.

Phillips runs the Urban League in Grand Rapids, Mich. He was offered appointment as special assistant in Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby's Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare. *(Mrs. Hobby is a Texan, and it isn't sure how much she has learned in her post, but she offered Phillips the job.)*

Phillips courteously refused, citing as one reason "evident progress, though slow" in his Grand Rapids responsibilities. Then he added a "very personal" reason.

In the opinion of his wife and himself, "it would be unfair and unwise to ask my family, and especially our 7-year-old son, to live in and attempt to adjust to the rigid pattern of racial segregation that exists in Washington."

A Fighting Irishman—

O'Connor Challenges McCarthy On Free Speech Fundamentals

By RAY DAVIDSON

(Editor of International Oil Worker, OWIU-CIO official publication.)

WHEN JOE McCARTHY hailed Harvey O'Connor before his Senate investigating committee last summer, he started a fight which may very well wind up with the Senator on the mat.

O'Connor, former publicity director for the CIO Oil Workers and veteran labor writer, refused to answer any of the Senator's questions on the grounds that such questioning by a Congressional committee constituted an abridgment of freedom of the press and speech, as guaranteed by the First Amendment. *O'Connor pointedly declined, although invited by McCarthy, to take refuge in the Fifth Amendment.*

As a result of his defiance, O'Connor was cited for contempt of Congress by a Senate resolution and later was indicted by a Washington federal grand jury.

O'Connor did not take this lying down. He immediately set out, largely at his own expense, to tell as many people as possible about the dispute between him and McCarthy.

Since being indicted, O'Connor has spoken to scores of college, church, labor, civil liberties and luncheon club meetings.

He Tells His Own Story

For a while he confined these appearances to the East Coast area relatively near his home in Little Compton, R. I. But late in January he started a grueling tour of western states, starting in Chicago and continuing to Denver, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles, San Francisco; Austin, Fort Worth and Dallas, Texas; and Kansas City.

In each city he is speaking before any and every group which will listen—and it is surprising which group sometimes listens! In Denver, for example, he appeared before half a dozen organization meetings, but apparently his most effective speech was at a regular luncheon meeting of the Capital Kiwanis Club.

His remarks there were put on tape and rebroadcast at an early evening hour by one of the city's leading radio stations. Four other radio stations granted him free time for interview programs—and that all happened after Robert E. Lee was confirmed for FCC!

The publisher of The Denver Post, a newspaper with tremenduous influence in several mountain states, listened to O'Connor's talk, conversed with him personally, then went back to his office and told the editor of the Post editorial page to do a job. Next day's Post carried an editorial which unqualifiedly praised O'Connor for his one-man crusade to test the First Amendment.

Fundamental Freedoms

O'Connor bases his entire plea on fundamentals of the Bill of Rights. He declines to argue fine legal points, saying, *"That's for the lawyers and the courts to work out. I'm for standing for what I believe and I don't have to ask a lawyer what I should believe."*

In a voice sometimes shaking with rage but always dignified, O'Connor asserts again and again that *"it's none of Congress' opinion what my political beliefs are."* Then he always adds, *"But I'm always willing to tell any friendly questioner that I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist party.*

"It's a bit humiliating even to have to say that," he adds wistfully. I've been a writer for 40 years, most of that time writing on subjects involving politics. How in the world could I have concealed my politics in the millions of words I have written?"

FIGHTING for American civil liberties against a Senate contempt citation is Harvey O'Connor (right), former publicity director for the CIO Oil Workers, chatting with OWIU-CIO Executive Council Member M. Phyl Poulson in Salt Lake City on a lecture tour.

O'Connor believes that the greatest threat to American civil freedom today is the behavior, not of the wicked, but of the innocent, and and the fearful.

"The Bible says that the wicked flee where no man pursueth," says O'Connor. "But now we have the strange situation in which the fearful, and the innocent, flee where no man pursueth."

His theme is that more and more everyday citizens should resist the improper and intimidating tactics of congressional investigators.

A Minor Victory Already

"If I'm finally found guilty of contempt," he notes, "my prison sentence will be a minimum of one month or a maximum of 12 months. When was freedom ever bought so cheaply?"

O'Connor believes he already has been instrumental in winning a minor victory against McCarthy. Since he refused to testify on First Amendment grounds, two other witnesses before McCarthy have refused on the same grounds.

Of course the ever-recurring question O'Connor meets in his travel is: "Why were you called before the committee." In answer, O'Connor quotes from the official transcript of the hearing, in which McCarthy says:

"Mr. O'Connor. you have been subpoenaed here today to answer questions in regard to the writings which were purchased by the old Acheson State Dept." McCarthy refers to several books, including an official history of the Oil Workers Intl. Union (CIO) which were found in overseas State Dept. libraries.

So, says O'Connor, his crime is that the State Dept., when Dean Acheson was secretary, chose to buy some of his books. O'Connor had nothing to do with their selection—and they must have been bought second-hand, because all of them except the history have been sold out by the publishers since 1945. The Oil Workers published the history and have checked their files to see if the State Dept. bought any. They have found no record, although there were several sales to book dealers who could have been acting as agents for the State Dept.

"My crime," says O'Connor, "was that the 'Old Acheson State Dept.' bought some of my books. I'm just a pawn in McCarthy's attempts to smear Acheson. But now he's making remarks about the 'Old Dulles State Dept.' and I predict that within a year he will be saying that Eisenhower sold out East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia to the Red Army in 1945.

"He's destroying the confidence of the American people in the Roosevelt Administration, the Truman Administration and now in the Eisenhower Administration. The Kremlin must be laughing with glee. *What better service could be rendered to the Communists than to destroy the confidence of the people in our government—regardless of which political party is in power!"*

O'Connor Praised For 'One-Man Stand'

A Denver Post editorial praised Harvey O'Connor's "courageous one-man stand for American civil liberties," taken when he declined to answer Sen. McCarthy's queries on First (free speech and press) Amendment grounds.

"It is an important case that could effect any American citizen," the editorial said.

"O'Connor may lose, and he knows it. But he is ready to serve a jail sentence if he loses, and he figures even so it is worth the fight for a matter of principle.

"You've got to admire a man with such strength of conviction. Not many of us either would or could make such a stand for the sake of what we believe in."

LEGISLATIVE ISSUES were explained to URW-CIO training institute by Rep. Johnson (D. Wisc.), speaking, as (left to right) Pres. Magne Repaal of Eau Claire local, who campaigned for him, and Rep. Hays (D. O.) listen.

PUBLIC POWER giveaway was discussed by Leland Olds, former Federal Power Commission chairman now with Public Affairs Institute, at a luncheon meeting. These sessions of institutes brought 75 URW members to Washington for intensive briefing on national issues by congressmen, senators and CIO staff members.

'GOP Is Still Operating As Opposition,' Holifield Tells URW Legislative Institute

THE REPUBLICANS have not learned in 20 years of opposition how to be a constructive force for the common good, Rep. Holifield (D. Calif.) told a CIO Rubber Workers legislative training institute in Washington last week.

"Instead of proposing a positive program of their own," he said, "they are still the Republican opposition. They are still criticizing the New Deal and the Fair Deal. They are still complaining about the Truman Administration instead of proving that anything can be done in the Eisenhower Administration."

The URW-CIO held three consecutive institutes in the national capital to familiarize members from all parts of the country with major legislation and policy developments. Each drew about 25 members to four-day sessions with programs arranged by URW Sec.-Treas. Desmond Walker and Education Dir. Joe Glazer. The "students" visited, conferred and dined with congressmen.

Don't Be Fooled

Holifield spoke to the second group, which included URW members from 11 states. The workers also met with Sens. Neely (W. Va.), Murray and Mansfield (Mont.), Kennedy (Mass.), Burke (O.) and Kefauver (Tenn.), all Democrats.

The California Democrat warned his URW audience not to be "fooled" by Pres. Eisenhower's messages and statements, because he "is not running the Eisenhower Administration."

"Tom Dewey and Herbert Brownell and a few others are running the show downtown," he declared. "Who is calling the signals for the Republican team on Capitol Hill is anybody's guess, but you can be sure of one thing. It isn't Gen. Eisenhower."

He declared Eisenhower cannot escape responsibility for the smearing of the Democrats by some of the top Administration figures, and asserted *"Deweyism is only McCarthyism in spats."*

Holifield said that "in greater or lesser degree the whole apparatus of the federal government is being organized for Republican advantage." He urged the "students" to take back to their members "a crusading conviction that will prod them into intelligent political action in the forthcoming elections."

Others heard or visited by the URW delegates included Sens. Lehman and Sparkman (D. Ala.); Reps. Johnson (D. Wisc.), Rogers (D. Colo.), Metcalf (D. Mont.) and Canfield (R. N.J.); Merton Bernstein, administrative assistant to Sen. Morse (Ind. Ore.); Esther Murray of the CIO-PAC and H. H. Bookbinder, director of National CIO legislative research.

MUSIC by URW Education Dir. Joe Glazer charms Paul Herbin (left), labor advisor of French Embassy, and Sen. Lehman (D. N. Y.) during one of the lighter moments that relaxed the hard-working "students."

THE LOW-DOWN: Rep. Hays (D. O.) gives it to three members of URW Local 26, Cumberland, Md., in one of many conferences between legislators and workers. Hays (left) spells it out in detail as (left to right) G. S. Dunlap, G. B. Young and Ralph S. Beard listen attentively.

SIX "STUDENTS" from six states meet with Rep. Rogers (D. Colo.). Seated (l. to r.) are Nick Bullinger, Denver; Rogers; G. S. Dunlap, Cumberland, Md.; standing, Lorinza Fly, Memphis; John Sterling, Naugatuck, Conn.; James Lewis, Los Angeles; D. L. Starnes, Mansfield, O.

3 STRI[redacted]

Issued by District Council 3
United Packinghouse Workers of America (CIO)

In This Issue

HARVEY O'CONNOR SAYS NO TO JOE

Pages 4 & 5

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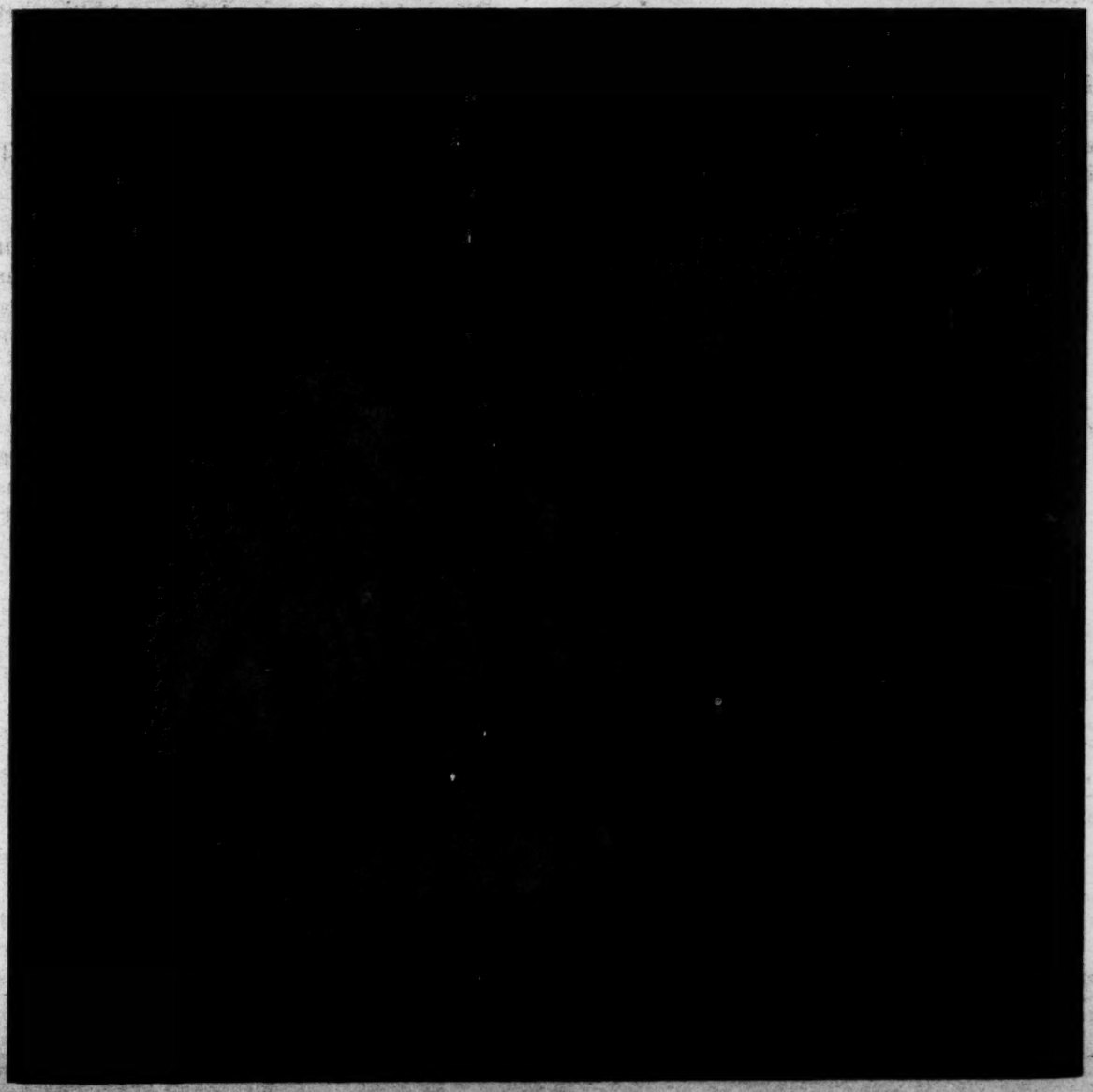
HARVEY O'CONNOR TO BE SPEAKER AT CONVENTION



Harvey O'Connor

Confirm Beeson for NLRB

SENATORS IN DISTRICT THREE VOTE AGAINST LABOR 4 TO 2

Senators in the three states covered by District Council Three, UPWA, are four to two against labor.

The proof of that statement it contained in their votes on the appointment of Albert C. Beeson, self-styled "union-wrecker" to the National Labor Relations Board.

Beeson was confirmed by the Senate and the labor movement in America suffered another defeat.

Here's what Senator Fullbright of Arkansas had to say about Beeson:

"I cannot agree that he (Beeson) has displayed the qualifications that should befit a candidate for an office of his public trust . . . I do know that he concealed from the Senate information which was vital to its consideration of his nomination . . .

"Here is a man who said he had resigned when he had not resigned.

"Here is a man who said he had surrendered his pension rights when he had not surrendered his pension rights.

"Here is a man who denied that he had made certain statements when he had made certain statements."

In other words, Beeson is a liar. Beeson lied when he said that he had resigned from the Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation.

He lied when he said he had given up his pension rights.

And he lied when he denied having said these things.

"Not only did Beeson deliberately lie to the Senate Labor and Education Committee, but he admitted that he is a "union-wrecker."

In spite of these facts, the Senate voted (45 to 42) to confirm Beeson's nomination.

Beeson's confirmation now gives the anti-labor forces a four-to-one majority on the National Labor Relations Board. Reactionary Beeson can now team up with Guy Farmer, Ivan H. Peterson, and Philip Ray Rodgers to throttle organized labor in the United States.

In District Council Three, four reactionary senators voted for Beeson's confirmation, thus telling organized labor that they have no respect for its wishes.

Here's how the vote went:

COLORADO:

Milliken voted for Beeson.
Johnson voted against Beeson.

IOWA:

Hickenlooper voted for Beeson.
Gillette voted against Beeson.

NEBRASKA:

Griswold voted for Beeson.
Butler was paired for Beeson.

DISTRICT 3 blade

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Said No to Joe

HARVEY O'CONNOR WILL SPEAK AT DISTRICT CONVENTION

The headline speaker for the 8th annual convention of District Council Three of the United Packinghouse Workers of America will be Harvey O'Connor.

O'Connor, who has been indicted for contempt of the Senate, will speak at the convention banquet on the night of March 11 (Thursday). He will be introduced by President Ralph Helstein.

He'll tell about his appearance before the McCarthy subcommittee which cited him for contempt (see O'Connor's testimony on pages 4 and 5).

O'Connor—a former editor of the Oil Workers International newspaper—deliberately invited McCarthy to cite him for contempt. He forthrightly challenged the right of McCarthy's subcommittee to pry into his private affairs.

As the testimony on pages 4 and 5 shows, O'Connor did not plead the right against self-incrimination. Instead, he told McCarthy that McCarthy had no business asking him the $64 question.

McCarthy told O'Connor that the subcommittee was investigating O'Connor's books which were distributed overseas through the State Department.

After refusing to cooperate with McCarthy's subcommittee, O'Connor went back to Providence, R. I., and said to newspaper reporters: "I am not a communist. I have never been a communist. I am perfectly willing to tell anyone how I stand except on demand from such a legislative group. They have no right to inquire into my politics."

He said that, as a voter, he has a right to know the politics of his inquisitors. "It is they who are running for office. I'm not."

If O'Connor wins in his fight against McCarthy, McCarthy will be considerably hamstrung. If O'Connor loses, however, McCarthy will have received the support of the courts in his fight against freedom.

O'Connor has received considerable labor support in his fight. The CIO's "Latin Affairs Bulletin" featured O'Connor's story prominently with a striking cartoon. Sympathetic stories have been published in the CIO News, The Advance (Amalgamated Clothing Workers newspaper) and The Packinghouse Worker. He has also received the support of his own international union, the Oil Workers.

Who Is O'Connor?

Harvey O'Connor was born on March 29, 1897, in Minneapolis, Minn., and attended schools in St. Paul, Minn., and Tacoma, Wash.

After working in the logging camps of the Pacific Northwest and serving in the U. S. Merchant Marine during World War I, he became labor editor of the Seattle Union Record, the nation's first trade union daily, 1919-1924. He was assistant editor of the Journal of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in Cleveland, O., 1924-1927; eastern bureau manager of Federated Press, the labor news service, 1927-1930; and editor and publicity director of the Oil Workers International Union-CIO, 1945-1948, of which he is still a member.

His books include: Mellon's Millions, John Day, 1933; Steel-Dictator, John Day, 1935; The Guggenheims, Covici-Friede, 1937; The Astors, Knopf, 1941; History of the Oil Workers International Union, 1950.

He lives in Little Compton, R. I., where he is finishing a book on current trends in the oil industry.

In 1930 O'Connor married Jessie Lloyd; they have two children, Stephen, 13, and Kathleen, 11.

While a resident of Chicago, 1937-1945, O'Connor was chairman of the education committee of the City Club and a member of its board of governors; member of the board of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee (American Civil Liberties Union branch); chairman of the residents' committee, Hull-House; member of the Unitarian Church (Evanston and the Third Church); co-editor of the book, Civil Liberties in Illinois.

In Fort Worth, Texas, where he served as publicity director for the Oil Workers International Union, he was president of the Tarrant County Industrial Union Council-CIO, chairman of the Tarrant County labor legislative council, and a founder of the Fort Worth Unitarian Church.

'No Legitimate Concern'

Here's O'Connor's Testimony

(The actors in this drama are Senator Joseph McCarthy, Roy M. Cohn, who is McCarthy's assistant, and Harvey O'Connor. The drama took place in room 318 of the Senate Office Building on July 14, 1953.)

McCARTHY: Mr. O'Connor, you have been subpoenaed here today to answer questions in regard to the writings which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department. Before we ask you any questions, may I ask:

Mr. Cohn, has it been established and confirmed by the State Department that Mr. O'Connor's writings have been purchased and have been distributed in various information centers throughout the world?

COHN: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

McCARTHY: Then, Mr. O'Connor, we will ask you this question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old State Department, were you then a member of the Communist Party?

O'CONNOR: Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement?

McCARTHY: No. You will answer the question.

O'CONNOR: About my objection to the jurisdiction of this committee?

McCARTHY: Yes; you may make a statement on that.

O'CONNOR: Thank you.

Under the first amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

McCARTHY: Will you get nearer to the microphone, Mr. O'Connor, so that we can hear you?

O'CONNOR: My second point would be that this committee has no right to inquire into my writings, under the point of the constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in that regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in overseas libraries, and most certainly I had nothing whatever to do with their selection there.

In the third place, I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writing or my political views.

McCARTHY: Just for your information, Mr. O'Connor, we are not concerned with any political views of yours. We would not be concerned about your writings. You are entitled to write whatever you care to write. Any American or anyone else is entitled to purchase your books, your writings. You are here this morning because your writings were purchased by the old Acheson State Department, distributed throughout the world, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting communism. Now, when the taxpayers pay for your books, when the royalties of your books, paid by the taxpayer, go into Communist coffers, then this committee is concerned with that. For that reason, I again ask you the question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased with taxpayers' money and put in our information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

O'CONNOR: I object to the question on the three grounds I have already stated.

Before McCarthy Committee

McCARTHY: You can object. Now you will answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you.

O'CONNOR: I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me.

McCARTHY: Then you are ordered to answer.

O'CONNOR: I have already answered.

McCARTHY: I apparently did not hear your answer then.

You are ordered to answer whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party.

O'CONNOR: On the three grounds I have stated, I have declined to answer.

McCARTHY: Let us have the record clear, so that we will know what you have declined to answer. I will repeat the question. At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department and distributed in our information centers, were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

O'CONNOR: My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of ths committee.

McCARTHY: Do you refuse to answer?

O'CONNOR: Apparently.

McCARTHY: Not "apparently." Do you refuse to answer?

O'CONNOR: I refuse to answer.

McCARTHY: You are not refusing on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

O'CONNOR: I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination.

McCARTHY: You are not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination. All right. You may step down.

Incidentally, I think Senator Mundt wishes that a meeting of the subcommittee be called to have this man immediately cited for contempt. I will call a meeting of the subcommittee at the earliest convenience for that purpose.

Your other witness, Mr. Cohn?

"Feel Free To Write Whatever You Want"

UNION CO-OPS DEFEAT HIGH LIVING COSTS

How does a union improve standards of living for its members?

By fighting for higher wages and better working conditions. That's the first program that any union starts out with to help its members.

But there are other ways, too. One way is to help union members cut down on living costs—through cooperatives.

What's A Cooperative..

A cooperative is a group of people who cooperate. They cooperate in supplying their own needs by setting up an organization to tend to those needs.

Cooperatives—like unions—are people. People organize cooperatives to eliminate excessive profits and to furnish themselves with certain needs at a cheaper cost.

Instead of buying consumer goods from a corporation, some unions have decided to buy these goods from coopeatives—their own organization.

Some Examples

Here are some examples of what local unions and union councils are doing to help their members:

UAW local unions in Anderson, Mich., have a cooperative coal yard where members buy fuel at a reduced cost.

In Detroit, some unions have set up an oil and coal cooperative.

The Motor City Co-op in Detroit sells all kinds of appliances, including such things as lamps and electric devices. This Co-Op even sells candlesticks and fruit bowls.

Low-cost glasses are available at the UAW Health Institute in Detroit for all UAW family members of 16 years of age or more. The glasses are cheaper (and better) than anywhere else in the city.

In Chicago, some local unions have organized a cooperative optical service.

In the Washington, D. C., area, other unions have organized Co-Op pharmacies to help members save money when buying expensive drugs.

Even Funerals

In Detroit, a group of families were surveyed to find out how much it cost them for funerals for family members. The average cost was more than $1,100.

The union that made the survey decided that too much profiteering was being allowed to exist in the funeral business. So they organized a Union Co-op Burial Service.

A survey of 25 consecutive funerals for members of this Co-Op showed that the average cost was $869. Here was a saving of more than $700.

Unions who have investigated the funeral business have found out that funeral costs come to "what the traffic can bear."

The cost of the casket determines the cost of a funeral. Select a bronze casket (which costs the undertaker $400) and you have to pay about $1,800.

Select a $50 casket and the same funeral services will come to somewhere between $400 and $700.

Take Out the Profits

What does all this mean? It means that you can take the excessive profits out of some services, retain the same kind of service and still have savings for your membership.

The way to beat the high cost of living—and dying—is to take out the profits through cooperatives.

"NO DREAM"

Program Notes

WHAT'S GOING ON IN DISTRICT NO. 3

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Progress on the Surf Ballroom appeal case (reported in the last issue in full) is being hurried along. The Iowa Civil Liberties Union is making an appeal to its members for financial support for the case. Other groups cooperating in the case report that funds to fight the appeal are coming in. The Iowa National Association for the advancement of Colored People has agreed to help fight the appeal and has named Archie Greenlee, Des Moines attorney and president of the Des Moines NAACP chapter, as a member of the defense fund committee. The case is expected to come to the court either in May or October of this year.

* * *

Locals 7 and 89 in Des Moines have rallied enough community-wide support in favor of an FEPC ordinance to present the ordinance to the Des Moines city council. The community-wide group planned to present the ordinance to the council on March 1st.

* * *

Four Omaha locals report progress on the community-wide attempt to get an FEPC ordinance passed in Omaha. The third in a series of community-wide dinners was held February 18 in the Omaha YMCA. The dinner was sponsored by the Omaha Council for Equal Job Opportunities. About 125 persons attended the last dinner.

* * *

The joint A-D committees of three Denver locals sent out a letter to 35 individuals and groups asking their support in fighting for an FEPC ordinance for the city of Denver. The Denver locals are seeking community-wide support in their fight for FEPC.

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Betty Keefe, Women's Activities chairman of Local 46 in Waterloo, and Field Representative Haxell Hull, report that activity on behalf of child day-care centers in Waterloo is beginning to take shape. They were invited to attend a meeting of the heads of all social agencies in Waterloo and explain the need for day-care centers in Waterloo. As a result of that meeting, the social agency heads agreed to take a survey among the women who work at Rath Packing Company about the needs for a day-care center. The company has agreed to cooperate in taking the survey.

* * *

FARM-LABOR:

Local 1 leaders in Ottumwa scheduled a meeting of farmers and workers who live in the Ottumwa area. The meeting was scheduled for March 1st. Local leaders asked Duke Norberg, liberal newspaper editor, to lead a discussion on the common problems of farmers and workers. Local 1 leaders hope that this meeting will lead to a joint farmer-worker organization being formed in the area.

* * *

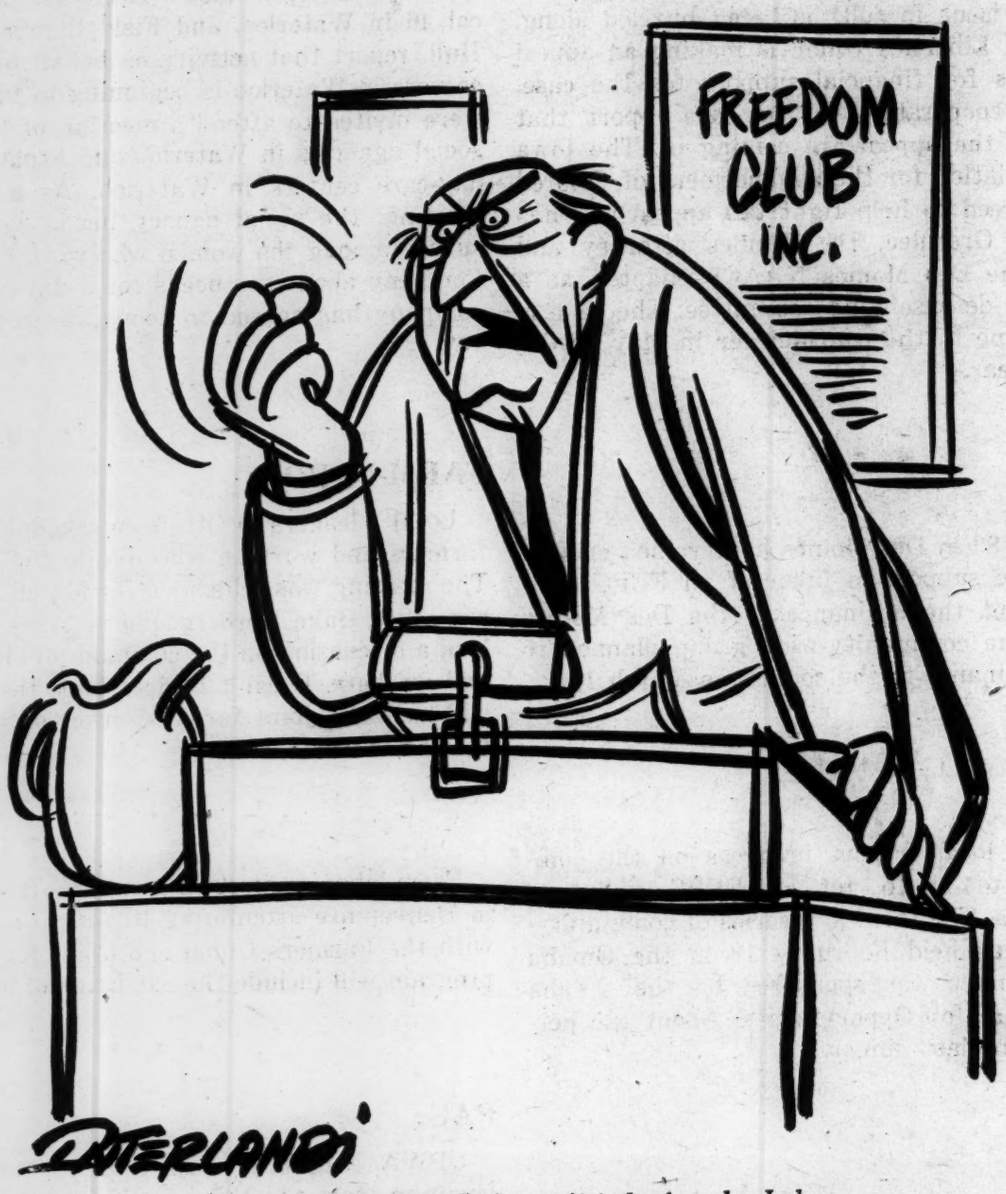
Farm-labor committee members from local unions in Denver are attempting to set up a joint program with the Farmers Union and other farm groups. The program will include the exchange of speakers.

* * *

PAC:

UPWA and other CIO local unions in Iowa are about to start the third in their series of classes on PAC. CIO members are volunteering to run for the jobs of precinct committeemen and precinct committeewomen in the political parties in Iowa. Iowa CIO members expect to have a voice in the formation of party policy this year.

3
Issued by District Council 3
United Packinghouse Workers of America



" . . . and if the people don't wan't to be free, by Judas, we'll force 'em to be free."

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

Boletín
LATINO AMERICANO DEL CIO
DICIEMBRE 1953 — ENERO 1954

HACIENDO HISTORIA DE PUEBLO A PUEBLO

Conferencia Internacional de Sindicatos Mexicanos y Estadounidenses Convocada por O.R.I.T.
Diciembre 14-16, 1953

ESTABLECIENDO un precedente en las relaciones entre el pueblo mexicano y el de los Estados Unidos, se celebró en Ciudad México una conferencia sindical convocada por la ORIT para discutir los problemas de interés común para los trabajadores de ambos países y a la que asistieron delegados del CIO, la FAT y la Unión de Mineros de los Estados Unidos; la Confederación de Trabajadores de México-CTM, el Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas, el Sindicato de Telefonistas, la Confederación General de Trabajadores, el Sindicato de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros, la Confederación Nacional Campesina y el Sindicato de Trabajadores Petroleros-CTM, de la República de México.

La conferencia estuvo presidida por el comp. Fidel Velázquez, Secretario General de la CTM y las discusiones fueron divididas en dos temas principales: el problema de los braceros y las relaciones industriales. El comp. O. A. Knight, Presidente de los Trabajadores del Petróleo-CIO, presidió la comisión de relaciones industriales.

En la convocatoria a la conferencia realizada por la O.R.I.T., trabajaron activamente el Comité de Asuntos Latinoamericanos del CIO y el Secretario Ejecutivo comp. Ernst Schwarz.

No obstante la propaganda negativa de comunistas y peronistas en cuanto a que todos los "gringos" son imperialistas y a que no es posible que trabajadores norteamericanos y latinoamericanos puedan discutir sus problemas comunes en un ambiente de camaradería, respeto y cooperación, la conferencia resultó un éxito mucho más rotundo de lo que habíamos anticipado. En un ambiente de armonía perfecta, la ORIT, bajo la direc-

PRESIDENCIA DE LA CONFERENCIA

(De izq. a dere.)

Luis A. Monge, Secretario de ORIT; Fidel Veláquez, Secretario General de la CTM y Presidente de la Conferencia; Alfonso Sánchez Madariaga, de la CTM y Secretario Adjunto de ORIT; Ernst Schwarz, Secretario Adjunto de ORIT y Secretario Ejecutivo del Comité de Asuntos Latinoamericanos del CIO.

ción del Secretario Luís Alberto Monge, logró dar el mayor paso de avance que se haya logrado en la cooperación de los movimientos obreros de ambos países en toda la existencia de los mismos.

La Conferencia abrió la ruta para el trabajo futuro con la creación de una Comisión Mixta Permanente formada por ocho (8) miembros de cada país para que continúen la labor iniciada. En la representación de los EE.UU. el CIO tendrá tres (3) miembros.

De acuerdo con las decisiones de la comisión que estudió el problema de los braceros mexicanos que emigran a los Estados Unidos, una representación de la delegación norteamericana visitó al Sr. Embajador de los EE.UU. en México para demandar que en las próximas negociaciones entre los gobiernos de México y de EE.UU. en el problema de los braceros se permitiese la asistencia de representantes obreros de ambos países como parte interesada directamente en el asunto. El Embajador White rehusó aceptar el punto de vista de los trabajadores, lo que motivó el envío del telegrama siguiente a los presidentes del CIO, de la FAT, de la Unión de Mineros y de la Hermandad de Empleados de Vías y Obras:

Acordamos por unanimidad en la Conferencia de Ciudad México con relación a los trabajadores migratorios que tanto las uniones mexicanas como las de EE.UU. deben estar representadas en las negociaciones futuras para la renovación del convenio de EE.UU. y México que ampara la importación a EE.UU. de trabajadores mexicanos.

Habiendo fracasado las solicitudes anteriores ante el Departamento del Trabajo, un comité de delegados de EE.UU. visitó hoy al Embajador White y de nuevo se les negó representación o consultarlos en las discusiones del convenio.

Urgimos una demanda inmediata por parte de los los jefes de nuestras organizaciones al Departamento de Estado y si fuese necesario al Presidente Eisenhower de que los trabajadores participen en la redacción de un convenio de tan vital importancia para ellos y para el público norteamericano. Existen perspectivas de que la administración mexicana verá con simpatía esta demanda por parte de las organizaciones obreras mexicanas.

John Riffe, Congresso de Organizaciones Industriales
Serafino Romualdi, Federación Americana de Trabajo
Paul K. Reed, Mineros Unidos de America
Frank L. Noakes, Hermandad de Empleados de Vías y Obras.

No queda lugar a dudas de que como paso inicial, la Conferencia de México ha sido un éxito sin precedentes. La comprensión mutua alcanzada por los dirigentes obreros de ambos países tendrá su expresión en el estudio de los problemas comunes y ha quedado testimoniada en los acuerdos tomados con vista a las tareas inmediatas y los cuales publicaremos en nuestro próximo número con información detallada de los puntos abordados y las actividades futuras.

RESOLUCION SOBRE LA AMERICA LATINA

A través de su Comité de Asuntos Latinoamericanos el CIO continuará sus esfuerzos por ayudar los intereses sociales, económicos y políticos de los trabajadores de la América Latina. Nos oponemos incondicionalmente a los regímenes dictatoriales de la Argentina y de otros países en el hemisferio.

El CIO cree firmemente en la política de nuestro gobierno de fortalecer el poderío militar de los estados americanos contra la amenaza de la agresión comunista soviética, pero protestamos que en nuestros programas de ayuda económica extranjera no se sitúen suficientes fondos para fines económicos en las Américas. Tampoco se hace lo suficiente por ayudar a elevar las bajas condiciones sociales y económicas de nuestros compañeros en la América Latina, campo propicio para el crecimiento de las ideas totalitarias.

En un número de países los dictadores peronistas han formado una alianza hereje con los comunistas soviéticos en un ataque conjunto a la democracia y a la libertad. Prometemos nuestro apoyo a las organizaciones obreras libres de la América Latina en su valiente lucha contra todas forma de tiranía. Llamamos a nuestro gobierno para que comprenda que no se puede lograr ningún verdadero fortalecimiento del mundo libre con el apaciguamiento de dichas fuerzas.

En la movilización económica para la defensa que ha asumido nuestra nación, se colocarán muchos pedidos en la América Latina. El CIO estima que en todos los

(Continúa en la página 10)

POR QUE NO CONTESTE A McCARTHY

Por Harvey O'Connor

El compañero O'Connor tiene una larga historia de actividad sindical. Nacido en Minneapolis el 29 de marzo de 1897, fué editor obrero del Seatle Union Record de 1919 a 1924, siende éste el primer periódico diario obrero en los Estados Unidos. Posteriormente fué editor adjunto del periódico de la Hermandad de Maquinistas de 1924 a 1927, director del bureau del Este de la Federated Press de 1927 a 1930 y editor y director de publicidad de la Unión Internacional de Trabajadores del Petróleo de 1945 al 1948.

La carrera literaria de O'Connor ha sido muy prolífera, entre sus obras se encuentran:

"Los Millones de Mellon"—John Day, 1933; "Dictador del Acero", John Day, 1933; "Los Guggenheims", Covici-Friede, 1937; "Los Astors", Knopf, 1941; "Historia de la Unión Internacional de Trabajadores del Petróleo", 1951; y ahora está trabajando en un libro sobre los actuales aspectos de la industria del petróleo en los EE.UU.

Resulta interesante mencionar, que entre los auspiciadores de McCarthy y el "McCarthysmo" se encuentran en primera fila los magnates del petróleo en este país. EL EDITOR.

EN los Estados Unidos existe el viejo principio de que las ideas políticas de un individuo, al igual que su religión, es asunto exclusivamente suyo. Si desea discutir de política con amigos o vecinos, eso es ya otra cosa; pero que un burócrata gubernamental imagine interrogar a un ciudadano sobre sus ideas políticas es una invasión de un principio democrático básico. Los funcionarios gubernamentales — ya sean miembros del Senado o de la Cámara de Representantes — son servidores del pueblo y no sus amos. Cuando se abrogan el poder de atisbar las mentes de los ciudadanos, la libertad está muerta.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

Esta es la controversia entre el Senador Joe McCarthy y yo. Amparado en su falsa cruzada anti-comunista ha asumido el derecho de indagar sobre mis ideas políticas. Le dije en el banquillo de los testigos que eso no era asunto suyo. Como resultado, se me acusó de desacato, fuí procesado y compareceré a juicio el día 11 de enero.

De la trancripción del testimonio por el cual he sido acusado por desacato, cito el siguiente pasaje:

"Ud. está quí hoy porque sus escritos fueron adquiridos por el viejo Departamento de Estado de Acheson y distribuídos a través del mundo ostensiblemente con el propósito de combatir el comunismo. Ahora, cuando el contribuyente paga sus libros, cuando las utilidades de sus libros, pagados por los contribuyentes, van a parar a los cofres comunistas, entonces este comité se preocupa por ello. Por esta razón, de nuevo le hago la pregunta: En la época en que Ud. escribió los libros que fueron comprados con dinero de los contribuyentes y colocados en nuestras bibliotecas de información a través del mundo, en esa época, ¿era Ud. miembro de la conspiración comunista?

La pregunta es capciosa de principio a fin. Expliquemos: El Departamento de Estado de los EE.UU. ha establecido bibliotecas en ultramar para que otros puedan ver por sí mismos lo que es la vida en los Estados Unidos, según es reflejada por los distintos escritores. Estos libros fueron seleccionados por un comité de la Asociación de Bibliotecas Americanas. Yo no tuve nada que ver con la selección de algunos ejemplares de mis libros; biografías de las familias Guggenheim y Astor y la historia de la Unión Internacional de Trabajadores del Petróleo. En realidad, ni sabía que hubiesen sido seleccionados hasta que fuí llevado ante el comité de McCarthy.

Durante años el Senador McCarthy ha mantenido una campaña para estigmatizar al "viejo Departamento de Estado de Acheson" como parte de la "conspiración comunista". Esta acusación pudiera parecer fantástica, pero no más que las idioteces realizadas por Hitler o cualquier otro fascista. Yo sólo fuí un peón en el sucio juego político de McCarthy.

McCarthy justifica su inquisición como dentro de las prerrogativas de su comité, que son supervisar el empleo de los fondos gubernamentales, afirmando que el Departamento de Estado había "comprado" ejemplares de mis libros. Como cuestión de hechos, el Departamento de Estado no compró ninguno de mis libros. La Unión de Trabajadores del Petróleo dió al Departamento ejemplares de la Historia; otros se obtuvieron de las existencias de libros de otras dependencias del gobierno como las mantenidas por las fuerzas armadas durante y después de la Guerra Mundial II. Por consiguiente, yo no recibí ningunas regalías por estas "compras" y en consecuencia, no podía haber contribuído ninguna de las regalías "no existentes" a los "cofres comunistas". El tejido de mentiras se deshace, pero todavía tengo que comparecer a juicio por rehusar contestar a un interrogatorio idiota.

McCarthy dijo que quería saber si yo era miembro de la "conspiración comunista"—cualquier cosa que sea lo que ello significa en sus razonamientos viciosos. ¿Por qué me preguntó a mí? El mantiene íntimas relaciones con J. Edgar Hoover, Jefe del Bureau Federal de Investigaciones (FBI). El FBI dice que tiene los nombres de todos los comunistas de los Estados Unidos. ¿Por qué no llamó por teléfono al Jefe Hoover y obtuvo una

respuesta que para él sería autorizada? ¿Para qué interrogar a la víctima?

Por supuesto, la pregunta de McCarthy era capciosa. Sólo le interesaba utilizarme como parte en su lucha contra el "viejo Departamento de Estada de Acheson." Yo rehusé ser parte en este pleito.

El objetivo de McCarthy es estigmatizar al ex-Presidente Franklin D. Roosevelt y al Nuevo Trato como "comunistas". Se propone destruir hasta el último vestigio de liberalismo en los Estados Unidos. Si tiene éxito en esto, los republicanos "centristas" dirigidos por el Presidente Eisenhower, serán su próximo objetivo. Ya está insinuando que estos republicanos no son mejores que los demócratas del Nuevo Trato. Si tiene éxito en barrer toda la oposición política, McCarthy y sus compinches quedarán como los 'fuehrers' sobre las ruinas de la democracia de los Estados Unidos. La libertad estará muerta y habrá un régimen fascista en el poder mediante el terror y la estigmatización.

Como ciudadano, estoy haciendo lo que puedo por detener a McCarthy en su marcha hacia el fascismo. Rehusé contestar sus preguntas de acuerdo con las garantías de la Enmienda I de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos que garantiza la libertad de palabra, de prensa y de consciencia. He desafiado la prerrogativa de su comité de atisbar en las mentes de las gentes.

La cuestión, por primera vez en años, está en manos de las cortes para decidir. Apelaremos al Tribunal Supremo de los EE.UU. si es necesario, para obtener una decisión sobre si un demagogo puede estigmatizar a un ciudadano y diseminar el terror a través del país.

La cuestión es trascendental. Del resultado de éste, y otros casos similares depende el futuro inmediato de la libertad en los Estados Unidos.

INFORME SOBRE AMERICA LATINA

(El informe que transcribimos a continuación fué presentado a la consideración de la Convención Anual del CIO que se celebró recientemente en Cleveland).

América Latina

Durante el año pasado, las fuerzas totalitarias representadas por los peronistas y los comunistas, han tratado de fortalecer su dominio de la opinión pública y han tratado de influenciar a un considerable sector de la población de la América Latina con su anti-americanismo.

Dictaduras militares o totalitarias se mantienen firmes en Argentina, Perú, Venezuela y la República Dominicana. Por otra parte, la democracia se ha mantenido en Uruguay, Costa Rica y México. El único cambio significativo habido — esta vez mejorando — parece haberse efectuado en Colombia, donde un golpe militar desplazó a una semi-dictadura y aparentemente ha allanado el camino hacia un aumento de la libertad. En Cuba, bajo la dictadura de Batista, el movimiento obrero ha permanecido relativamente sin ser molestado.

Actividad del CIO

Durante el año, el Comité de Asuntos Latinoamericanos funcionó bajo la dirección general del Presidente Potofsky. El secretario Ernst Schwarz realizó un extenso viaje entre diciembre de 1952 y enero de 1953 durante el cual visitó al Brasil, Uruguay, Panamá, México, Chile, Bolivia, Perú y Colombia. En todos estos países se reunió con los dirigentes obreros y tuvo la oportunidad de obtener un punto de vista de primera mano sobre las condiciones.

En el mes de julio de 1953, el Comité ayudó en una huelga de trabajadores del CIO de 13 semanas de duración en la gran planta de la American Sugar Refinery Co. en New Orleans. A solicitud del vice-Presidente Ejecutivo Riffe y del Presidente de la United Packinghouse Workers Helstein, el secretario Schwarz se comunicó con lo trabajadores azucareros, marítimos y ferro-

viarios de Cuba, así como con la poderosa Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba, poniéndolos en contacto con los huelguistas. Los compañeros cubanos detuvieron los embarques de azúcar crudo para la planta en huelga, lo que hizo que la compañía decidiera llegar a un acuerdo. Poco después, nuestros propios obreros azucareros, a solicitud de sus colegas cubanos, ayudaron en un conflicto entre los trabajadores y una compañía americana rehusando manipular ciertas marcas de azúcar producidas por dicha empresa y exportadas a los Estados Unidos para refinar.

El Comité siguió el desarrollo de los acontecimientos en Bolivia y mantuvo contacto continuo con las autoridades de los EE.UU. y con los dirigentes obreros bolivianos. En una conversación con John M. Cabot, Secretario de Estado Adjunto para Asuntos Interamericanos de los EE.UU., una delegación encabezada por el Presidente Potofsky pidió enérgicamente un acuerdo a largo plazo con Bolivia para la compra del estaño para permitir a dicho país y a su pueblo a sobrepasar la actual crisis y a obtener un futuro mejor.

Durante el año cooperamos con distintas misiones enviadas por los Trabajadores del Acero del CIO a Jamaica para ayudar a los trabajadores de allí a obtener mejores convenios con Alcoa y su sucursal canadiense Alcan que operan en dicha isla.

El Comité prestó su ayuda a la Federación de Obreros de la Carne del Uruguay en su lucha contra las empresas empacadoras británicas y norteamericanas que habían cerrado sus plantas y después de reabrirlas rehusaban reponer cientos de trabajadores, muchos de los cuales eran dirigentes de la unión.

La Conferencia de "El Paso"

Desde los primeros momentos el Comité cooperó con el Departamento de Organización del CIO en la preparación de la Conferencia de El Paso (Abril 14-15, 1953) entre el CIO y la Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM).

Las dos organizaciones establecieron los cimientos para un programa de colaboración de gran trascendencia y a largo plazo sobre los problemas de las áreas fronterizas, así como en cuestiones pertinentes de política general. La delegación mexicana estuvo encabezada por Fidel Velázquez, Secretario General de la CTM; la delegación del CIO estuvo dirigida por R. J. Thomas y la misma incluía a Ernst Schwarz.

Los delegados nombraron un comité fronterizo para resolver las dificultades de carácter más local, por ejemplo; los trabajadores mexicanos contratados, los espaldas mojadas, y la discriminación; y además acordaron iniciar un estudio sobre las corporaciones de los EE.UU. en México, incluyendo una investigación comparativa en ambos países. El propósito final de este estudio será el desarrollo de programas de cooperación entre las Internacionales del CIO y las unidades obreras correspondientes en México para aliviar la descomunal diferenciación en los promedios de salarios y ayudar a los trabajadores mexicanos a elevar sus niveles de vida.

Publicaciones Latinoamericanas

Una de la importantes tareas que realiza actualmente el Comité es la publicación del Botetín del CIO en español. Esta revista se envía a un creciente número de organizaciones obreras latinoamericanas, a bibliotecas, escuelas y periódicos. Además, se envía regularmente a miembros del CIO de habla española y a grupos en los Estados Unidos, Puerto Rico y la Zona del Canal de Panamá. Muchos de sus artículos son radiados o reimpresos en periódicos latinoamericanos.

O.R.I.T.

El CIO es un afiliado activo de la ORIT, la Organización Regional Interamericana de la CIOSL de cuya Junta Ejecutiva son miembros Jacob S. Potofsky y David J. McDonald y Ernst Schwarz es uno de los Secretarios Adjuntos.

(Continúa en la página 9)

LA CONVENCION N

EN el inmenso Auditorium Público de Cleveland se celebró recientemente la Convención Nacional Anual del Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales. La Convención se pronunció en favor del concepto de que "lo que es bueno para la nación es bueno para el CIO", comenzando así un nuevo año de lucha por el mejoramiento de la humanidad tanto aquí como en el extranjero.

Los delegados de las uniones, pequeñas y grandes, prepararon un programa para una "gran cruzada humana, con la intención de adelantar los valores humanos y democráticos básicos que los hombres y las naciones libre aman" en un mundo en paz.

Las resoluciones y otras actividades de la Convención demostraron que el programa y la política del CIO para el año venidero reflejan el principio de que esta organización no es grupo estrecho de presión económica y que sus intereses se sirven mejor cuando sus miembros y funcionarios se dedican al bienestar general.

Armonía y trabajo activo

Esta fué una convención armónica en la que se trabajó activamente, llegando a los acuerdos por unanimidad por lo general, implementando los principios largamente establecidos en el desarrollo de las acciones del CIO.

La Convención reeligió a los funcionarios sin oposición. Además del Presidente Reuther, fueron reelegidos el Vice-Presidente Ejecutivo John V. Riffe, el Secretario Financiero James B. Carey y los ocho vice-presidentes.

Mejorar con la comunidad

La firme convicción de los delegados de que "lo que es bueno para la nación es bueno para el CIO" encontró su expresión tangible en el discurso post-elección de Reuther, que dijo:

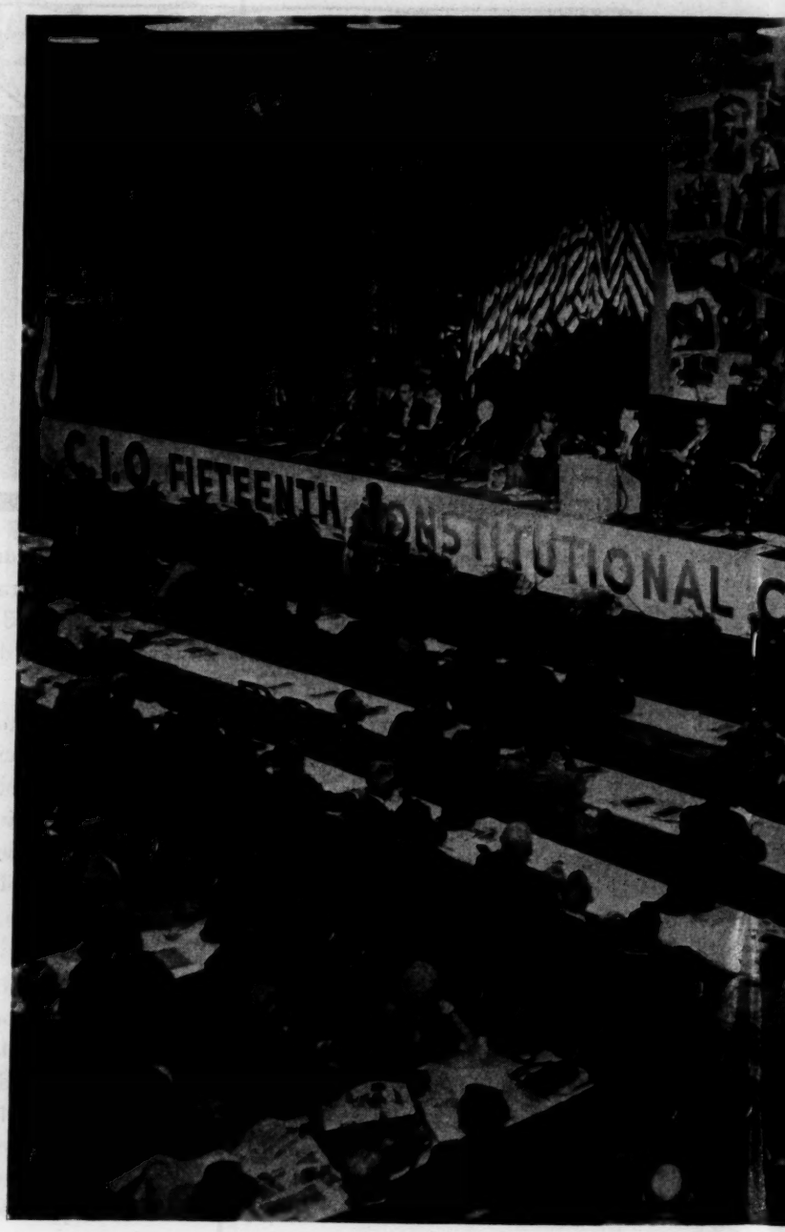
"El CIO ha dicho desde sus comienzos que asumimos nuestras responsabilidades no como un estrecho grupo de presión económica, sino en base de que en la medida que trabajemos con hombres de buena voluntad en otros segmentos de nuestra sociedad libre, en esa misma medida podremos encontrar las respuestas a los problemas básicos, y que en realidad sólo podremos progresar si trabajamos por el progreso de toda la comunidad. . . .

"Creemos sinceramente que la lucha por la paz del mundo, la lucha por la libertad, están inseparablemente unidas a la lucha por la justicia social. No se puede creer en la paz, no se puede creer en la libertad, a menos que estemos dispuestos a luchar y a trabajar por la justicia social."

Al renovar la promesa del CIO de diseminar el unionismo, la convención declaró que un movimiento obrero "que merezca ese nombre" no puede ignorar el estado precario de los no organizados y debe responder a sus necesidades de una mejor vida y una mayor seguridad.

Ley Taft-Hartley

La Convención criticó al Presidente Eisenhower y a su administración por violar su promesa de revisar la Ley Taft-Hartley y demandó su derogación a pesar de la súplica del Secretario del Trabajo James Mitchell de que se contentara con enmiendas. No obstante, la convención aplaudió la opinión del Secretario de que algunas secciones son "verdaderamente peligrosas para los trabajadores, verdaderamente parciales y verdaderamente injustas", y de nuevo cuando prometió trabajar por un salario mínimo más elevado.



NACIONAL DEL CIO

Legislación

Se adoptó un programa detallado dirigido o lograr el fortalecimiento social, económico y militar de todo el país. Se acordó la oposición a cualquier impuesto sobre la venta con cualquier nombre que sea presentado porque grava más pesadamente a los que están en peores condiciones de soportarlo, y se demandó de la Administración que redactara un programa agresivo para ampliar la economía y asegurar empleos por la creación de poder adquisitivo adicional para los consumidores.

Acción Política

La Convención aprobó un programa "para integrar al votante familiar" en el programa del CIO de modo que "se asegure un buen gobierno en todos los niveles administrativos" para beneficio de toda la nación. El director del Comité de Acción Política del CIO, Jack Kroll, advirtió que "los viejos peones de los partidos" se esforzarán por ser nominados el año entrante con la esperanza de marchar a los cargos públicos en una ola de liberalismo.

Asuntos Extranjeros

Se adoptó un programa amplio para detener la agresión rusa y asegurar la paz sembrando las semillas de la democracia económica y social en los países "que no tienen", después de la solicitud del Secretario de Estado Dulles de que los trabajadores apoyen la política extranjera bi-partita. Reuther le aseguró que en la política básica "todos somos americanos y todos trabajaremos juntos sobre esa base".

Salario anual garantizado

El salario anual garantizado, descrito por Reuther como uno de los objetivos fundamentales de muchas uniones del CIO, fué aclamado como fuente de una tremenda estabilidad potencial para toda la economía nacional.

Expansión

Se prometió la ampliación de la campaña de CIO para organizar a los no organizados en una resolución que reafirmó promesas anteriores de traer el beneficio de la organización à los trabajadores en el Sur.

Los delegados se pronunciaron después que el Vice-Presidente Ejecutivo John V. Riffe, que es también director de organización y de los consejos, declaró que la mayor salvaguarda que pueden tener los trabajadores es *"ingresar y construir uniones poderosas"*.

Mayor fortaleza y poderío

Riffe dijo que no estaba de acuerdo con los dirigentes de uniones que piensan que un tesoro lleno es la respuesta a sus problemas cuando hay perspectivas de lucha.

"La respuesta a la totalidad de nuestros problemas", dijo, "es organizar a los trabajadores no organizados, sin importar la industria en que trabajan. Esta es una responsabilidad que yo tomo muy seriamente y tengo la intención de trabajar muy estrechamente con todos Uds. para realizar esta tarea".

Pidió a los delegados que ayudasen al trabajo organizativo en todas las industrias, porque ello "da a vuestras uniones más fortaleza y poderío, más seguridad, cada vez que Ud. ayuda a organizar a un nuevo miembro en cualquier unión internacional afiliada al CIO".

LA VIDA EN UN CAMPO DE CONCENTRACION EN VENEZUELA

Impresionante documento humano del horror y la tragedia que viven centenares de venezolanos condenados a muerte, relatados por una de las víctimas del terror nazi en Venezuela.

(Desde la isla inglesa de Trinidad, a pocas millas de la costa oriental de Venezuela, trescientos kilómetros aguas arriba por el río Orinoco, de Ciudad Bolívar; llega a nuestras manos esta dramática narración. Escrita por un condenado a lenta y cruel muerte en las más espantosas condiciones, entre hombres agonizantes, enfermos, hambrientos, desposeídos de todo calor humano, víctimas de indescriptibles torturas y conviviendo en horrorosa promiscuidad. Son los sobrevivientes del INFIERNO VERDE de GUASINA. De allí salieron vivos por un milagro de la naturaleza: el río Orinoco ocupó con sus impetuosas aguas toda la Isla y el CAMPO DE CONCENTRACION hubo de ser trasladado a tierra firme. En las cercanías de Ciudad Bolívar se estableció el nuevo campamento de la muerte.)

En la Cárcel "Nueva" de Ciudad Bolívar, julio de 1953.

A los compañeros de Acción Democrática en Puerto España, Trinidad. Queridos compañeros:

Inesperadamente se nos presenta esta oportunidad de comunicación directa con Uds. Con premura escribo este relato y doy la lista de los que aquí sufrimos cautiverio en las peores condiciones que puedan imaginarse. Dispongo de poco tiempo, de ninguna comodidad y de escasez de papel. Dos compañeros enterados de lo que me propongo están haciendo una "requisa" entre todos los presos de los pedazos de papel que tengan en su poder. Es un artículo de prohibido consumo entre nosotros. ¿Cuál no lo es?

Muchas penalidades estamos padeciendo. No nos hacemos ilusiones, conscientes del terrible fin que nos espera. Pero no es la cobardía o el desaliento el móvil de esta carta. Hace tiempo que no tenemos contacto con el mundo exterior y es necesario que Uds. sepan y denuncien en toda América las tremendas condiciones en que vivimos y el trato que nos dispensa la dictadura de Pérez Jiménez.

Nos sabemos inermes, al arbitrio de la crueldad y el odio, expuestos a bárbaras represalias al conocerse nuestra comunicación con ustedes. Que no se detengan ante este u otro escrúpulo. No duden que las represalias caerán implacables sobre nosotros. ¿Qué cosas peores nos pueden pasar? *Denuncien* este crimen bárbaro que en nosotros comete la tiranía. Estamos decididos a arrostrarlo todo. Es nuestra contribución de hoy a la lucha por la liberación de Venezuela. Porque ningún suplicio nos hará claudicar.

Todos venimos de Guasina. En diciembre del año pasado la situación allí se hizo insostenible. Vivíamos en el fango. Los carceleros ocupaban la parte más alta del islote. Después se inundó toda la isla. Tuvieron que sacarnos.

El 17 de diciembre de 1952 más de 200 secuestrados fuimos trasladados, en las bodegas del mismo vapor "negrero" que nos trajo, "El Guayana", a Ciudad Bolívar. Llegamos el 18 pero fué en la madrugada del 19 cuando fuimos desembarcados.

La Cárcel Nueva de Ciudad Bolívar está a medio construir; tiene terminados sólo algunos de los pabellones. En uno de éstos, de unos 100 metros de largo por 20

de ancho, estamos concentrados, padeciendo toda clase de privaciones y enfermedades, 195 víctimas del terror conque la dictadura quiere amedrantar al pueblo. Pocos han tenido la suerte de salir vivos. Al Mayor Guillermo Peña Peña lo trasladaron a la Cárcel de San Juan de los Morros; al Doctor Roa González y a Eduardo González a la Modelo de Caracas; igual cosa nos dijeron de Ulpiano Rodríguez, pero éste salió de aquí agonizando. Sufría de una úlcera en el estómago. También hemos sabido que al Tte. Raul Oviedo Rojas lo pusieron en libertad condicional o fué expulsado al exterior.

Esta cárcel es un torturante centro de aislamiento. Está situada fuera de la población. Las mismas rejas del pabellón ocupado por nosotros han sido tapadas de tal manera, que no podemos mirar más allá de los 2,000 metros cuadrados a que estamos condenados a movernos. La comida es pésima, sucia y nauseabunda. La reparten luego de una ración diaria de PLANAZOS que están a cargo de la Guardia Nacional y de unos mercenarios que llaman la Guardia Civil de la Cárcel, integrada por los mismos sanguinarios y crueles carceleros que teníamos en Guasina, a cuya cabeza se encuentra el siniestro JESUS MANUEL PAYARES, ayudado en sus tareas de verdugo, para el insulto y maltrato constante, por ALFREDO MARTINEZ y un sobrino, un fulano BETANCOURT PAYARES quien funge como Alcaide.

No hay médico ni medicinas. Es terrible la situación. A comienzos del confinamiento aquí, que la dictadura quiso explotar como un cambio favorable, un mejor trato, etc., al sacarnos de Guasina; a lo que fué obligada por la inundación total del islote; se nos permitió escribir a nuestras familias unas pocas líneas archicensuradas. Todos pedimos medicinas; vitaminas, penicilina, inyectadores . . . los medios más elementales para defendernos de tantos padecimientos y enfermedades que venimos sufriendo. Sólo nos dejaron dos inyectadoras y dos agujas. DESDE HACE UN AÑO, no tenemos medios de esterilizarlas y conservamos algunos frascos de inyecciones. Pero a consecuencia de que nos vemos obligados a usarlas, más de 40 hombres están a punto de perder brazos o piernas, ya que en seguida se les han formado abscesos, y por la falta de atención médica se han desarrollado peligrosas infecciones. El caso concreto del Dr. Petro Quilarque Quijada, abogado, quien desempeñara la primera Secretaría en la Embajada de Venezuela en Bogotá, tiene un brazo perdido, igual que Gerardo Estaba. El obrero Angel Rivas perdió la pierna derecha. No terminaría si me detengo sólo en este horripilante aspecto que presentan mis cuarenta compañeros. Hacemos lo que podemos para ayudarlos. Muy poco. A nadie sacan al Hospital de la Ciudad cualquiera que sea su estado de gravedad. Casi motines hemos promovido pese a lo que nos cuesta. En medio de los PLANAZOS nos dan la explicación: son órdenes de Caracas.

Nombres de algunos compañeros enfermos faltos de asistencia:

José Manuel Garnica, Ex-Director del Instituto Nacional de Nutrición.

Baudilio Rodríguez, ex-Diputado

Humberto Hernández, Ex-Senador

Luís José Estaba

Jesús Alberto Blanco

Luís Bergolia

José I. Figueredo

Girardot Pérez de Armas

José Tejeiros Santos

Luís Calderón

Armando González, dirigente campesino

Lista de Presos

Dirigentes Sindicales

Humberto Hernández, del Ejecutivo Nacional de los Obreros del Transporte.

Baudilio Rodríguez, del Comité Ejecutivo de la Federación Sindical Estado Yaracuy.

Armando González, Ejecutivo de la CCV.

Pedro Manuel Vazquez, dirigente Petrolero del Estado Anzoategui.

Angel Alcides Semprún, Dirigente Sindical Petrolero del Zulia.

Eloy Graterol Parra, dirigente obrero del Yaracuy.

Jose A. Pacheco, dirigente obrero del Territorio Delta Amacuro.

Luís Morillo, dirigente obrero de Carabobo.

Pedro Pablo Rondón, del Ejecutivo de la Federación Sindical Est. de Trujillo.

Pedro Torres hijo, dirigente petrolero del Zulia.

Doctor Pedro Quilarte Quijada — ABOGADO.

(**Informe . . .** viene de la página 5)

A pesar de las desventajas que representa la continua situación política y social, ORIT ha fortalecido su posición. Tiene una administración eficiente y actualmente está firmemente establecida en sus nuevas oficinas en Ciudad México en donde recibe el apoyo moral de la poderosa Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) y otras organizaciones obreras libres.

ORIT ha continuado su lucha contra las dictaduras en el hemisferio, particularmente contra Perón en la Argentina y contra sus esfuerzos por infiltrarse en otros países.

El Secretariado de ORIT publica un boletín de investigaciones, "Datos y Cifras", en inglés y en español. La edición inglesa se envía a un número de funcionarios obreros y a trade-unions así como a bibliotecas y establecimientos de instrucción superior en los Estados Unidos y Cánada y ha recibido alabanzas de universidades y del Departamento Hispánico de la Biblioteca del Congreso.

El Secretariado mantiene una colaboración continua con el Departamento de Organización del CIO en los asuntos concernientes a Puerto Rico, la Zona del Canal de Panamá y los trabajadores latinoamericanos en los Estados Unidos.

ZONA DEL CANAL DE PANAMA, PUERTO RICO Y LAS ISLAS VIRGENES

En la Convención del CIO se tomó en consideración a los trabajadores del Caribe en tres resoluciones cuyos puntos destacados son:

Islas Vírgenes

El CIO urgió que mientras no se conceda a las Islas Vírgenes el derecho a elegir su propio gobernador, se continúe la práctica de nombrar un gobernador nativo. El Sec. del Interior McKay anunció su intención de reemplazar al actual gobernador en el futuro cercano.

Zona del Canal

El CIO pidió a todos los trabajadores civiles de la Zona del Canal que se unan a la Local 900 del Comité Organizador de Empleados Públicos y Privados en un esfuerzo por eliminar "las barreras artificiales que se oponen al mejoramiento del nivel de vida.

La resolución se refirió a las prácticas discriminatorias bajo las cuales los trabajadores a promedio local reciben $1.50 menos por hora que los trabajadores a promedio de los EE.UU. realizando tareas similares.

"El CIO urge a todas las agencias de nuestro gobierno que tienen a su cargo la administración de la Zona del Canal que se ajusten a los principios americanos de justicia para que podamos merecer la buena voluntad de la gente libre en todas partes", terminó diciendo la resolución.

Puerto Rico

La Convención encomió el progreso del CIO y sus filiales en Puerto Rico, donde 80,000 trabajadores se han hecho miembros en los últimos cuatro años.

Se le concedió a la isla gobierno autónomo por un pacto con los EE.UU. el año pasado. La resolución felicitó a los puertorriqueños y a sus dirigentes, incluyendo al Gobernador Luís Muñoz Marín, "por sus realizaciones en el terreno de la democracia y gobierno propio".

A la legislatura de Puerto Rico y a su gobernador, se les pidió "que concedan los derechos necesarios para asegurar a los trabajadores puertorriqueños una justa participación en los beneficios del programa de industrialización de la isla.

(**Resolución . . .** viene de la página 2)

contratos y convenios firmados con nuestros vecinos del sur, deben haber provisiones que garanticen salarios y condiciones de trabajo adecuados y el estricto cumplimiento de los convenios de trabajo y de la legislación social y laboral existente. Cualquier corporación o empresa industrial de los EE.UU. que no practique una política justa y razonable en la América Latina debe perder el derecho moral a la utilización y ayuda de los servicios y agencias del exterior de nuestro gobierno.

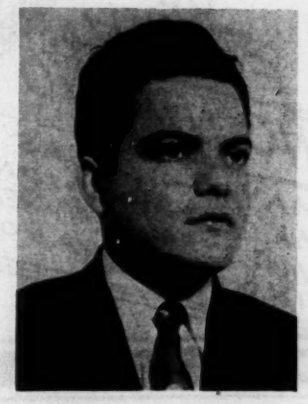
El CIO expresa su total simpatía con los esfuerzos de los pueblos de la América Latina para lograr su completa independencia, tanto política como económica, dentro de un marco de democracia y libertad. Los pueblos latinoamericanos tienen poderosas convicciones conducentes a cambios básicos en la propiedad de la tierra así como a cambios en las condiciones y prácticas de ciertas industrias. Creemos que nuestro gobierno debe ser tolerante de todos esos esfuerzos realizados por medios democráticos.

El CIO dió la bienvenida al establecimiento de la Organización Regional de Organizaciones de Trabajadores (ORIT), la organización regional de la CIOSL para las Américas. Creemos que ORIT se está convirtiendo en una gran fuerza para el adelanto de los intereses de los trabajadores libres y de la democracia a través del hemisferio.

El CIO apoya los esfuerzos del Departamento de

EL SECRETARIO DE O.R.I.T. SE DIRIGE A LA CONVENCION DEL CIO

LUIS Alberto Monge, secretario regional de la Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores de la CIOSL, es nativo de Costa Rica y ha laborado en las organizaciones obreras de su país natal casi desde la niñez. Fué uno de los fundadores de la Confederación de Trabajadores de Costa Rica, una de las mejores, más libres y más democráticas organizaciones de la América Latina. Después ocupó un cargo de responsabilidad en la OIT en Ginebra, lo que le proporcionó una oportunidad para ampliar su experiencia y considerar los problemas obreros sobre una base internacional. En diciembre de 1952 la Convención de ORIT le eligió secretario regional y a pesar de la breve duración de su administración, ha contribuído substancialmente a la consolidación y crecimiento de ORIT. El compañero Monge ha sido congresista en su país, de lo cual se siente justamente orgulloso. Monge trae a su trabajo todo el entusiasmo de sus todavía años mozos y tenemos grandes esperanzas depositadas en su actividad futura.



LUIS A. MONGE

Durante la celebración de la Convención Anual del CIO en la Ciudad de Cleveland el Secretario de ORIT pronunció las siguientes palabras:

Compañeros y amigos: Es para mí un gran honor y un gran placer, y por lo cual le quedo profundamente agradecido al Presidente Reuther, el tener la oportunidad de asistir a esta Convención del poderoso CIO, y dirigir algunas palabras a Uds.

Como Uds. saben, los países y pueblos de la América Latina viven actualmente en un período de gran turbulencia tanto en el campo político como en el económico. Siendo esto así, la solidaridad entre este gran movimiento y nuestra población adquiere una importancia aún mayor de la que tendría en otras circunstancias. Esta solidaridad es una de las armas en nuestra lucha común contra nuestros enemigos, contra los totalitarios y contra aquellos que tratan de dividirnos.

Hay faltaa de comprensión y hay falseamiento intencional entre los pueblos de la América Latina de las intenciones del pueblo norteamericano y esta solidaridad otra vez, es la que ayudará a disipar está incomprensión. Quiero que Uds. sepan que nosotros también comprendemos que lo que es bueno para los millonarios no es bueno para el pueblo norteamericano, y queremos que Uds. comprendan que lo que es bueno para esos señores poderosos casi siempre es igualmente malo para los pueblos de la América Latina.

Ahora tenemos que combatir a la reacción, y tenemos que combatir a estos explotadores hombro con hombro, y esta Convención me proporciona la oportunidad de expresar a nombre de nuestra organización interamericana, que nosotros por nuestra parte, al igual que Uds. por la vuestra, lucharemos por el fortalecimiento de la solidaridad entre las masas trabajadores del Norte y del Sur.

Organización y del Comité de Asuntos Latinomericanos del CIO en buscar una política común con la Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) con respecto al problema de los trabajadores migratorios mexicanos. Cooperaremos plenamente con ORIT en sus esfuerzos por ampliar la política de cooperación cuyo ejemplo ha sido nuestras conferencias con las organizaciones sindicales mexicanas.

La participación del CIO en ORIT es aprobada plenamente por esta Convención, y creemos que mediante la solidaridad de todos los trabajadores en el hemisferio podemos defender la democracia, estimular el crecimiento de organizaciones obreras libres y ayudar a nuestros compañeros en su oposición a las dictaduras que los amenazan.

El CIO cree que a otras naciones se les debe permitir trabajar por su propio mejoramiento de acuerdo con sus propias ideas, pero estamos convencidos que no se pueden lograr mejoras mientras las organizaciones de los trabajadores y otras instituciones libres son suprimidas. Nuestro gobierno debe prestar apoyo y ayuda a las naciones que genuinamente pueden ayudar en la lucha por preservar y ampliar la democracia y la libertad. Sin embargo, los dictadores, por muy violento que sea su anti-comunismo, no constituyen valores en la lucha de la comunidad de naciones libres.

El Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales enfoca el asunto de los problemas internacionales a la luz de estos principios. Apoyamos totalmente la necesidad de fortalecer el poderío militar nuestro y de nuestros aliados de modo que el mundo libre pueda avanzar en paz hacia la tarea de elevar los niveles de vida y de crear y preservar las bendiciones de la democracia y de la libertad.

En un sentido más amplio, la cuestión de la guerra o la paz en la era de la bomba de hidrógeno está por encima de cualquier otra consideración. El armisticio en Corea pudiera ser sólo un respiro antes de que se desate una gran lucha en el mundo. Debe encontrarse alguna forma de eradicar el azote de la guerra de la faz de la tierra. Durante el período que se avecina, el CIO continuará prestando plena atención, en concordancia con las creencias de una sociedad libre, a las formas y medios con los que creemos que la meta fundamental de la paz mundial se pueda lograr.

TOMA DE POSESION DEL PRESIDENTE DE COSTA RICA

En ocasión de la toma de posesión del nuevo Presidente de la República de Costa Rica, Don José Figueres Ferrer, acto que se llevó a efecto recientemente en la Ciudad de San José, capital de dicha república, se cursaron telegramas de salutación entre este Comité y el Hon. Señor Presidente de Costa Rica.

He aquí el texto de los mencionados telegramas:

SEÑOR DON JOSE FIGUERES FERRER

PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA DE COSTA RICA

EL CONGRESO DE ORGANIZACIONES INDUSTRIALES, ESTE COMITE

Y YO PERSONALMENTE LE FELICITAMOS MUY CORDIALMENTE Y

HACEMOS FERVIENTES VOTOS POR EL EXITO DE SU GESTION

COMO PRIMER MANDATARIO Y POR LA FELICIDAD DEL PUEBLO

COSTARRICENSE.

Ernst Schwarz
Comite Latinoamericano CIO

ERNST SCHWARZ

COMITE LATINOAMERICANO CIO

RUEGO A UD. ACEPTAR Y HACER EXTENSIVO A LOS MIEMBROS DE

ESE COMITE MI SINCERO AGRADECIMIENTO POR EL CORDIAL MENSAJE

QUE SE SIRVIERON ENVIARME.

Jose Figueres

La toma de posesión del Presidente Figueres, elegido por el voto mayoritario del pueblo de Costa Rica libremente expresado en elecciones democráticas, abre un nuevo capítulo en la marcha de esta nación por la senda de la libertad y el progreso.

En estos trágicos instantes en que la libertad y la democracia están siendo escarnecidas en muchos países del hemisferio, el ejemplo de Costa Rica es un estímulo para la democracia continental.

Al testimoniar nuestra más sincera felicitación al pueblo de Costa Rica por su gran demostración de madurez política, aprovechamos la oportunidad para hacer nuestros más fervientes votos por el éxito del nuevo gobierno y porque el mismo se traduzca en bienestar y felicidad para los trabajadores y para todo el pueblo costarricense.

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WHY I WOULD NOT COOPERATE WITH JOE M'CARTHY
By HARVEY O'CONNOR

A person who said he was Roy Cohn of the Senate investigating subcommittee phoned me June 30 from New York to announce that inasmuch as my books had been found in the State Dept.'s overseas libraries, the committee wanted to question me. He said this was equivalent to a subpena.

Late the next day I received Western Union telegrams by telephone, purporting to be signed by one Joe McCarthy, "confirming telephonic directions."

Being a citizen, Class I, of the United States, I ignored both the telephone call and the telegrams. This method of summoning witnesses is unique with the McCarthy committee, but it just isn't good enough for me.

Later I received another telegram announcing that my hearing had been postponed to "Tuesday, July 9," a rather unlikely date for 1953. This, so far as I was concerned, was also one for the birds.

"Tuesday, July 9" passed, and Joe was reported to have said that I was already in contempt of his committee. Later he decided to issue a subpena in valid form. This was for July 14.

Room 367 in the Senate Office Bldg. is a big gloomy chamber. There, at one end of a long table, are Joe and his boys. At the other end sit the witness and his lawyer. The session is private with no spectators allowed. Here is where they find out whether you are "cooperative."

The public hearing is held a half hour later in a much bigger room, with TV, radio, photographers, half a hundred newspapermen and a few hundred spectators. It is more human. The questions are the same.

I stated in both hearings that I declined to enter into a political discussion with Joe. The contents of my books, and my political beliefs, I said, were not proper subjects for congressional inquisitors. Under the first amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of the press, Congress may not pass any law regulating the contents of books or the politics of their writers. Therefore these matters are outside the jurisdiction of a congressional committee, whose sole purpose is to study and prepare legislation.

Meddling with authors is also outside the powers granted Congress by the Constitution itself; in addition the McCarthy committee is strictly limited by the statute of Congress which created it. I also pointed out that if I had violated any law in my writings, I was subject to appropriate action by the proper law enforcement agencies, and Congress is not a law-enforcing agency.

I further explained that it was all news to me that copies of my books had been placed in overseas libraries. As I had nothing to do with their selection, obviously there was nothing I could testify to in that regard.

When I refused to answer Joe's $64 question on the grounds stated above, it was announced I would be cited for contempt. The Senate later voted to cite me for contempt of Congress.

The issue I presented is quite simple. It is this. Joe's politics is everybody's business. He runs for office. I happen to be a private citizen. I am not running for office. My politics is my own business. If anybody asks me politely, I am quite willing to state my political beliefs. But when governmental bureaucrats presume to force citizens to state their political beliefs, freedom is dead. As for my books, they are none of Joe's business. If he doesn't like them, he doesn't have to read them.

If the courts uphold the Senate citation, then I will go to jail for "contempt." But the first amendment will be in the doghouse with me. I will be in good company.

# # # # #

EDITORIAL PAGE SO THE PEOPLE MAY KNOW

THE DENVER POST

First Amendment Tester

HARVEY O'CONNOR, who is in Denver this week on his tour of a number of western cities, is making a courageous one-man stand for American civil liberties. He has been indicted for contempt of congress because he refused, on First Amendment grounds (NOT Fifth Amendment), to answer Senator McCarthy's question as to whether or not he was a Communist when he wrote certain books McCarthy's sleuths turned up in an overseas library of the state department. The first amendment, of course, is the one that guarantees free speech and freedom of the press.

O'Connor makes no bones about denying he is or ever was a Communist. But, in effect, he told the investigating senator that it was none of congress's business whether he was or not. He is not a government employe, received no return from the sale of his books to the government, and is not interested in any attempt of McCarthy's to get something on the state department under the Acheson secretaryship. Nor are the contents of his books or their effect at issue.

O'Connor is neither trying to win support for his case nor otherwise to benefit from his speaking tour before it goes to trial. He merely is steamed up over the issue and wants to discuss it with people and let them think about it for themselves. The courts must decide whether he was right or wrong in refusing to answer McCarthy, or whether the senator himself was out of line. And O'Connor hopes his test of the first amendment in such circumstances will go to the supreme court for the first time.

It is an important case that could affect any American citizen. O'Connor may lose, and he knows it. But he is ready to serve a jail sentence if he loses, and he figures even so it is worth the fight for a matter of principle.

You've got to admire a man with such strength of conviction. Not many of us either would or could make such a stand for the sake of what we believe in.

ON THE AIR

Trans-Atlantic Fizz

LESS than three hours after the Liberal Party's ruinously inept handling of its Party Political Broadcast, the television service threw in an extra item imported from the United States, a telefilm of Ed Murrow's dramatic attack on Senator McCarthy. The juxtaposition of these items was startling. On the one hand we had a tedious, amateurish platform hotch-potch of faded clichés: on the other, a brilliant and purposeful television "column" in which every line exhibited professional efficiency.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy reviews the troops

The Liberals had nothing to say and employed five people to say it. A still photograph of Gladstone would have been more eloquent and stimulating than the five seated figures each repeating parrot-fashion a speech mugged up from the party's "Guide to Candidates." With a carafe of water, a green baize tablecloth and the Union Jack as props, this programme would have been indistinguishable from any Liberal meeting held in the suburbs of some Tory or Socialist stronghold. I expected the ordeal to close with a collection to cover an expected loss of deposits.

As a liberal (small L) I found the programme terribly disappointing. The party believes in Free Trade and Beveridge and might have won the approval of viewers (and listeners: the programme was heard also on the Home Service) with simple factual restatements of the basic principles involved. But no. In twenty minutes we were introduced to so many people that none could do more than identify himself, catch his breath and sign off. No speaker was before the cameras long enough to become more than a cipher or to say anything of interest. There is no safety in numbers, and the Liberals with their dismal record in recent elections should know this by now.

Worse still was the fact that the speakers appeared to have learned their lines by heart—as far as possible. One member of the panel had to be prompted: others raced through their material as if pursued by the foul fiend: and for the viewer the proceedings were as embarrassing as a music-hall failure begging for laughter.

I cannot understand the Liberal Party's or the B.B.C.'s objection to scripted television. Night after night we are confronted by people who recite their lines nervously, awkwardly and fearfully after taking great pains to master them. If the lines were themselves truly memorable there might be some excuse for this method of delivery, but they are seldom more than adequate journalese and it seems presumptuous in the extreme, to me, to put them over in the form of a Shakespearean soliloquy or a recital of the Gettysburg speech. The time and nervous energy consumed in learning these lines could be employed much more profitably in polishing them. Our interest in a radio talk is not marred by the knowledge that it is being read. After-dinner speeches are read, sermons and lectures are read: and I see no reason why television talkers should be expected to deny themselves the assistance of the printed word.

Ed Murrow's programme was entirely scripted. He read from a sheaf of papers, his head lowered over the text, his fingers leading his eye from left to right. Occasionally, near the end of a sentence, he looked up into the camera—and that was enough. Here, as in most talks, commentaries and discussions, we were dealing in ideas, and the speaker's looks were of no importance whatever. Nothing should be allowed to come between the delivered word and the viewer's reception of it, and the Americans seem to appreciate this.

But the success of this C.B.S. programme lay in its careful preparation rather than its easy, matter-of-fact presentation. Murrow's commentary was supported by numerous filmed insertions, chronicling stages in the McCarthy story. They were all short and crisp, cut to the bone, and every item spoke volumes. How fair a comment on McCarthy this was I am in no position to say; but caricature or portrait the impact on the viewer was devastating. McCarthy sneering, McCarthy ranting, McCarthy brow-beating . . . if this was McCarthy then McCarthy must be infinitely more detestable than we had supposed. The facts concern us only indirectly . . . but what admirable television!

BERNARD HOLLOWOOD

9

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23rd March, 1954

My dear Ed.

You will have received so many letters in connection with your talk on the Wisconsin Senator that I rather hesitate to send you the enclosed.

On the other hand, you may like this small reminder of the immense interest we over here must feel in this whole affair. I also did a broadcast the other day in the Home Service of the B.B.C. along very similar lines.

More power to your elbow!

Yours ever,

Vernon Bartlett

Mr. Edward Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
NEW YORK CITY,
U.S.A.

"The world belongs to those who think and act with it, who keep a finger on its pulse."—Dean Inge.

Vernon Bartlett's Letter

On World Affairs

No. 17

Subscription Office :
Pilgrim's Place, Thurnham, Maidstone, Kent.

Editorial Address :
6 Gower Street, London, W.C.1

Dear Reader.

3rd March, 1954.

First, a few brief comments on the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers. For some time I was one of those who supported the idea that Germany should be pledged to permanent neutrality. So did a good many Germans—they would not have to pay out millions on armaments and they might not become a battlefield in another war.

Mr. Molotov likes the idea. He wants both Germany and Austria to be neutral. But he made it very plain at Berlin that, to ensure German neutrality, foreign troops must be *withdrawn* from Germany, whereas, to ensure Austrian neutrality, they must be *kept* in Austria. I wonder why. Could it be because there is already an East German Communist army of over 140,000 men in the Russian Zone of Germany and there is no such army, or even the prospect of one, in the Russian Zone of Austria ? It could.

The idea of German neutrality was attractive when the Germans themselves wanted to be neutral. It seemed tragic, premature, absurd, at that time for Americans or Russians to encourage them to get into uniform again. But that was many months ago. Last year's general elections showed how very definitely Western Germany belongs to the West, and any suggestion of enforced neutrality would have been interpreted by the vast majority of Western Germans as an abominable betrayal.

Nothing at Berlin was more illuminating than Mr. Molotov's embarrassment when the Western ministers offered to accept every one of his demands on Austria in return for his agreement to withdraw all troops from that country. He once again said "no," and thereby strengthened their belief (which I expressed in the very first of these Letters) that the soldiers are now in control in Moscow. If the Austrian treaty were signed, there would no longer be a legal excuse to keep troops in Hungary and Rumania—in theory they are there only to defend Soviet lines of communication to Austria. Clearly the Russian generals have no intention of losing military control of Eastern Germany or Austria.

The best comment I have seen on the German neutrality issue was in Mr. Eden's speech at the end of last week's foreign affairs debate. "Was Germany to be neutral and disarmed? If so, who would keep her disarmed? Was Germany to be neutral and armed? If so, who would keep Germany neutral?"

The best we can now hope for is that the two systems will be able to exist in relative amity side by side. Such a solution could not be permanent, for Germany will not remain divided indefinitely. But it may last for some years, during which time the development of East-West trade may lessen suspicion sufficiently for German unity to be restored without war.

Meanwhile, I make one small forecast. The flow of refugees from Eastern Germany through Berlin has dropped from a peak figure of 3,000 a day to 200. Within a month the East to West migration will rise again in a way most unflattering to the Russians and their puppet government.

Nazism in Washington. For the moment the most disquieting city in the world is not Berlin, but Washington. There is nothing to choose between the methods once employed by Hitler and those employed today by Senator McCarthy. And public opinion polls all confirm that this ruthless, ambitious and iniquitous man has the support of a large section of American public opinion.

The verbatim report in the "Herald Tribune" of his cross-examination of General Zwicker and the T.V. display of his manners towards a less important victim were shocking and sickening, and they explain the dangerous reluctance of many people in this country, and far more in France and Italy, to vote for the rearmament of Germany under United States auspices. This is no longer a matter for the Americans alone; it is a threat to every citizen in the NATO countries.

I am told that the President is so disgusted by politics that he spends the least possible time at his desk. But the American people expected something very different when they sent him to the White House. In too many respects there is a similarity between Hindenburg and Eisenhower, as between their two Nazi leaders. And President Eisenhower has not the excuse of senility.

Nazism, we are told, is acceptable only to people long unaccustomed to think for themselves. The readiness of the Germans to obey orders without reasoning why has long been notorious; at first glance the Americans, so proud of their free enterprise, would seem to be in a very different category. But for nearly twenty years I have watched American methods of mass suggestion with growing disquiet. I don't believe that people who listen day after day to broadcasters telling them, in the same tone of voice and with the same appearance of sincerity, about the problems of under-developed countries and of over-developed stomachs can possibly retain that sense of proportion without which a democrat becomes victim of a demagogue.

For the moment—and one prays that the moment may be momentary—the Nazi movement in the United States is so strong that even the Army is not safe. Americans who condemn McCarthyism need courage, and that quality is being shown by many of their newspapers in very high degree. I should like to be sure that the British press would be equally courageous in similar circumstances.

Fresh Chance in Egypt. General Neguib's sensational return to power is a godsend to the British government, but I'm not sure how good they are at recognising these gifts of fortune. No other Egyptian leader has enjoyed such genuine and widespread public support for at least twenty-five years. Although the revolutionary council has lost much prestige in Egypt and the Sudan in the last two weeks, I believe it is still true that an Anglo-Egyptian agreement bearing Neguib's signature would be respected even by succeeding governments, and British military as well as political advisers have long insisted that an agreement is necessary.

Forgive me if I quote a sentence or two from my Letter of October 28th. "It really isn't good enough if the army which protects the Base against attack from outside Egypt needs a still larger army to protect it against guerrilla attack by the Egyptians themselves . . . There will be no improvement in Egypt's economic situation until after the signature of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement. Without an economic improvement no Egyptian government will be secure. It is to our interest to strengthen the position of the men who will sign the agreement. These three obvious facts lead to an obvious conclusion—that we cannot afford to discuss indefinitely whether our technicians who are to remain at the Base wear mufti or uniform . . . We should surely have learnt by now that the spirit in which a treaty is signed is even more important than its wording."

We gave Neguib nothing with which to quieten the more impatient members of the Revolutionary Council. So they turned him out. Fortunately, public opinion and part of the Army have been strong enough to bring him back again. Shall we now learn the lesson that we should strengthen Neguib, as our best possible defender against men much more extreme than he?

An agreement would have been signed weeks ago if some of the Tories had not revolted against it. Having thus contributed to Neguib's temporary overthrow, they now argue that this event proves they were right, and that you cannot do a deal with so unstable a regime. Since General Zahedi has been brought to heel in Persia, they want to adopt the same policy of waiting and seeing in Egypt. But Mossadik had the wrong kind of support in Persia; Negiub and the rather brash young officers who made him their leader have the right kind of support in Egypt.

Meanwhile, because we have neither the courage to make an agreement nor the desire to become involved in a very expensive guerrilla war with the

Egyptians, we submit to a lot of minor persecutions with a patience that gravely lessens our prestige in the Middle East. Merchant ships passing through the Canal are subjected to scandalous interferences with their lawful trade. The Egyptian authorities try to prevent officers of the Royal Navy from visiting other British ships at Port Said without some Egyptian pass. The existing tension between Great Britain and Egypt is a menace to the whole Middle East, and it is quite time that we took steps to end it.

Capricorn Concord. Let me end this Letter on a more cheerful note. The Capricorn Africa Society—President, Colonel David Stirling of Special Air Service fame—has at last issued its first appeal for membership. And its supporters include some of the most influential men of all races in Central and East Africa. These men pledge themselves to work for a common citizenship and absolute equality of treatment between those who acquire this citizenship. Only thus, they argue, will it be possible to develop peacefully the territories between the Limpopo River and the Abyssinian border.

Here is something that is not imposed by the British government or sponsored by well-meaning and woolly-minded people with no personal responsibility for making it work. Tshekedi Khama, ex-Regent of the Bamangwato; Lord Portsmouth, President of the Kenya Electors' Union; the leaders of the Hindu and the Ismaili communities; the leader of the Africans in the Tanganyikan Legislative Council; the President of the Southern Rhodesia African Farmers' Union; the President of the Tanganyika European Council—such are the men who have realised that there must be racial partnership.

This Capricorn Africa Society is something that has grown out of the soil of Africa. It is perhaps the most encouraging development in East or Central Africa since the end of the war. For that reason, although I don't normally urge you to support any particular organisation, I let you know that its London address is: 9 Upper Grosvenor Street, W.1, and that the minimum subscription is £1.1.0 a year.

Yours,

Vernon Bartlett.

Vernon Bartlett's Letter is published fortnightly by Teazle's News-Letter Service, and is printed by the Courier Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Tunbridge Wells, Kent.
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VERNON BARTLETT'S LETTER, Pilgrim's Place, Thurnham, Maidstone, Kent.

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Vernon Bartlett's Letter

On World Affairs

No. 18

Subscription Office:
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Editorial Address:
6 Gower Street, London, W.C.1

Dear Reader.

17th March, 1954

In my last Letter I drew your attention to the increasing similarity between the methods used by Hitler and those used by McCarthy. Let me now draw it to the remarkable change for the better that has taken place within the last ten days.

I am proud that an old friend and colleague, Ed Murrow, should have done so much to bring that change about. In my praise of American journalists who have stood out against American Nazism, I omitted those of them who speak rather than write. A grave omission, for there are at least half-a-dozen radio commentators in the United States who are head and shoulders above anybody in this country—and that, of course, is the other side of this business of sponsored broadcasting which I claimed, and still claim, is one of the principal causes for American cynicism and consequential predisposition to totalitarianism. When I first met Ed Murrow nineteen years ago, he was the shy and quiet-spoken secretary of the Institute of International Education; now, thanks mainly to the microphone, he is the deserving recipient of one of the highest salaries in the United States.

As star commentator of the Columbia Broadcasting System, he devoted an entire television programme to a devastating demonstration of McCarthy's methods of investigation. To put itself right with the law, the Columbia Broadcasting System offered McCarthy a chance to reply, but he preferred to answer back in the form of an interview with a supporter on the smallest of the three American networks. Ed Murrow has contributed more, perhaps, than any foreign minister to sound and sane international relations; he has never made a better contribution than this one programme, even though it was designed primarily for an American audience.

Other blows are raining on McCarthy's head. The Republican Party's choice of Vice-President Nixon to reply to Mr. Adlai Stevenson's critcisms was a nasty knock to McCarthy's hopes of free radio time in which to produce one of his

swashbuckling replies. The new recommendations for Congressional enquiries proposed by Republican Senate leaders should do something to restore those enquiries to their former valuable and demoncratic status.

He is in trouble for seeking special treatment by the Army for his two ineffable assistants, Messrs. Cohn and Shine—and even McCarthy might have had some doubts had he been with me in Munich just after their visit there last year, and had heard the remarks of the Germans about them. Lastly, several important Republican Senators have followed the example of Senator Flanders in attacking McCarthy for splitting the party.

The Senator for Wisconsin is tough and clever, and he has a large following. But the people of the United States are notoriously volatile. Dare one begin to hope that McCarthy will fade out, as Father Coughlin and other demagogues have done before him ? The answer, I believe, is in the affirmative.

Advance in Kenya. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton is no longer a very good Aunt Sally for members of the Labour Party. It is a very remarkable achievement to have produced, in Kenya of all places, the first multi-racial government in Africa south of the Sahara. The invitation to African and Indian ministers to become, in effect, Cabinet Ministers is an acceptance of the principle of partnership which would have led the Europeans to kidnap the Governor less than a decade ago. They still might do so, of course, for many of the White Highlanders are furious with Lyttleton, Erskine, Baring, old Uncle Michael Blundell and all.

At the time of writing, it is very doubtful whether the Africans can be induced to accept. Theoretically, they have good reason to claim that their participation should not be limited to one minister and two Under-Secretaries in a country where they out-number the Europeans by 150 to 1. But in the long view, their gain is the greatest. The late Dean Inge once remarked that "democracy is only an experiment in government, and it has the obvious disadvantage of merely counting votes instead of weighing them." And those of us who most detest racial discrimination of the Mem Sahib type must nevertheless agree that the weight of African votes (if they had them) would still be very light indeed. The Africans would be most unwise to refuse to pass through this first genuine gap in Kenya's colour barrier.

The Europeans are offered two consolation prizes. One, their new Ministers will be in charge of Departments, and the influence of the Colonial Office (which to them is only a shade better than the hated Fabian Society) will thus be diminished. Two, they will have a member in the temporary War Council, the only other members of which are the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the Commander-in-Chief. This meets a claim which the Europeans have been making with increasing intensity for many months. Even so, the fact that the majority of their elected members should have accepted the whole plan is a tremendous tribute to the ability of Michael Blundell.

His success is all the more startling when you remember the anger with which the Europeans learnt that "General China" was not to be executed, but was being used to get his colleagues to surrender. Half that angry outburst would have been avoided if the facts of life had been explained to Michael Blundell by General Erskine and Sir Evelyn Baring. He would not then have been taken by surprise, and have felt, as his fellow-Kenyans felt, that their anxieties, hardships and dangers were being overlooked in the interests of expediency. He would probably have come to the conclusion that there was no other way in which the Emergency could possibly come to an end.

And I'm sure that there isn't. Kenya faces the same problem as Malaya—it is fighting a war without uniforms. A policeman, and still less a soldier, cannot tell whether a peasant coming along a jungle path is carrying on his lawful business or is planning to cut him down the moment his back is turned. And one cannot destroy the whole tribe of Kikuyus in order to be on the safe side—there could be no surer way of spreading the doctrines of Mau Mau to other tribes. Therefore the risk must be taken sooner or later of returning to normal relations with the Kikuyu, even though many of them may have taken at least one of their beastly oaths. The more and the sooner their leaders can be persuaded to surrender, and the ordinary tribesman can be brought back into ordinary work, the smaller the risk will be.

Had Michael Blundell been faced with such arguments before the "General China" experiment, he and almost all his colleagues would doubtless have agreed to it. But it was a shocking piece of bad management to undertake it without any kind of consultation with the Europeans, who must pay the heaviest price if it fails.

Victory for Vietminh? "The Times" recently surprised me with a headline. "Forging Viet Nam Independence," it ran. The verb was changed, in later editions, to "framing," so I gather the sub-editor was placing himself rather in the shoes of a blacksmith than in those of a banker. But the headline was painful in its accuracy, for the relations between France and Viet-Nam are counterfeit. Now that independence is being granted to Bao Dai, the French themselves recognise that they are granting it to a man who is almost certainly took weak to retain it.

Could the French have made a genuine settlement with Ho Chi-minh shortly after the war? Could we have kept Burma in the Commonwealth? Could the Dutch have reached a partnership in Indonesia? Such discussions are futile for nobody knows the answers. But the devastating fact now is that, if Viet Nam fails, the French have nothing much to offer to Viet Minh, or to Communist China who supplies Viet Minh with most of its arms.

Diplomatic recognition of the Peking government? This would be a small bribe to the Chinese when they see some prospect that a war in Indo-China, which Viet Minh cannot win on their behalf, may be won by political victories in Saigon and Paris. The Chinese know as well as anybody that a Communist

victory in Indo-China would have tremendous repercussions in Siam, Malaya, Burma and even in India and Indonesia.

Only the American government could pay a price which would make it worth the Peking government's while to seek a settlement in Indo-China. Next month's Geneva Conference will therefore be the greatest test yet made of the readiness of the United States to assume world leadership. Hitherto demands by her allies have mostly been for cash or goods, and the Americans have made financial sacrifices to meet these demands with a generosity we are often very slow to recognise. But to save South-East Asia they may be called upon to sacrifice their deepest-rooted prejudices. There may be no other way of saving South-East Asia, one of the richest areas of the world. Also there may be no other way of winning French ratification of the European Defence Community treaty. Even so, I fear that the French are under-estimating the depth of those prejudices in Congress.

Berlin Echo. One reader reproaches me, I think rightly, because I have not written more about the Berlin Conference. He claims, I think wrongly, that events in Berlin were "more important than any war in the East." But in one respect the Western Powers hesitated—to their own very great disadvantage—to test Mr. Molotov's good-faith. In my last Letter I pointed out how embarassed the Soviet Foreign Minister had become when they accepted all his demands on Austria on condition that he would agree to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country.

Why did they not make an analogous offer in the case of Germany? The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung," a well-known right-of-centre paper, made this comment: "Many people wonder why Dulles, Eden and Bidault refrained from asking: 'Would you agree to free elections in Germany if we were to abandon E.D.C.?' If Molotov had refused to answer, it would then have been clear that the Russians do not want a free Germany."

To most of us it seems clear enough as it is, but it was a blunder not to make it still clearer to the people of the two Germanies, who are now expected to wait patiently, for months, years or decades, until the rest of the world realises that they are determined sooner or later to be reunited.

Yours,

Vernon Bartlett.

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VERNON BARTLETT'S LETTER, Pilgrim's Place, Thurnham, Maidstone, Kent.

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March 18, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

It isn't often that anybody can get a chuckle out of "fussin' and feudin'" these days, but read what George Dixon has written as a part of his column on the Washington scene, which appeared in the new Washington Post - Times Herald this morning.

Cordially,

Russell

Russell E. Singer
Executive Vice-President

RES:Mc
1 encl

Over Fifty years of Service to the Motorist and the Nation

By Walter Lippmann

have a kind of diplomatic panacea which is equally good for Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, Iran and Guatemala, must lead to confusion.

Just as the courts prefer to decide no more than they have to decide in a specific case before them, indulging not to often in the pleasures of the obiter dicta, so it should be in the conduct of foreign policy. Be empirical and specific about the problem that has to be dealt with, not general and universal for all problems that might in some way resemble it.

We have had one Truman Doctrine, which worked very well in Greece and Turkey, and did nothing but raise totally false expectations in China. Let us not now add still another installment to the unending story of verbal diplomacy by saying that we now have a Dulles Doctrine.

The long experience and high competence of the Secretary of State do not need, and can only be cluttered up by, an overproduction of words.

(Copyright, 1954, New York Herald Tribune, Inc.)

GRIN AND BEAR IT — By Lichty

"Progressive education has gone too far, Mr. Sneedby, when I have to raise MY hand if I want to say anything to the class! . . ."

Washington Scene . . . . . By George Dixon

I TRIED to rise and Schine the other morning but I was so confused by the McCarthy hullabaloo I didn't know whether I was coming or Cohn.

At this debilitated point, I received a phone call from a fellow who said Senator Joe would do well to let up n the Defense Department for nonce and turn his sleuthing eyes upon the Department of Agriculture.

"It's specializing in infiltration," the caller intoned hollowly.

I said I did not think that such a solid American as Secretary Ezra Taft Benson would countenance infiltration. The fellow told me to look at page 435 of the new Congressional Directory.

I did, and found this listing: "Infiltration Specialist—George W. Musgrave, 4205 Four Mile Run Drive, Arlington, Va."

I became so upset that I forgot I am no longer permitted to talk uncouthly. "My goodness, livings, mercy me!" I cursed luridly, "who'd have ever thought such a thing of old Ez? He not only permits infiltration; he pays an agent to do it."

WELL, I couldn't spring G. David Schine from the Army to handle the investigations, so I had to do it myself. Donning a Cossack costume and making up my voice to sound like an MVD agent (McCarthy Vasn't Dere), I telephoned the Agriculture Department and asked for the infiltration specialist.

They located him in the Soil Conservation Service. "Aha!" I cried. "He's conserving soil so he'll have enough to go underground!"

The infiltration specialist turned out to have a pleasant voice, but this didn't lull me. My bride sounds sweetest when she is being most poisonous.

Very cagily I asked the infiltration specialist about his background. He said he was a Cornell graduate and had been with the Agriculture Department since November, 1929. I asked him how long he'd been working on infiltration and he said ever since he got the job.

"But they just gave me the title this year," he added.

THIS WILL probably make Roy Cohn feel frustrated, but the infiltration specialist said he is not specializing in infiltrating Government with Communists, but in making water sink into the earth.

"One of this country's greatest agricultural problems," he explained, "is to get more water to infiltrate the land. This can be done in numerous ways—by slowing down the movement of water on hillsides so more of it will get a chance to sink in; by crop rotation; by denser vegetation, and by covering plowed fields with straw mulch."

"Thank you very mulch," I said, and hung up bitterly disappointed.

I tried hard to distract attention from the Army. I'll bet Secretary Stevens isn't even grateful.

THE REV. Frederick Brown Harris, chaplain of the Senate, receives hundreds of invitations to open this and that event with prayer. Some of the invitations require the services of an interpreter.

The other day Dr. Harris received a bid which made him wonder if his friend, Sen. Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina, was an apparition or real.

The invitation asked the Senate chaplain to pray at services commemorating Col. Michael Novats, a cavalry drillmaster in Washington's Army. It closed with this paragraph:

"Having died in the defense of Charleston, S. C., Senator Maybank has kindly consented to speak."

REP. OAKLEY HUNTER of California dug up this one:

"A House investigating committee found a warehouse filled with Spanish-American War saddles, water troughs and harnesses for horse-drawn ambulances, dating from 1879. It has taken up valuable storage space for the last half century at the Jeffersonville, Ind., Quartermaster Depot."

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In Congress and Its Committees

TODAY

Senate

Meets at noon.

COMMITTEES: **Armed Services.** 10 a. m., open. On S. 3096 to amend Doctors Draft Act. Witnesses: Sec. Chas. E. Wilson, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Sec. Robt. Stevens, Gen. Matthew Ridgway. Room 212, SOB. **Banking and Currency.** Special subcomte. on coffee. 10 a. m., open. Coffee prices. Room P-38, Capitol. **Banking and Currency.** 10 a. m., open. On S. 2938, Housing Act of 1954. Room 301 SOB. **Foreign Relations.** 10 a. m., open. International sugar agreement. Administration and private witnesses. Room F-53, Capitol. **Judiciary.** Anti Trust and Monopoly subcomte. 9:30 a. m., open. On S. J. Res. 133, professional baseball clubs affiliated with alcoholic-beverage industry. Room 424, SOB. **Labor.** Subcomte. on Health. 10 a. m., open. On S. 2758, medical facilities survey and construction act of 1954. Room P-63, Capitol. **Small Business** subcomte. on military procurement. 10 a. m., open. Complaints of small business firms. D. B. Becker, St. Paul, Minn., and Milton Tenenbaum, N. Y. will testify. Room 457, SOB. **Finance.** 10 a. m., exec. Regular meeting. Room 312, SOB. **Public Works.** 9:30 a. m., exec. Federal aid to highway bill. Room 412, SOB.

House

Meets at noon.

COMMITTEES: **Appropriations.** 10 a. m., exec. Subcomtes. on Air Force, Army, Navy, Independent Offices. Committee room, Capitol. **Agriculture.** 10 a. m., open. Long-range farm program. Russell S. Waltz, president, National Milk Producers Federation, to be heard. 1310, New bldg. **Armed Services.** 10 a. m., open. Cunningham subcomte. on acquisition and disposal on appraisal procedures, options. 304, Old bldg. **Banking and Currency.** 10 a. m., open. H.R. 7893, housing redevelopment bill. Members of Congress to be heard. 1301, New bldg. **Education and Labor.** 10 a. m., exec. Amendments to Taft-Hartley Act. 429, Old bldg. **Foreign Affairs.** 10 a. m., open. Javits subcomte. on H. J. Res 350 to foster international travel and exchange of persons. Committee room, Capitol. **Foreign Affairs.** 2:30 p. m., open. Merrow subcomte. on H. R. 7819 on certain claims from acts of civilian employes and military personnel in foreign countries. Committee room, Capitol. **Government Operations.** 10 a. m., open. Mrs. Harden's subcomte. on Intergovernmental Relations on study of "Government in Business" to hear Robert F. Keller on postal savings system. 1501 New bldg. **Interior and Insular Affairs.** 10 a. m., open. Harrison (Wyo.) subcomte. on H.R. 8328 authorizing transmission and disposition of electric energy generated at Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande. 1324, New bldg. **Judiciary.** 10 a. m., open. Graham subcomte. to hear authors of bills which would outlaw the Communist Party. 346, Old bldg. **Judiciary.** 10 a. m., open. Hillings subcomte. on H.R. 8034 to incorporate Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War. 230 Old bldg. **Merchant Marine and Fisheries.** 10 a. m., exec. Seely-Brown subcomte. on S. 8, Cornhusker Mariner. 219, Old bldg. **Postoffice and Civil Service.** 10 a. m., open. Postal pay bills. Postal employes representatives will be heard. 213, Old bldg. **Un-American Activities.** 10 a. m., open. Investigating communism in religion. Caucus room, Old bldg. **Interstate and Foreign Commerce.** 10 a. m., exec. On H. R. 7397 to promote and assist in extension and improvement of public health services. 1334 New bldg.

YESTERDAY

Senate

Met at noon.

Continued debate on Hawaiian-Alaskan statehood bill.

Confirmed David Key as Assistant Secretary of State.

Recessed at 6:22, until noon Thursday.

House

Met at noon.

Began consideration of tax revision bill.

Received President's request for supplemental appropriation of $6,140,000 for the District of Columbia.

Adjourned at 5:02 until noon Thursday.

---

made of wool, of rayon or of cotton?

7. RH is a factor in gasoline, new types of paint, heredity, the blood, or new clothing fabrics?

Copr. 1954, Editorial Research Reports

THE ANSWERS

1. Doesn't. 2. More deaths on the highways. 3. Does. 4. More than half of soybean oil. 5. Portugal. 6. More of cotton than of all other materials combined. 7. In the blood.

Naguib B

Like 'Reform

CAIRO, March
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THE PARALLEL
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The President

Appointment

President Eisenhowe
pointments for Thursda
9 a. m.—Rep. August H.
(R-Minn.).
9:30 a. m.—National Secur
cil.
12:15 p. m.—Gen. Doug
Arthur.
1 (lunch)—Gen. MacArthur
Arthur W. Radford, chairm
Joint Chiefs of Staff; Gen. M
Ridgway, Army Chief of St
Robert B. Carney, Chief of
erations; Deputy Defense
Kyes, Sen. William F.
Speaker Joseph W. Martin, S
aft Saltonstall and Rep. Dew
2:45 p. m.—Winners of th
photographic contest of th
House News Photographers A
3 p. m.—Athanasios G. Politis
bassador of Greece, and
Defense Minister Panyiotis K
ulos.

MAIN OFFICE & PLANT: 7519 N. ASHLAND AVE. • BRiargate 4-7100 • CHICAGO 26, ILL.

chicago North Side newspapers

LEO A. LERNER
Editor and Publisher

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BRiargate 4-7100

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Ravenswood-Lincolnite
North Town News
Rogers Park News
Life of Niles Township
North Side Sunday Star

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Sheridan Center Booster
Lake View Booster
The Sunday Booster
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Mayfair Times
Norwood-Edison Times
Albany-North Park Times
Portage Park Times
Higgins-Oriole Times
North West Sunday Times
Logan Avondale Booster
Armitage Avenue Booster

March 18, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thought you would be interested in reading the editorial that appeared in all of our publications this week.

With deep appreciation,

I am

Sincerely yours,

Leo A. Lerner

LEO A. LERNER
Editor and Publisher

lal. rd
enc.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York City, N.Y.

John Kornacker, 2232 Geneva, Found Apartment with Booster Ad That Ran One Day — Our Inexpensive Classified Ads Bring Fast Results . . . . . Call BUckingham 1-7500

WINNER OF N.E.A. MERRICK AWARD FOR AMERICANISM AND DEMOCRACY

LINCOLN-BELMONT BOOSTER

Home Newspaper of the Great Lake View Community

10¢ A WEEK DELIVERED TO YOUR HOME

33RD YEAR—No. 37 | 111 | CHICAGO, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 17, 1954 | TODAY'S CIRCULATION 43,500 | 3114 N. Greenview Avenue Telephone BUckingham 1-7500

The First Column

By LEO A. LERNER

AN ACT OF FAITH

MANY people call it an act of courage, but I prefer to think of it as an act of faith.

I refer to what Edward R. Murrow did on television the other night to help the American people to understand the evil of McCarthyism.

There was a relaxed determination, a quiet confidence about this act of courage that made it an act of faith.

Murrow has been learning firsthand about the faith of the American people for a long time. As the conductor of the "This I Believe" series on radio he has delved deeply into the moral quality of the individuals who are America. He knew that all Americans, whatever their race or their religion, aspire to honesty and truth. What he did against the charlatan and the demagogue, against the Texas money-changers crowding our Temple of Democracy, he did because of his own faith and the faith of and in the American people he knows.

* * *

The word humility has been lately defiled in the market place of television. But real humility is easily recognized; it is revealed by our own intuition.

Murrow humbly performed his act on television that night as though his spiritual life depended upon it. Here was no know-it-all, no wise guy making a political speech, no ambitious, brash young politician trying to win power with the help of an advertising agency and a makeup man. "There are no tricks in plain and simple faith."

Strange, in a way, that it was not a politician who disenchanted us with McCarthyism. There were great opportunities for some brave political leader to do a thorough analysis of this new and frightening thing that has confused and confounded America and the whole world. It was beginning to look as though the United States of America had lost confidence in its free system.

Always in our past some great political leader has stepped forward to put his country back on the track. In 1799 it was Thomas Jefferson, who fought the Alien and Sedition Acts. In 1861 it was Abraham Lincoln, who gave his life for it. In 1921 it was Charles Evans Hughes, who spoke out boldly against the Palmer raids.

Why no politician this time? Fear, I guess. They had lost confidence in the fair-mindedness of the American people. They found it simpler to ride out the hysteria.

Adlai Stevenson spoke out, but he did not get firm support even from some leaders of his own party. Perhaps some of his advisers felt that an all-out attack sustained on McCarthy would perhaps falsely identify Stevenson as "pro-Communist." It remained for Murrow, a news analyst, to tell the story Adlai Stevenson tried to tell, not as an act in defense of communism, which is absurd, but as an act in defense of Americanism.

No American traditionalist, however conservative, could stand by and see our legal system mocked, our ethics torn to shreds, our sense of fair play destroyed, our very language fouled and corrupted by a shrewd, ambitious and thoroughly unscrupulous band of character assassins operating under the authority of the U.S. Congress. To fight McCarthyism was to defend Americanism, and Edward R. Murrow that Tuesday night on television may have saved the Union just as surely as Lincoln did it 90 years earlier.

* * *

It is impossible to get into a man's mind and discover by what process he came to the conclusion that he had to do what he did. My own guess is that like the boy in Holland who put his arm in the hole in the dike, Murrow felt the cruel sea pouring in on his beloved country, destroying the dikes of our freedom and our constitution, and decided it was time for somebody to try to put a stop to the thing.

Pastor Martin Niemoeller must have searched his soul similarly before he spoke out in Hitler Germany, but it was too late. All he got for his act of faith and courage was a term in a Nazi prison. But it is to man's eternal credit that man learns from history. Ed Murrow, in whom the brooding has grown until he had to cry out, cried out for millions of his countrymen, and he cried out in time.

By this act of purification,

(Continued on Page 2)

Bring 'Win' Back, They Cry

Seek Return Of Stracke To Video

Lake View Mothers Begin Drive for Children's Entertainer

The efforts of two Lake View women to bring Win Stracke, television personality, back on the air has snowballed into a campaign by mothers throughout Chicago, Skokie, Des Plaines and Elmhurst.

And it all began when two little girls sat down in front of their television set on Feb. 26 and cried because "Uncle Win" and his Animal Playtime wasn't on Channel 5 at 12:30 p.m.

A mother can't just sit back and watch her daughter cry, so Mrs. Irving Adler, 624 Cornelia, and Mrs. Martin Leven, 724 Waveland, began a campaign to bring the familiar face back to their television screens.

On March 6, the two young housewives sent a letter to the National Broadcasting Co., and protested the loss of their daughters' friend.

"Petitions are being circulated throughout the city, and we're using every medium we can to express ourselves," the women wrote NBC. "Our children are heartbroken because Uncle Win is a part of their lives."

Since the women received no answer to their letter, they went into action and circulated petitions and pictures of Uncle Win in grocery stores throughout Lake View.

Grocers Like Petition

"When we went to collect the petitions, grocers asked us to leave them because they were good for business," Mrs. Leven said. The grocers said their customers thought they were wonderful for supporting the protest."

It took only a week for Mrs. Adler and Mrs. Leven to canvass the entire North Side, and word of their work spread throughout Chicago suburbs, and into the Far South Side..

"We never realized that housewives could make such a big noise," Mrs. Adler said. "But if ever there was a reason for mothers to unite, this is it!"

The mothers said that they feel strongly about Win Stracke be-

(Continued on Page 8)

Rally 'Round Win

(See Other Photo on Page 6)

CENTER OF MOTHERS' CAMPAIGN is Win Stracke, right, ballad-singing television star who was taken off the air Feb. 26. Because these mothers started a campaign to bring Stracke's Animal Playtime back to television, he made a personal appearance Friday in the home of Mrs. Richard Felix, 3507 Pine Grove, center. Singing with Uncle Win, left to right are: Mrs. Irving Adler, 624 Cornelia, and her daughter, Joyce, 2½; Mrs. Felix and son, Bobbie, 2½, and Mrs. Martin Leven, 724 Waveland, and daughter, Paula Ann, 2½.

—Staff Photo by Lou Bryk & Associates

Rites Today for Mitch McKeown, Top Fund Raiser

Requiem mass will be said today (Wednesday) for Mitchell McKeown, 57, known throughout Chicago for his fund-raising activities.

Mr. McKeown, 2430 Lakeview, died Sunday in Passavant hospital. The head of the Mitchell McKeown Organization, 135 S. La Salle, he established a basic concept, now standard in his field, for public relations and fund raising in connection with charitable and philanthropic affairs.

He came to Chicago from Brooklyn in the early 1930s and became fund-raising counselor for United Charities, the predecessor of Community Fund.

During the last 14 years, Mr. McKeown has been public relations and fund raising counselor for the Chicago chapter of the American Red Cross.

Mr. McKeown, who was public relations man and manager of Mayor Kennelly's election and reelection campaigns, conceived the Mayor's Youth Foundation.

The funeral will be from Carroll's chapel, 25 E. Erie, and St. Clement's church, 642 Deming, at 10:30 a.m. to All Saints cemetery.

SUR-PRIZE-O

$120 Cash Next Week

A Sur-Prize-O merit certificate plus an extra cash award of—

$120

This week's award went to Leo Liske, 1307 Addison, a neighborhood booster. He was given a merit certificate but missed out on an extra cash award of $60 when he couldn't present his newsboy receipt, thereby making that award $120 for next week.

No consideration is necessary. You need only your newsboy receipt or a reasonably exact facsimile to win the extra cash award.

Newsboys are now collecting their regular 10-cent weekly subscription charge and are presenting red receipts. If the newsboy on your route does not call, telephone BUckingham 1-7500 and somebody will be sent out.

'Wrong Turn' in Zoning Case Disturbs Neighbors

Feel Golf Property 'Bribe Offer' Emphasis Harmful

Neighbors who have been fighting against encroachment of factories in their community are deeply disturbed by the turn the Bodine matter has taken.

These Lake View residents became involved in the Bodine fight solely to protect their homes and property. Now an alleged bribe offer appears to be getting more attention than the question of what is to become of the former golf course site.

Several of these neighbors, with the average person's awe of grand jury proceedings, were frightened when called to testify before that body last week. All are worried by the political overtones which appear to be stronger than the merit of the real issue.

What the neighbors seem to have walked into is a fight between the regular element and the reform element of the city council. The reform element—particularly Charles J. Fleck, former 45th ward alderman, Ald. John J. Hoellen (47th) and Ald. Robert Merriam (5th)—have been on the side of the people.

Now these aldermen are being inadvertently smeared by headlines about the alleged bribe offer. The headlines have given the wrong impression of these men, who have rejected any bribes and have worked to keep the area residential. They are being tagged with the word "bribe," when, as a matter of fact, they have taken nothing and have worked long and

(Continued on Page 6)

Booster Baby Gets Quick Traffic Sign Cooperation

(See Photos on Page 8)

Two Lake View crossings are brighter spots today as a result of The Booster Baby and the prompt cooperation given him by the city and the Park District.

Bright new signs direct motorists to go "Slow" at Greenview and Roscoe, and to "Stop" at Fullerton and Geneva. The faces of neighbors in the vicinity of the two intersections are considerably brighter, too, as a result of the signs.

A neighbor wrote the Baby that the crossing at Fullerton was a dangerous one where there had been a number of accidents. One of the least of these had resulted in a motorist knocking down the Stop sign. A makeshift sign had been put up, but was inadequate.

As soon as this situation was reported to the Park District Traffic Engineering section, which has charge of signs on boulevards, wheels started to roll to carry a new sign to Lake View. It is now in a temporary base, and the Park District says as soon as the ground thaws, they will install a firm metal foundation.

Passing the corner of Greenview and Roscoe, the Booster Baby had noticed children trying to cross to go to school. However, cars whizzed right through the intersection, for drivers could not tell what the unsightly faceless sign was meant to say.

There is no mistaking the warning now, though, since the city Traffic Control Bureau answered the Baby's call for help with a bright new warning sign.

2 Hospital Claims Net Him $534

Last August, Commercial Hospitalization Agency paid John Carlson, 3618 N. Racine, $250.50 for an accident to, and hospital confinement of, his son Robert.

But Commercial's protection of this North Side family didn't end there.

Carlson's wife was hospitalized with a subsequent illness, for which Commercial delivered to the neighbor a check for $283.50, just last March 1.

Total returns of $534 attest to the business acumen of Carlson, who is proprietor of Kulin Range & Furnace Oils, 1207 Wellington.

Four outstanding low-cost, all-inclusive policies offered by Commercial, recommended by this newspaper, will cure financial ills attendant upon needed medical, surgical or hospital care.

For information, call BRiargate 4-7100.

MISLAYS CAR

Felix A. Melcher, 3400 Lake Shore, is a 1953 Cadillac owner who has no Cadillac. He told police Friday that it disappeared from near his home.

HOTEL BANDITS STEP UP PACE!

Forms ACT For Youth Group Here

Mme. Noel Takes Action Against Juvenile Delinquency

One Lake View adult, deeply disturbed by the difficulties facing today's teen-agers, has taken definite steps to do something about it.

Last autumn Mme. Jeannette Noel, who for years has taught dancing to neighborhood youngsters at her studios at 1835 School, returned to her home in Belgium for a visit. During the three months she toured Europe, she was deeply impressed by the adult, well-balanced behavior of the young people she saw.

Youth and grownups worked together and played together in European families, Mme. Noel noted, and the teen-agers were treated as respected members of society and responded in kind.

When she returned home, Mme. Noel heard complaints on every side about the teen-agers in the community. Neighbors complained that young people hung around the streets, making noise and getting in the way—but no one gave them a better place to go. Adults condemned youth for acts of vandalism—but gave them nothing better to do.

So Mme. Noel started a group, patterned after youth workshops she had seen in Europe, from which has grown the All-Community-Theater for Youth, Inc. Already the club has 130 members.

Show Their Work

On Sunday, March 28, at 3 p.m. in Hamlin park fieldhouse, Hoyne and Wellington, the young people will show the public what they have accomplished. There will be no charge to see the variety show which is the result of devoting teen energies to constructive activity.

Response to the program from young people of the area has been immediate and enthusiastic. Adult professionals, sought out by Mme. Noel, have contributed their services to provide instruction in drama, dancing, costume, scenery designing, business management, promotion, music, stage direction, and all other fields of the theater.

Members plan to continue to produce their own shows and programs under sponsorship of the

(Continued on Page 3)

THIS ISSUE
In 2 Sections, 24 Pages.
Want Ads in
SECTION 1
Pages 10, 11

Developing Wave Confronts Police

One Suspect Shot, Caught; Another Repeats Calls on Clerk

Lake View's police are tackling what seems to be a developing wave of hotel robberies, as more and more hostelry clerks are victims of gunmen.

However, Sheffield officers believe they have captured one of the bandits, known by his habits as the "plastic toy-gun bandit."

Bob Smith, 32, of 730 Barry, was caught Saturday morning attempting to escape from a hotel at 739 Belmont, where, according to police, he had committed a robbery.

Patrolmen reported Smith was shot in the back while fleeing. According to Sheffield Capt. James Hackett, the suspect is being treated at Bridewell hospital, prior to facing robbery charges.

A number of hotel clerks from Lake View will "visit" him during his hospital stay, to see if he is the one who victimized them in the past.

Meanwhile, Charles Dillon, clerk in a hotel at 711 Belmont, reported one bandit is trying to make a habit of robbing him.

He told police that the same gunman has been "coming off and on for the past six months."

The lone bandit struck twice last week, taking $20 from Dillon Wednesday, then dropping in Saturday night for an additional $25.

Mrs. Eggers Services Tomorrow

Funeral will be held tomorrow (Thursday) for Mrs. Clara Eggers, 66, of 3742 N. Janssen, who died Monday morning in her home.

Mrs. Eggers, who had been ill for six months, had managed the Eggers' Hardware and Bicycle shop, 1444 Belmont, for her son, Albert, for 10 years.

Born and reared in Lake View, Mrs. Eggers belonged to Bethlehem Evangelical church, Diversey and Magnolia. She is survived by her daughter, Grace Zwemke, and a son, Albert Eggers, and two grandchildren.

Services will be held at 2:30 p.m. tomorrow in Muelhoefer's chapel, 1458 Belmont. Interment will be in Elmwood Park cemetery.

L. V. Kiwanians Will Honor St. Pat Today

A St. Patrick's Day party will be the keynote of the Lake View Kiwanis club meeting today (Wednesday) at noon in the Belden-Stratford hotel, 2300 N. Lincoln Park West. In charge of the meeting will be Harry E. Clohecy, who promises a program of Irish entertainment and corned beef and cabbage for all who wish it.

Primaries

Marshall Holleb, 451 Barry, president of the Independent Voters of Illinois, and Lee Schooler, 3121 Sheridan, radio and television commentator, will take part in a meeting of the Chicago Ethical society at 11 a.m. Sunday, March 21, at the Fine Arts building, 410 S. Michigan. A group of experts will discuss "Who's Who and What's What in the Primaries?"

Neighbor's Body Found In Harbor

Hold Funeral Services for Miss Hattam, 35, Long Ill

Funeral services were held Monday afternoon at Elmwood cemetery for Miss Mabel Hattam, 35, of 907 School.

The body of Miss Hattam, who had been missing since Jan. 25, was discovered Friday in a watery grave at the Belmont harbor.

An inquest was held Monday morning at the county morgue. Members of the Hattam family told a coroner's jury that Miss Hattam had been ill for some time. The jury listed cause of her death as "undetermined."

Survivors are: mother, Mrs. Semreda Hattam; a sister, Eleanor, and three brothers, Robert, Caldwell and Raymond.

Robbers Prove Again: No Honor Among Thieves

Two gunmen who took an auto away from Charles Hammer, 430 Diversey, failed to keep their promise.

He told Town Hall police that the two thieves jumped into his auto at 430 Belmont Friday night and made him drive his car to Roscoe and Bosworth.

At the intersection, they took $6, a gold ring and his 1951 Plymouth. The hoods promised that they would leave his auto at or near the Ivanhoe restaurant, 3000 N. Clark, "in a few hours."

Hammer and police waited at the Ivanhoe. Nobody, but nobody, returned the car.

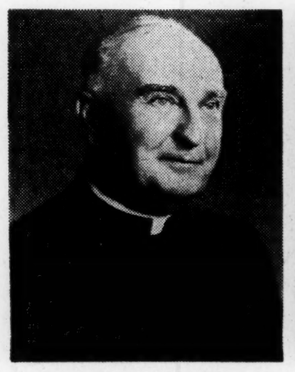
St. Clement Mothers Discuss Programs

St. Clement Mothers' club will have the Rev. R. H. McGlynn as guest speaker at the meeting Thursday, March 25, at 8 p.m. in Fireside Hall, 2524 N. Orchard. There will also be discussion of programs planned for important meetings and events during April and May. Vocational movies will be shown, and a social hour will close the evening.

Negotiate Mortgage On Building Here

A $1,250,000 mortgage, at over 4 percent for 20 years, has been negotiated by Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., on the apartment building at the southwest corner of Brompton and Lake Shore, according to the recorder's office.

We Salute Lake View's Irish!



Bishop Bernard Sheil
Pastor, St. Andrew's Church

Patricia McFarland
2946 Sheffield
Beauty Queen

Vince Garrity
2632 Orchard
Radio, TV Personality

James F. Young
Alderman, 46th Ward

These are but a few of the many fine Irish men and women who reside in Lake View, and 'tis today a very special day on which we wish them "Top o' the Mornin'!"

The Irish, many fold, will attend special church services today (Wednesday) in honor of their patron saint. And every one of them will wear a wee touch of green in memory of St. Patrick.

Holiday flavor surrounding March 17 originated because St. Patrick, a Scotsman, was captured by a group of Irishmen and sold to slavery in Ireland.

After leading a hard life as a slave, St. Patrick escaped to France and fitted himself for the priesthood. The Pope returned him to Ireland to convert the natives to Christianity, and history has it that he was the first priest to preach Christianity to the Irish.

Police Doubt Explanation Of 'Escapade Rooftop'

Two men who fell from Mages Sporting Goods store roof at 3144 N. Ashland Thursday night are being held at Bridewell prison hospital for treatment and questioning.

Sheffield police are eager to learn what Robert L. Wilson, 21, of 2135 Cortland, and William H. Bill, 20, of 1021 Dakin, were doing on the roof.

Both men were injured when they fell into a walled-in area at the store. They explained to detectives that they were "chasing each other around." Police are doubtful about their explanation.

Bill managed to get out of the walled-in area and limped to fire station, Hook and Ladder 21, at 1501 School, for help. Firemen rescued his partner. Bill, according to police, would not say how he got out of the trap.

Wilson suffered leg fractures and Bill received possible fractures of the pelvis and left wrist.

AUFBAU
RECONSTRUCTION

An American Weekly
Published in New York City by the New World Club, Inc.

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March 18, 1954

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

For quite some time, we have been running German translations of John Crosby's television column. Attached you will find this week's issue of the Aufbau which carries, on its back page, the article he devoted to your attack on Senator McCarthy. We were happy to present this excellent piece on a great public service which you have rendered to our common cause.

In my capacity of correspondent to various European dailies (Swiss and German) I have taken great pleasure to report about your valiant fight against McCarthyism.

Let me add that I was very much impressed with your program which presented Mrs. Annie Lee Moss. It was as heart-rending as it was infuriating.

With my heartfelt good wishes for your continued success in tearing down the net of bigotry, fascist fanatism and lies which has threatened to envelop our country, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Manfred George
Editor

mg/p

Office: 2700 Broadway, New York 25, N.Y. • Telephone UNiversity 5-0800 • Cable Address: "Aufbau" New York

AUFBAU RECONSTRUCTION

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"Ich hätte an Schwables Stelle gesagt, so etwas dürfen Sie doch überhaupt nicht tun"

Gespenster um Oberst Schwable

Von KURT KERSTEN

Der Fall des Obersten Frank H. Schwalbe und anderer Militärs, die in der nordkoreanischen Gefangenschaft unter uns unvorstellbarem Druck und infolge körperlichen Torturen Aussagen, noch dazu falsche, machten konnte nur solche Personen verwirren und zur unüberlegten Kritik verleiten, die weder Phantasie noch Erfahrungen in den Methoden totalitärer Regime besitzen. Man möchte sich noch immer nicht wahrhaben, dass sich der Charakter des Krieges völlig geändert hat und wir in einer Periode leben, in der es vor allem Bürgerkriege gibt. Präsident Eisenhower hat in einer Pressekonferenz ausführlich auf diese Veränderung des Kriegscharakters hingewiesen und einen interessanten historischen Exkurs über die Behandlung von Kriegsgefangenen gemacht.

Wahrscheinlich hatte der Präsident das Beispiel Jeffersons im Sinne, der landgräflich hessische Generale wie Geismar als Gäste empfing und auch auf seiner Deutschlandreise später nach Hanau fuhr, um Geismar aufzusuchen. Man wird sich aber vielleicht auch erinnern, dass der Präsident selbst im Zweiten Weltkrieg schon andere Auffassungen vertreten musste, als er sich weigerte, den gefangenen General Arnim in Nordafrika zu empfangen. Die Zeiten haben sich geändert. Alte ritterliche Begriffe existieren nicht mehr, die unsere Vorstellungen, selbst noch in den völkerrechtlichen Abkommen über die Behandlung von Gefangenen beherrscht haben. Unglücklicherweise scheint keine Aussicht zu bestehen, diese Abkommen fernerhin allgemein zur Durchführung zu bringen. Wenn man heute einen Gefangenen gut behandelt, so will man ihn für irgendwelche Zwecke gewinnen. So haben die Russen ihr Spiel mit den deutschen Offizieren getrieben, die vielleicht zur Mehrzahl zuerst nicht ahnten, dass sie nur missbraucht wurden. Wer aber nicht willig ist, wird inquisitorischen Methoden erbarmungslos ausgesetzt wie im Falle Schwable.

Darf man nun leichthin den Stab über unglückliche Menschen brechen, die sich auf dem Schlachtfeld unerschrocken zeigen, aber körperlichen Misshandlungen nicht zu trotzen vermögen? Märtyrer sind selten. In den ersten Jahren des Naziregimes wurden zuweilen noch politische Gefangene nach einer gewisser Zeit aus den Konzentrationslagern und Zuchthäusern entlassen. Zuweilen entkamen solche Entlassenen ins Ausland und berichteten von ihren meist schauerlichen Erlebnissen. Es war eine Qual solche Berichte zu vernehmen, in denen von unvorstellbaren Gewaltakten die Rede war. Es wäre einem unnatürlich, und unmenschlich erschienen, solchen Unglücklichen gar noch Vorhaltungen zu machen, weil sie sich etwa nicht standhaft genug gezeigt hatten. Wer musste sich nicht gestehen, vielleicht selber schwach zu werden, wenn er Foltern unterworfen werden würde!

Zuweilen hatte ein Gefangener voller Verzweiflung Selbstmord verübt, um keine Aussagen zu

(Fortsetzung auf Seite 2)

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McCarthy ohne Maske

Von MANFRED GEORGE

Man kann es der Eisenhower-Administration nicht verdenken, wenn sie darüber ihren Unmut äussert, dass die grausige Burleske McCarthys und der sensationslüsternen Mitglieder seines Stabes die Aufmerksamkeit von den schweren Problemen, die die Nation zu lösen hat, ablenkt. Es liegt zweifellos etwas Unwürdiges darin, dass die ganze politische Szene von den Giftwolken vernebelt wird, die ständig aus dem Pfuhl dieses politischen Sumpfes aufsteigen.

Statt dass aber wirklich eindeutig ein Strich unter das Ganze gezogen wurde, ist die Rede des Vizepräsidenten Nixon, die er im Namen des Präsidenten gehalten hat, bei aller ihrer scheinbaren Entschlossenheit mit vielen Zweideutigkeiten belastet gewesen. Nixon ist ein glatter und ehrgeiziger Mann, der an sich Verstand genug hatte, rechtzeitig zu bemerken, dass das Land auf die Dauer nicht die wüsten Parforce-Touren von Erzreaktionären, Abenteurern und Karrieristen, wie sie unter der Fahne des McCarthyismus versammelt sind, ertragen würde. Aber er ist weder entschlossen noch ideenreich genug, um den Präsidenten zu überzeugen, dass man mit dem Grundbösen niemals paktieren kann.

Er spürt auch, dass wenn nicht Wunder geschehen, die republikanischen Mehrheiten im Kongress im Herbst wie Butter vor der Sonne schmelzen dürften. Deshalb wollen er und die Seinen nicht die demagogische Waffe der "zwanzig Jahre demokratischen Verrats und Misswirtschaft", die ihnen McCarthy, Jenner, Dirksen und auch Brownell geschmiedet haben, aufgeben. Mit dreidreiviertel Millionen Arbeitslosen bereits heute und, angesichts der Steuer-Rebellion im Kongress, mit der Aussicht, dass dem Bundesschatzamt ein breites Loch von sieben Milliarden Dollar im kommenden Steuerjahr in seinen Finanzboden gerissen wird, wollen Nixon und seine Freunde im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes "to have their cake and eat it". Sie möchten den McCarthyismus als Wahlwaffe gebrauchen, ohne sich McCarthy persönlich zu verschreiben.

Der Senator von Wisconsin hätte es so leicht haben können, wenn er nicht alles überspannt hätte. Er hätte unseren auch Ehrgeiz und hätte Nixon, Andja können, wenn er nicht durch seine blindwütigen Beleidigungen der Armee und die Herausforderung solcher persönlicher Freunde Eisenhowers wie des Generals Lucius Clay, des Präsidenten der Chase National, John J. McCloy, oder auch des einflussreichen Paul Hoffman, es dem Vizepräsidenten unmöglich gemacht hätte, ihm zur Seite zu stehen. Nixon weiss besser als McCarthy, auf welcher Seite das Brot gebuttert wird. Er erfuhr im Weissen Haus den glühenden Zorn von Milton Eisenhower, dem Bruder des Präsidenten, und wusste auch, wie die übrigen Verwandten Eisenhowers McCarthy und seine Gruppe einschätzten. Musste der Senator von Wisconsin auch noch sein wüstes Pamphlet gegen den "Verräter" George Marshall an die Militär-Bibliotheken des Landes senden? Musste er anordnen, dass sich sein Haupt-Inquisitor, der penetrante Roy Cohn, in ein Duell ohne Pardon mit dem Heer einliess? Wieder zeigte sich, dass das Schicksal die, die es schlagen will, blind macht.

Aber man soll sich hüten zu glauben, dass McCarthy am Ende ist. Cohn und Schine und vielleicht auch Francis Carr, der Dritte in dem unheiligen Bunde im Kampf gegen die Armee, von dem man mit Staunen hört, dass er ein hoher Beamter der New Yorker FBI gewesen ist, werden vielleicht in den Staubwolken der Auseinandersetzung beruflich untergehen — McCarthy wird noch lange nicht seine Sache aufgeben.

Aber etwas Wesentliches ist geschehen: der Bann ist gebrochen, der Bann jener lähmenden Furcht, die McCarthy und die Seinen seit Jahren wie ein erstickendes Tuch über weite Gebiete der öffentlichen Meinung zu breiten versuchten. Grell fallen die Scheinwerfer auf diesen grossen "Säuberer" der jetzt selbst so sehr der Säuberung zu bedürfen beginnt. Es klingt heute schon ganz an-

Paul Ehrlichs Grösse

Von Dr. WILFRED C. HULSE

In diesen Tagen der grossen und ernsten wissenschaftlichen Geburtstagssymposia und der wiedererweckten witzigen Anekdoten und komischen Geschichtchen über den vor hundert Jahren geborenen und vor nahezu vierzig Jahren verstorbenen Professor Ehrlich erhebt sich die Frage in der grossen Welt des Publikums: was ist die Grösse im Werke Ehrlichs, dieses unermüdlichen Arbeiters, dieses ewig ruhelosen Mannes vom Frankfurter Georg Speyer-Institut?

Natürlich weiss jeder, dass er das *Salvarsan* erfunden hatte! Aber das Salvarsan, Ehrlichs letzte und sensationellste Tat, ist praktisch verschwunden: ist *unnötig geworden.* Die viel seltener gewordene *Syphilis* wird heute *früh und schnell mit Penicillin* und seinen Verwandten, den verschiedenen Antibiotics, behandelt. Ehrlichs Name und Ruf aber haben das Produkt seines Erfindergeistes überlebt. Warum das so ist, verdient einige Augenblicke der Erinnerung!

Nahezu zwanzig Jahre, ehe er das Salvarsan fand, hatte Ehrlich seinen Namen bereits tief in die Tafeln der Geschichte der Medizin eingegraben — er hatte die immunisierenden Kräfte des Organismus erforscht, hatte *aus der Idee von Behrings* eine *praktische Wissenschaft* von den *schützenden Kräften des menschlichen und tierischen Körpers* geschaffen. Er hatte gefunden und gelehrt, wie diese Kräfte verstärkt und provoziert werden und zur Vorbeugung und zur

(Fortsetzung auf Seite 2)

"Fair Is Fair"

ders, wenn etwa die Ortsgruppe der "Veterans of Foreign Wars" im Geburtsort des von McCarthy so schmählich beleidigten Generals Zwicker eine Resolution gegen den Senator, das bisherige Ideal der grossen Kriegsteilnehmer-Verbände, annimmt, in der es als Begründung heisst:

"Senator McCarthy schied auf eigenen Wunsch bereits aus dem Militärdienst aus, als seine Kameraden vom Marine-Korps noch viele blutige Kämpfe im Pazifik zu bestehen hatten. Senator McCarthy hat Behauptungen über erlittene Verwundungen gemacht, die er in Wirklichkeit nie erhalten hat. Er hat sich auf Bildern und in Reden als Maschinengewehr-Schütze im Flugzeug dargestellt, während er als Nachrichten-Offizier im Büro verwandt wurde. Er hat falsche Behauptungen aufgestellt, als er veröffentlichte, dass er als Gemeiner ins Heer eintrat, während er in Wirklichkeit als commissioned officer begann. Er hat ständig versucht, Orden und Auszeichnungen durchzusetzen, ohne dass die Vorgesetzten ihn dafür eingereicht hatten, usw."

Der grosse Joe wird in diesen Scheinwerfern ein kleiner, böser Zwerg. Es war peinlich für ihn, dass er an dem Tage, da er die Klage gegen Senator Benton zurückzog und mit der Behauptung kniff, dass niemand Benton glaube, von einflussreichen Persönlichkeiten auch in Zeitungen veröffentlichte Briefe erhielt, in dem diese versicherten, dass sie jede Anschuldigung Bentons gegen McCarthy glaubten und McCarthys Klage entgegensähen.

McCarthy hat bis heute auch noch nicht die berühmte Artikelserie des Verlegers der "Las Vegas Sun", Hank Greenspun, beantwortet, in der Greenspun verklagt, [illegible] die sieben Aufsätze des mutigen nevadischen Chefredakteurs (übrigens auch eines Erzfeindes des demokratischen Ichthyosaurus McCarran) Behauptungen und Enthüllungen enthalten, die kein anderer Mensch unbestritten würde hingehen lassen. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass Greenspun zum ersten Mal der Welt erzählt, dass McCarthy — ganz genau wie viele seiner erbarmungslos und oft sinnlos blossgestellten Opfer — in seiner Jugend ein radikaler New Deal-Demokrat gewesen ist, der im Lande mit Reden gegen die "Hoover Depression" herumfuhr und bei vielen als ein verkappter Kommunist galt, werden beunruhigende Einzelheiten über seine Handlungen, Neigungen, Mitarbeiter bis ins Einzelne belegt. Besonders interessant ist auch die Entlarvung, dass einer seiner Haupt-Assistenten, Don Surine, aus der FBI herausgeflogen ist. Ein anderer Assistent ist wegen seines Verhaltens 1950 von der Polizei in Washington aufgegriffen worden, wieder ein anderer wurde "dishonorably" aus der Flotte entlassen, war ein ehemaliger Kommunist und wurde dann ebenfalls ein Stab-Mitglied McCarthys. Ueber Dr. J. B. Matthews, der später das Velde Committee mit seinem Angriff gegen die protestantische Kirche in schwerste Verlegenheit brachte, ist oft genug geschrieben worden. Manche Vertraute der Washingtoner Szene werden sich übrigens daran erinnern, dass derselbe Matthews einmal von dem Kongressmann Martin Dies, dem Vater aller "Ausschüsse gegen unamerikanische Tätigkeiten", herausgeworfen worden ist. So könnte man stundenlang fortfahren. Cohn und Schine gehören in eine andere Kategorie, ausser dass diese beiden "Katzenjammer-Kids" bei aller sogenannten juristischen "Bildung" menschlich und geistig ebenso unreif sind wie ihr Herr und Meister.

"How Deep Do You Think It Goes?"

Die Scheinwerfer sind angedreht. Sie werden angedreht bleiben. Da aber McCarthy und Cohn ihre Taktik aus den totalitären Lehrbüchern gelernt haben, werden sie mit der Verzweiflung des gestellten Wildes angreifen. Es dürfte wahrscheinlich sein, dass das grosse Ablenkungs-Manöver, das McCarthy versuchen wird, ein konzentrischer Angriff — zusammen mit Fulton Lewis Junior, Walter Winchell, Westbrook Pegler, der China Lobby, den Leuten hinter "Human Events" und anderen Elementen — auf den Staatssekretär Dulles sein wird. Ausbrechen wird der Kampf, wenn Dulles den bereits achtmal offiziell als loyal erklärten Diplomaten John Paton Davies ebenfalls für unschuldig erklären wird. Davies ist bekanntlich der Sündenbock, der von McCarthy und den Seinen als Hauptschuldiger an der China-Politik Trumans und Achesons bezeichnet wird. Es besteht kaum ein Zweifel, dass Davies immer ein völlig loyaler Beamter war.

Aber was gilt Unschuld, was ist Gerechtigkeit, was bedeutet Loyalität in einer Atmosphäre, wie sie vom McCarthyismus geschaffen worden ist? Vizepräsident Nixon hat ganz recht: servieren wir die McCarthy, Cohn und Genossen raschestens ab und kümmern wir uns nicht mehr um sie. Wir haben Wichtigeres zu tun. Aber servieren wir sie wirklich ab und drohen wir nicht wie Nixon mit dem Oberlehrer-Finger. Ein Tadel wegen schlechten Betragens und 15 Minuten in der Ecke nach Schulschluss — das sind Massnahmen, die in diesem Falle nicht ausreichen.

Spanischer Arbeiterführer zu Tode gefoltert

In einigen spanischen Städten, Madrid, Barcelona und Bilbao, wurden kürzlich zahlreiche Mitglieder der Freien Gewerkschaften verhaftet und im Gefängnis peinlichen Verhören unterworfen. Es handelt sich fast nur um Eisenbahner, die politisch zur Sozialdemokratie gehören, wie auch die illegalen Gewerkschaften sozialdemokratisch sind. Aus Madrid wurde die Nachricht verbreitet, die verhafteten Gewerkschaftler hätten grosse Summen aus dem Ausland erhalten, um eine umstürzlerische Tätigkeit zu entfalten. Der Sekretär der Gewerkschaftsgruppe *Tomas Centeno*, soll im Gefängnis an "inneren Blutungen" *gestorben* sein.

Wie das Nachrichtenblatt der International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (New York, 20 West 40th Street) mitteilt, wurde Centeno am 15. Februar am Krankenbett seiner Frau in einer Klinik verhaftet und starb nach fünf Tagen im Gefängnis. Sein Leichnam wurde der Familie überlassen. Aerzte stellten Brüche und schwere Verletzungen fest, Spuren von Martern, denen Centeno ausgesetzt worden sein muss. Die Gelder, die nach der Madrider Meldung angeblich aus dem Ausland stammten, waren von Mitgliedern der Gewerkschaftsgruppe freiwillig aufgebracht worden. (k)

Paul Ehrlich

(Fortsetzung von Seite 1)

Behandlung der Infektionskrankheiten verwandt werden können.

Paul Ehrlich wurde zum *Vater der modernen Immunisationslehre*, ihrer Antitoxine und Vakcine, all der verschiedenen vorbeugenden und heilenden Einspritzungen, die unter diesem Namen Gemeingut der ärztlichen Praxis geworden sind. Seine *Seitenkettentheorie*, zunächst als eine interessante wissenschaftliche Spielerei und Phantasie betrachtet, hat die Jahrzehnte überlebt und ist nicht nur die *Grundlage* der Immunisierungslehre, sondern auch der *modernen Allergieforschung* geworden.

Das sogenannte Salvarsan aber, Ehrlich-Hota 606 — das sechshundertundsechste Produkt einer mühevollen Reihe wissenschaftlicher Experimente — ist mehr als eine Medizin für Syphilis. Es ist das *erste wirksame Produkt eines neuen medizinischen Zeitalters*, der *Chemotherapie*, einer systematischen Lehre von der Krankheitsbekämpfung durch chemische Produkte. Ehrlich selbst konnte nicht ahnen, dass die Infektionskrankheiten aller Art, *die Malaria, die Schlafkrankheit* und schliesslich, mit den Sulfadrogen auch die Coccen und *Bakterien*, die Erreger der *Lungen- und Gehirnhautentzündungen, der Ohr- und der Hautinfektionen*, kurz, *alle infektiösen Prozesse* wirksam durch chemische Produkte geheilt werden können.

Das wiedererweckte Interesse für Chemotherapie brachte uns schliesslich die halbvergessenen Antibiotics, das Penicillin und Streptomycin und all die anderen, die zur täglichen Waffe des praktischen Arztes geworden sind. Die moderne Therapie der ansteckenden Krankheiten und ihre Vorbeugung gehören zu den grossen Triumphen zeitgenössischer Medizin.

Ihre schnelle Entwicklung und ihre Erfolge wären ohne die Entdeckungen Paul Ehrlichs undenkbar. Darin ist seine Grösse begründet. Sie wird auch die nächsten hundert Jahre überleben!

Gespenster

(Fortsetzung von Seite 1)

machen, zuweilen zog jemand den Tod vor, bevor er den Mund öffnete. Die Literatur ist voll von solchen Berichten, und kein anderer als Arthur Koestler, der körperlich nicht gefoltert worden ist, hat die seelische Verfassung eines politischen Gefangenen in seinem "Spanischen Testament" erregend geschildert. Man wünschte dies schon vergessene Buch, das wahrscheinlich manchen heute nicht mehr zeitgemäss erscheint, würde von jenen wieder gelesen werden, die sich mit dem Fall Schwable beschäftigen.

Damals hat man aber auch schon höchst befremdliche Erfahungen machen müssen. Von kommunistischer Seite wurde damals unbarmherzig über Menschen der Stab gebrochen, die in der Haft schwach geworden waren, und das Buch Koestlers wurde von kommunistischer Seite diffamiert. Man brach den Stab auch über Menschen, die bei ihrer Freilassung einen Revers unterzeichnet hatten, sich fortan als "loyale Bürger "zu benehmen und nichts über ihre Erlebnisse in der Haft laut werden zu lassen. Solche Menschen wurden damals von den Kommunisten in Acht und Bann getan, und manche sind in Moskau als "Agenten" erschossen worden.

Sollte man in Erinnerung an diese kommunistischen Methoden nicht mehr Verständnis für das Verhalten von Gefangenen in totalitären Händen zeigen?

Ergänzung

In dem Nachruf auf Gustav Warsweiler, den wir in der letzten Nummer des "Aufbau" brachten, ist durch ein Versehen des Setzers der Name von Rabbiner Dr. Max Gruenewald, der die Hauptansprache auf der Trauerfeier hielt, ausgelassen worden.

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March 16, 1954

Edward R. Murrow,

Columbia Broadcasting Company,

New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:-

I am enclosing one of my editorials which appears in today's issue of our paper. Please do not examine it too closely for literary imperfections since I was pressed for time when writing it.

My only reason for sending it to you is to show you where one Canadian newspaper stands on "McCarthyism." I do not know what you Americans are going to do about this man McCarthy. We, in Canada, are concerned, because any major issue which affects your great country in any way also affects us. And something should be done--and soon.

Naturally, we follow carefully the major addresses of your President. But, frankly, many of us in this country are beginning to feel that nice-sounding words which are not implemented by action are worse than no words at all. Some of us are losing faith in those impressive, carefully chosen words.

I enjoy your commentaries tremendously. Keep up the good work.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. Lewis

J. C. Lewis

Chief Editorial Writer

P. S. This is only a small paper — 7000 circulation
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March 15, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y.

My Dear Mr. Murrow,

Your "See It Now" study of Sen. McCarthy may, in the final analysis, represent one of the turning points in his heinous career. Your ability to reach the so-called average man, who may not be enlightened by The New York Times and similar responsible publications--and who must eventually make the final decision on McCarthy--must certainly have exercised a tremendous effect in alerting the public to McCarthy's evil and corrosive philosophy.

Enclosed is an editorial I wrote for The Record, which more fully explains my sentiments on the great service you have rendered the cause of freedom. I have always felt the warmest admiration for your work, and I am certain that your already high stature must have been increased in the eyes of the American public.

Confident that you will not be dismayed by the senator's loathesome attacks upon your loyalty, I look forward to your continued efforts against the cancerous growth of McCarthyism. Again, my congratulations for a magnificent job.

Very truly yours,

Sal Foderaro

Sal Foderaro

Asst. City Editor

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Long Branch, N. J., Friday, March 12, 1954

Mr. Murrow Speaks Up

Edward R. Murrow, one of the nation's most respected news commentators, placed his career on the line Tuesday night when he presented a critical portrait of Sen. McCarthy on his television show, "See It Now." And in so doing, he reaffirmed his devotion to those high standards of journalism which have been the hallmark of his career.

To denounce so emphatically a controversial individual like McCarthy, in the face of the senator's own considerable power and his vast and vociferous group of admirers, required no little courage. Bigger men than Murrow have strangely disappeared from the public scene, or have lived to regret the day they tangled with the Wisconsin senator. In this regard, a salute for bravery — if nothing else — must go to Mr. Murrow; his producer, Fred W. Friendly; and his sponsor, the Aluminum Company of America.

In his superb merger of word and picture, and relying primarily on film excerpts of the senator's own speeches, Mr. Murrow rendered a service to the nation which, eventually, can only add to his already considerable stature in the broadcasting-journalism field.

Subscribing to the theory that the senator is his own worst enemy, Mr. Murrow's aim during the program was "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature." No more damning indictment of the senator could be presented than this — to show him as he is.

The importance of the televised unmasking of the senator's activities was highlighted by the very nature of the medium in which it was offered. Mr. Murrow was thus able to reach to the very heart of America, parading McCarthy's shoddy record into the homes of millions of viewers across the country. Thus, the great mass of the people — who either do not have access to, or do not bother to learn the facts as long published in many

The importance of the televised unmasking of the senator's activities was highlighted by the very nature of the medium in which it was offered. Mr. Murrow was thus able to reach to the very heart of America, parading McCarthy's shoddy record into the homes of millions of viewers across the country. Thus, the great mass of the people — who either do not have access to, or do not bother to learn the facts as long published in many newspapers — were provided a brilliant crystallization of the menace of McCarthyism in all its tortuous and labyrinthine courses.

The torrents of wires and phone calls which flooded the Columbia Broadcasting System testify to the program's tremendous appeal, and the overwhelming approval of the reaction will, we hope, inspire Mr. Murrow to continue the good fight.

Portions of the films and tape-recordings used ranged from repugnant to frightening. Thus, when the senator was shown grilling a witness, the leering, almost sadistic countenance was brought before the merciless eye of the close-up lens. McCarthy's infamous "Alger — I mean Adlai" speech, delivered late in the campaign, was exposed for the base and despicable lie it was. Other sections of the program revealed McCarthy's incomparable dexterity in the technique of the half-truth. Mr. Murrow called the turn when he said the senator employs half-truths as "staple."

Mr. Murrow said that this is a time for all to speak out, whether they favor or oppose the senator. He reminded his audience that this nation was not founded by fearful men, and that fear has no place in this country today. He asserted that McCarthy's "primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and the external threats of Communism." This, of course, has been the chariot on which the senator stormed to power.

Mr. Murrow's courageous stand on McCarthy, coming at a time when the senator is challenging even the administrative functions of the President, is most expedient. He has dared stand up where others are cowed into silence. He has struck a telling blow in the struggle to restore honesty and responsibility to the American scene. In that, he has served the highest aims of a free and enlightened press.

* * *

Sen. McCarthy's petulant reaction to the network's granting of free air time to the Republican National Committee in order to answer Adlai Stevenson's attack is another example of his modus operandi. In the course of his running fight with the Federal Communications Commission, NBC and CBS, the senator voiced, what seems to us, a highly significant statement.

He said that if F.C.C. regulations do not entitle him to free time, then "the rules have got to be changed."

The remark characterizes McCarthy's entire philosophy in a remarkable way. To brand this view glaringly hostile to the American tradition of fair play and sportsmanship is unnecessary.

Apparently, the senator will have to learn the hard way those principles of abiding by rules and accepting reversals which every schoolboy absorbs in the sandlot and playground.

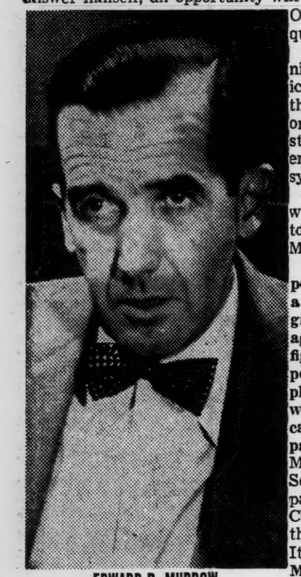
He will also have to learn that here in America we don't "change the rules" for him or anyone else.

M'Carthy Indicts Self on Murrow 'Show'

Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" program on WCBS-TV this week took a critical, but utterly fair, look at Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy. The network reported the following day that the program had received more audience response, most of it favorable, than any other show in its history. For the enlightenment of those who missed the program, The Herald reprints the script with very slight abridgment.

• • •

MURROW: Because a report on Senator McCarthy is by definition controversial we want to say exactly what we mean to say and I request your permission to read from the script whatever remarks Murrow and Friendly may make. If the Senator believes we have done violence to his words or pictures and desires to speak, to answer himself, an opportunity will be afforded him on this program.



EDWARD R. MURROW

Our working thesis tonight is this question:

"If this fight against Communism is made a fight against America's two great political parties the American people know that one of these parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system."

We applaud that statement and we think Senator McCarthy ought to. He said it, 17 months ago in Milwaukee.

McCARTHY: The American people realize this cannot be made a fight between America's two great political parties. If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties the American people know that one of those parties will be destroyed and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one party system.

MURROW: Thus on Feb. 4, 1954, Senator McCarthy spoke of one party's treason. This was at Charleston, West Virginia, where there were no cameras running. It was recorded on tape.

McCARTHY: The issue between the Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of 20 years of treason. The hard fact is—the hard fact is that those who wear the label, those who wear the label Democrat wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal.

MURROW: Seventeen months ago Candidate Eisenhower met Senator McCarthy in Green Bay, Wis., and he laid down the ground rules on how he would meet Communism if elected.

EISENHOWER: This is a pledge I make. If I am charged by you people to be the responsible head of the Executive Department it will be my initial responsibility to see that subversion, disloyalty, is kept out of the Executive Department. We will always appreciate and welcome Congressional investigations but the responsibility will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Executive and I hold that there are ample powers in the government to get rid of these people if the Executive Department is really concerned in doing it. We can do it with absolute assurance.

(APPLAUSE)

This is America's principle: Trial by jury, of the innocent until proved guilty, and I expect to stand to do it.

MURROW: That same night in Milwaukee, Senator McCarthy stated what he would do if the General was elected.

McCARTHY: I spent about a half hour with the General last night. While I can't—while I can't report that we agreed entirely on everything—I can report that when I left that meeting with the General, I had the same feeling as when I went in, and that is that he is a great American, and will make a great President, an outstanding President. But I want to tell you tonight, tell the American people as long as I represent you and the rest of the American people in the Senate, I shall continue to call them as I see them regardless of who happens to be President.

MURROW: Nov. 24, 1953.

McCARTHY: A few days ago I read that President Eisenhower expressed the hope that by election time in 1954 the subject of Communism would be a dead and forgotten issue. The raw, harsh unpleasant fact is that Communism is an issue and wi issue in 1954.

• • •

MURROW: In Philadelphia, on Washington's Birthday, 1954, his heart was so full he could talk. He reviewed some of the General Zwicker testimony and proved he hadn't abused him.

McCARTHY: Nothing is more serious than a traitor to this country in the Communist conspiracy. Question: Do you think standing up is more serious than being a traitor to the country and a part of the Communist conspiracy?

Answer: That, sir, was not my decision.

Shall we go on to that for a while? I hate to impose on your time. I just got two pages. This is the abuse which is . . . the meat of abuse, this is the Official reporter's record of the hearing. After he said he wouldn't remove that General from the Army who cleared Communists, I said: "Then General, you should be removed from any Command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General, and who says 'I will protect another general who protects Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, General."

(APPLAUSE)

"I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army to have to bring these facts before the public but I intend to give it to the public, General, I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said so that you can know that and be back here to hear it, General."

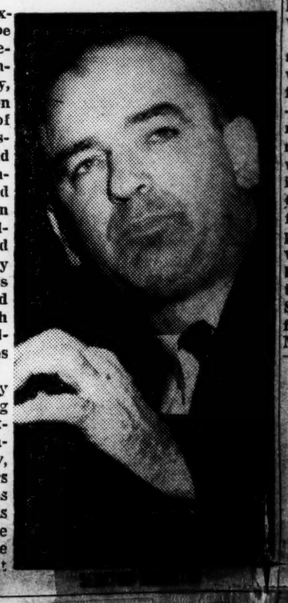
And wait 'til you hear the bleeding hearts scream and cry about our methods of trying to drag the truth from those who know, or should know, who covered up a Fifth Amendment Communist Major. But they say, "Oh, it's all right to uncover them but don't get rough doing it, McCarthy."

MURROW: But two days later, Secretary Stevens and the Senator had lunch, agreed on a memorandum of understanding, disagreed on what the small type said.

STEVENS: I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstances including committee hearings. I shall not accede to them being browbeaten or humiliated. In the light of those assurances although I did not propose cancellation of the hearing, I acceded to it. If it had not been for these assurances, I would never have entered into any agreement whatsoever.

MURROW: Then President Eisenhower issued a statement that his advisers thought censored the Senator, but the Senator saw it as another victory, called the entire Zwicker case "a tempest in a teapot."

McCARTHY: If a stupid, arrogant or witless man in a position of power appears before our Committee and is found aiding the Commun— Party, he will be exposed. The fact that he might be a General places him in no special class as far as I am concerned. Apparently — apparently, the President and I now agree on the necessity of getting rid of Communists. We apparently disagree only on how we should handle those who protect Communists. When the shouting and the tumult dies the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud slinging against the Committee by the extreme left wing elements of press and radio were caused solely because another Fifth Amendment Communist was finally dug out of the dark recesses and exposed to the public view.



MURROW: Senator McCarthy claims that only the left wing press criticized him on the Zwicker case. Of the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country, these are the left wing papers that criticized. These are the ones which supported him. The ratio is about three to one against the Senator. Now let us look at some of these left wing papers that criticized the Senator.

The Chicago Tribune: McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel.

The New York Times: The unwarranted interference of a demagogue—a domestic Munich.

The Times Herald, Washington: Senator McCarthy's behavior toward Zwicker is not justified.

The Herald Tribune of New York: McCarthyism involves assault on Republican assets.

Milwaukee Journal: The line must be drawn and defended or McCarthy will become the government.

The Evening Star of Washington: It was a bad day for everyone who resents and detests the bully boy tactics which Senator McCarthy often employs.

The New York World Telegram: Bamboozling, bludgeoning, distorting.

St. Louis Post Dispatch: Unscrupulous bullying. What tragic irony—the President's advisers keep him from doing whatever decent instinct must command him to do.

That is the ratio from three to one of the left wing press.

There was one other interesting quote on the Zwicker controversy, and it came from the Senator himself.

McCARTHY: May I say that I was extremely shocked when I heard that Secretary Stevens told two Army officers they had to take part in the cover up of those who promoted and coddled Communists. As I read his statement, I thought of the quotation, "On what meat doth this, our Caesar, feed?"

MURROW: And upon what meat does Sen. McCarthy feed? Two of the staples of his diet are the investigations (protected by immunity) and the half truth. We herewith submit samples of both. First, the half truth. This was an attack on Adlai Stevenson at the end of the '52 campaign. President Eisenhower, it must be said, had no prior knowledge of it.

McCARTHY: I perform this unpleasant task because the American people are entitled to have the coldly documented history of this man who says he wants to be your President. But strangely, Alger—I mean Adlai . . . but let's move on to another part of the jigsaw puzzle. While you may think that there can be no connection between the debonair Democrat candidate and a dilapidated Massachusetts barn, I want to show you a picture of this barn and explain the connection. Here is the outside of the barn. Give me the picture of the inside of the barn. Here is the outside of the barn at Lee, Mass. It looks as though it couldn't house a farmer's cow or goat. Here's the inside (showing a picture). A beautiful, paneled conference room with maps of the Soviet Union. What way does Stevenson tie up with that?

My—my investigators went out and took pictures of the barn after we had been tipped off what was in it. Tipped off that there was in this barn all the missing documents from the Communist front—IPR. The IPR which was named by the McCarran Committee—named before the McCarran Committee as a coverup for Communist espionage. Let's take a look at the photostat of the document taken from the Massachusetts barn. One of those documents which was never supposed to see the light of day. Rather interesting it is. This is a document which shows that Alger Hiss and Frank Coe recommended Adlai Stevenson to the Mount Tremblant Conference which was called for the purpose of establishing foreign policy—post-war policy in Asia. As you know, Alger Hiss is a convicted traitor, Frank Coe is a man who has been named under oath before the Congressional Committee seven times as a member of the Communist Party. Why, why Hiss and Coe find that Adlai Stevenson is the man they want representing them at this conference? I don't know. Perhaps Adlai knows.

MURROW: But Sen. McCarthy didn't permit his audience to hear the entire paragraph. This is the official record of the McCarran hearings and anyone could have bought it for two dollars. Quote: "Another possibility for the Mount Tremblant Conferences on Asia is someone from Knox' office or Stimson's office." (Frank Knox was our wartime Secretary of the Navy; Henry Stimson our Secretary of the Army, both distinguished Republicans). Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson, one of Knox' special assistants, and Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State under Hoover, and now assistant to Stimson because of their jobs.

We read from this documented record not in defense of Mr. Stevenson, but in defense of truth. Specifically, Mr. Stevenson's identification with that red barn was no more, no less than that of Knox, Stimson or Bundy. It should be stated that Mr. Stevenson was once a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations. But so were such other loyal Americans as Sen. Ferguson, John Foster Dulles, Paul Hoffman, Henry Luce and Herbert F. Hoover. Their association carries with it no guilt, and that barn has nothing to do with any of them.

* * *

(Murrow then discussed the now infamous McCarthy hearing involving Reed Harris, an official of the U. S. Information program. It has been deleted, reluctantly, by the editors because of space limitations.)

MURROW: Now let us try to bring the McCarthy story a little more up to date. Two years ago Sen. Benton of Connecticut accused McCarthy of apparent perjury, unethical practice and perpetrating a hoax on the Senate. McCarthy sued for two million dollars. Last week he dropped the case saying no one could be found who believed Benton's story. Several volunteers have come forward saying they believe it in its entirety.

Today Sen. McCarthy says he's going to get a lawyer and force the networks to give him time to reply to Adlai Stevenson's speech. Earlier, the Senator asked, "upon what meat does this our Caesar feed." Had he looked three lines earlier in Shakespeare's **Caesar** he would have found this line, which is not altogether inappropriate: "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars but in ourselves."

No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and the external threat of Communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. We will not walk in fear, one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes which were for the moment unpopular.

This is no time for men who oppose Sen. McCarthy's methods to keep silent, or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities. As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, the defenders of freedom, what's left of it, but we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it and rather successfully. Cassius was right, "The fault, dear Brutus is not in our stars, but in ourselves."

Good night, and good luck.

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U. S. INFORMATION SERVICE

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,
London, W.1.
March 11, 1954

PERSONAL

Dear Ed:

The biggest news, certainly from the standpoint of impact, to hit Britain in some time was the report of your TV show re Senator McCarthy (I thought you might be interested in the page 1 story attached, from the "News Chronicle" which was perhaps the outstanding "play" given by the British press, although most of the London dailies carried the story, at least briefly. It also got heavy play in the BBC Newscast this morning.).

This is a request that I am hoping against hope you can fulfill -- I would love to have a telefilm of your show for viewing here. I would particularly like to show it to the Ambassador who read the British reports of your show with great interest.

If such a film is available and I could borrow it, I would make whatever arrangements you required gladly and would have it shipped over and back via diplomatic pouch. Will you let me know please, as soon as possible ?

Incidentally, the Aidan Crawley Series, in which I understand you aided tremendously, have had a tremendous effect here -- particularly the last two having to do with the Junior Senator from Wisconsin.

My love to Janet.

Hopefully,

Joe.

Joseph S. Evans, Jr.

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

12,000 ring up Ed Murrow

By ROBERT WAITHMAN

IN the news from America last night was an intimation that Mr. Edward R. Murrow was taking Senator McCarthy apart.

It said that 12,000 excited telegrams and telephone calls had come in from television fans all over the United States who had seen him do it.

Edward R. Murrow, one of the world's best radio commentators, is the man who made the London blitz understood in America. Night after night, in the war years, the Americans waited for him, and for his opening words:

This . . . is London.

And then the Americans would hear, over Murrow's microphones, the wail of the sirens, the clattering of feet in the dark streets, the noises of the A.A. guns and the clump of bombs.

There was nothing quite like Murrow's broadcasts; and they always began: *This . . . is London.*

In America now millions tune in to this programme "See It Now."

Ed Murrow this week ran extracts from the film the B.B.C. recently showed on television: the grilling of a U.S. Information Services official about a book he wrote in 1932—a classic piece of bullying and bluster.

This . . . was McCarthy.

Ed chipped in to prove that a statement McCarthy made in the course of that performance was, in plain language, a lie.

Half-truths

He followed this up with recordings of McCarthy's voice, uttering his own particular brand of half-truth; and he went back to a film in which President Eisenhower was seen making a promise—that he and his Administration would deal with the Communists-in-Government—which McCarthy was defying.

McCarthy was seen making the familiar claim that those who opposed him were the negligible "Left-wing" Press. Murrow then demonstrated that the Press on the far Right were denouncing the witch-hunting senator.

"His primary achievement," said Murrow, "has been in confusing the public mind. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, the defenders of freedom. But we cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home!"

Ed Murrow is not only the star broadcaster but also a high executive of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Took a risk

Never before has any network departed from the strict impartiality which is enjoined upon it by American law.

Murrow met the letter of the law by offering McCarthy facilities to reply.

BUT HE HAS TAKEN A RISK THAT NO OTHER NETWORK SO FAR HAS BEEN PREPARED TO CONSIDER.

Perhaps the way was opened by Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Party leader, when he made one of America's historic political speeches on the McCarthy issue last Saturday.

Perhaps the dam which has held back the protests of the affronted millions in America—for it has been a dangerous thing to oppose McCarthy—is now breaking.

There was some sign last night that McCarthy was aware of the danger.

After lunching with the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Charles Wilson, McCarthy sounded placatory, even humble.

"I agree one hundred per cent. with Secretary Wilson that the Army, as such, isn't coddling Communists," he declared. "Ninety-nine per cent.—maybe higher than that—of military personnel are good, loyal Americans."

Party split?

That wasn't what he said not many days ago when, riding high, he was insulting and brow-beating an Army general.

President Eisenhower is now facing the possibility that his party, the Republicans, may be split and discredited—in advance of next November's Congressional elections—over the question whether to cash McCarthy's following or

WEEI

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

182 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON 11, MASSACHUSETTS · HUBBARD 2-2323

CHARLES ASHLEY
Director of News

March 11, 1954

Dear Ed,

Thought you'd be interested in Boston reaction to your McCarthy piece on See It Now----particularly because Boston didn't "see it."

United Press next day led it's radio world news roundups (enclosed) with story. I used it pretty much asw was. Immediately we were flooded with phone calls wanting to know why Boston was again left out in the cold; why Bostpn couldn't see such programs.

Ratio of calls-Pro-Murrow and why can't we see him.....about 50.

Pro-McCarthy.....exactly 2 (cranks who said we were again McCarthy because he is a Catholic.

Best personal regards and I'm doubly proud to be working for and with a guy with guts.

Charlie

IN HIS CRITICISM OF MCCARTHY, MU[illegible]W SAID: "HE HAS TRAVELED FAR, INTERVIEWED MANY, TERRORIZED SOME, [illegible]USED MILITARY LEADERS OF A GREAT CONSPIRACY TO TURN THE COUNTRY OVER TO COMMUNISM, INVESTIGATED AND SUBSTANTIALLY DEMORALIZED THE STATE DEPARTMENT..."

HE CHARGED THAT THE SENATOR HAS "REPEATEDLY STEPPED OVER THE LINE BETWEEN INVESTIGATION AND PERSECUTION."

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MURROW CONCLUDED HIS PROGRAM BY SAYING, "HIS PRIMARY ACHIEVEMENT HAS BEEN IN CONFUSING THE PUBLIC MIND AS BETWEEN INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS OF COMMUNISM."

C-B-S REPORTED AT 2:30 THIS MORNING (EST) THAT ITS SWITCHBOARDS WERE FLOODED WITH TELEPHONE CALLS RESPONDING TO THE MURROW PROGRAM. TWO THOUSAND, 211 OF THE CALLERS APPROVED THE ATTACK ON MCCARTHY, 149 PROTESTED IT. IN ADDITION, THERE WERE ONE THOUSAND AND 46 TELEGRAMS APPROVING, AND 13 PROTESTING.

REPUBLICAN SENATOR RALPH FLANDERS OF VERMONT CUT LOOSE YESTERDAY WITH A SPEECH ON THE SENATE FLOOR ATTACKING MCCARTHY. HE ACCUSED THE SENATOR OF TRYING TO SHATTER THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ESTABLISH A ONE-MAN PARTY IN ITS PLACE. THE WISCONSIN SENATOR, HE SAID, HAS GIVEN THE DEMOCRATS WHAT HE CALLED "SO MUCH MATERIAL FOR QUIET MIRTH."

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO WILL MAKE THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN ADDRESS SATURDAY NIGHT, PRAISED ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS MCCARTHY HAS CRITICIZED INCLUDING SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND ARMY SECRETARY ROBERT STEVENS.

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THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM REPORTS THAT THERE WAS AN IMMEDIATE FLOOD OF TELEPHONE CALLS AND TELEGRAMS --- MOST OF IT FAVORABLE TO ITS NEWSCASTER. THE NETWORK,S WASHINGTON STATION (WTOP-TV) SAYS IT HASN,T RECEIVED SUCH A RESPONSE TO A PROGRAM SINCE VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON MADE HIS FAMOUS EXPENSE FUND SPEECH DURING THE 1952 CAMPAIGN. MOST STATIONS WHICH CARRIED THE PROGRAM REPORT THE RESPONSE WAS OVERWHELMING IN MURROW,S FAVOR WITH THE EXCEPTOION OF LOS ANGELES --- WHERE IT WAS HALF AND HALF.

BEFORE HE RETIRED LAST NIGHT, MC CARTHY DENOUNCED BOTH C-B-S AND THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY AS "IMMORAL" AND "COMPLETELY DISHONEST" FOR REFUSING TO GRANT HIM FREE TIME TO REPLY TO ATTACKS BY ADLAI STEVENSON, THE 1952 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

HE SAID THAT IF FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS RULES WON,T FORCE THE NETWORKS TO FURNISH THE TIME, THEN THE RULES SHOULD BE CHANGED. AND HE PROMISED TO HIRE LAWYERS TO SEE WHAT LEGAL STEPS HE CAN TAKE.

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON, MEANWHILE, IS WORKING ON THE SPEECH HE WILL MAKE SATURDAY NIGHT DURING THE TIME N-B-C AND C-B-S HAVE OFFERED THE REPUBLICANS TO ANSWER STEVENSON,S SPEECH LAST SATURDAY ATTACKING NOT ONLY MC CARTHY BUT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AS WELL.

NIXON SAYS HE WILL DISCUSS THE SPEECH WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER. THE SPEECH, HE SAID, WILL REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE PRESIDENT.

IN A SPEECH IN PHILADELPHIA LAST NIGHT, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID, "NO PARTY IN AMERICA HAS A MONOPOLY ON PATRIOTISM OR LOVE OF COUNTRY."

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(MC CARTHY)

3/10/54

SENATOR JOSEPH MC CARTHY SAYS HE [illegible]LL HIRE LAWYERS THIS MORNING TO TRY TO FIND LEGAL WAYS TO FORCE TWO NATIONAL NETWORKS TO GIVE HIM FREE TIME.

BUT AN OFFER OF FREE TIME ALRADY HAS COME FROM A NEWS COMMENTATOR FOR ONE OF THE NETWORKS --- A NEWSCASTER WHO DEVOTED HIS ENTIRE HALF HOUR TELEVISION PROGRAM LAST NIGHT TO CRITICISM OF MC CARTHY.

(C-B-S) COMMENTATOR ED MURROW CHARGED THAT MCCARTHY HAD "REPEATEDLY STEPPED OVER THE LINE BETWEEN INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSECUTION." HE SAID TWO "STAPLES" OF HIS COMMITTEE INVESTIGATIONS ARE CONGRESSIONAL IMMUNITY FROM SUIT FOR LIBEL AND THE HALF-TRUTH. AND HE SAID MCCARTHY "HAS TRAVELED FAR, INTERVIEWED MANY, TERRORIZED SOME, ACCUSED CIVILIAN AND MILITARY LEADERS OF A GREAT CONSPIRACY TO TURN THE COUNTRY OVER TO COMMUNISM, AND INVESTIGATED AND SUBSTANTIALLY DEMORALIZED THE PRESENT STATE DEPARTMENT.

AT THE START OF HIS BROADCAST, MURROW PROMISED TO MAKE TIME AVILABLE TO THE SENATOR IF HE WANTS TO USE IT.

THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE RESPONSE FROM MC CARTHY. MRS. MC CARTHY SAYS HE WAS ASLEEP DURING THE BROADCAST AND DIDN,T EVEN HEAR IT, AND SHE REFUSED TO WAKE HIM UP FOR COMMENT.

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THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

March 10,1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Congratulations on your splendid handling of McCarthy Tuesday night. It was the most effective thing I've seen on a subject that needs much more treatment than it has been getting.

I hope to see your documentary rerun over the country. It deserves it -- and the country needs it. It was a supremely fair presentation and the fact that the net result was devastating to Joe is on Joe's own head.

I thought you might be interested in the way we handled the story of your program. I also thought you might be interested in the editorial we published today -- the latest of many in which we have dealt with our national headache.

Again, congratulations. It seems to me that the timing was perfect -- that you gave a push just as there is hope that the tide may be turning.

Best personal regards,

John N. Reddin

John N. Reddin
editorial writer

top

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
L. W. NIEMAN, *Founder, 1882*

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Will Eisenhower Stop Senator McCarthy's Drive for Power?

President Eisenhower and his administration face a choice: Curb Senator McCarthy or become subservient to him, little by little.

Once such a situation would have seemed incredible. It is no longer so. McCarthy, with the help of some in his party and the timid acquiescence of many of the others in it, has become a power which threatens to split or take over the Republican party. Either would be fatal to the GOP.

The record is clear for the president to see.

McCarthy undermined the state department under Truman. He continues under Eisenhower to sow distrust in the men and policies upon which our security rests.

He continues and intensifies his campaign to destroy confidence in the army and our military leaders.

He bullies, accuses and smears our allies to the point of endangering our place as leader of the free world.

He has become a symbol of the kind of America that suspicious foreigners fear and that the Communists picture in their propaganda.

He has shouldered himself into a major political position. If the Republicans win in the fall he will claim the credit. If they lose, he will blame Eisenhower for not peddling the McCarthy brand of political carbon monoxide.

He seems to be able to get large sums of money, particularly oil money, for his purposes.

He has a large following, including unreasoning groups who are impervious to facts and blind to the significance of his drive for power. He has the backing of many who put political party success above national good. He has frightened many opponents into silence.

He has proved time and again that it is dangerous to brush his incredible antics aside in the belief that, "given enough rope, he will hang himself."

He is giving every indication of setting up Eisenhower himself as a prime target for 1955 or 1956.

tics of his own party. He fights administration supporters. His part in the current attempt to defeat Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine is an example.

An administration that wants to curb McCarthy—as this one must if it is not to come apart at the seams—would root out his henchmen in government agencies.

It would tolerate no spies, no one whose loyalty went not to the administration, but to McCarthy.

It would send down firm notice that all officials were to refuse to knuckle under to McCarthy and that they would get White House backing.

It would fight for its own supporters who came under McCarthy's unjustified attack.

It would deny McCarthy influence in appointments — whether for the federal marshal's job in Milwaukee or a switchboard operator's in the state department.

It would assert such leadership that there would be no void into which McCarthy could move.

* * *

President Eisenhower need have no illusion that he can appease, or work with, McCarthy or that he is personally safe from a smear. As early as June 14, 1950, in one of his shameful attacks on Gen. Marshall as a front for traitors, McCarthy charged that Marshall "unflaggingly opposed" methods that could win the war in north Africa, Sicily and Italy. He added that "in all these attitudes, Eisenhower . . . was Marshall's firm supporter."

Eisenhower has seen McCarthy pillory one after another of his friends and associates. He has heard McCarthy charge that the administration's "batting average is zero" in anti-Communist cases. He has seen McCarthy snicker at the president's infrequent attempts to criticize impersonally some of McCarthy's reckless actions. He has experienced the blast of McCarthy's ridicule and irresponsible innuendo, as in the Stevens-McCarthy clash.

Now there are indications that McCarthy investigators are at work assembling information on alleged Communist activities in the military government of Germany in 1945-'46, when Eisenhower was in command there. Does anyone doubt who the target will be if and when it suits McCarthy's purpose?

McCarthy has won every skirmish with the president since the day he talked Eisenhower into changing his campaign speech given in Milwaukee in 1952. Who can doubt that he intends, in the end, to triumph over Eisenhower completely?

If McCarthy succeeds, the Republican party will be split wide open.

Even if no split comes, McCarthy tactics can lead to political defeat for the Republicans—for these tactics can block any successful Republican program. He has managed for months to keep the mind of the nation, the congress and the administration off the Eisenhower

Carthy?

By stopping the refrain that they have the same aim as McCarthy—rooting out Communists. That's not McCarthy's primary aim. His aim is power for McCarthy.

By stopping the refrain that McCarthy has alerted the nation to communism. He hasn't. Others have found Communists. McCarthy has mostly created bogeymen or rehashed work others have done. To give him credit for rooting out communism is, in the words of Elmer Davis, like saying that "nothing brings the danger of fire more to the attention of the public than turning in false alarms all over town."

By labeling McCarthy for what he is—the destroyer of confidence in American leaders and American government. This cannot be done, as Atty. Gen. Brownell and others have tried, by out-McCarthying McCarthy. It cannot be done if the GOP, through its national committee, persists in giving McCarthy the office of St. George and sending him forth to slay dragons he has created and to smear many good Americans.

* * *

Next, the president and his administration can prune McCarthy's power by nipping its roots wherever it has crept into government through patronage or intimidation.

That source of McCarthy's power has been created with the help of the administration. The president named a McCarthy friend to the important federal communications commission, for instance. McCarthy threatens and harasses radio and television networks for free time to which he has no right. He has become a useful agent for persons seeking FCC favors.

The state department offers another example. R. W. Scott McLeod, another McCarthy "friend," is security officer there. He has been given his own private FBI, of 176 persons, outside of civil service, with which he can carry on McCarthy's campaign of intimidation, fear and destruction of state department morale.

McCarthy spies exist in department after department. His committee has a welcome mat for any jealous, disgruntled or incompetent employe who wishes to offer up his department head or associates to bullying and smear. The official who refuses to "yes" McCarthy is pilloried, and —up to now—has not been able to count on White House backing.

Through under the counter deals, intimidation, and this personal spy system, McCarthy has had access to FBI reports, personnel records, income tax reports and other supposedly secret files. He has gotten his hands on private mail and the contents of private wastebaskets. His sources of information run even into the White House.

This spy system extends abroad. Embassies, consulates, American foreign operations of all kinds—and even officials of foreign governments—have been questioned and spied upon by agents seeking grist for McCarthy's scandal mill.

Finally, McCarthy interferes in the poli-

It is time for President [illegible] realize the political truth of a maxim misapplied by McCarthy — you can't fight skunks with kid gloves. The president's support of Senator Flanders Wednesday shows that he may be beginning to realize this.

The nation can outlive McCarthy. But, for President Eisenhower, it is a real question whether the Republican party can.

The Great Silence

From the Army Times, Veterans' Edition (unofficial).

We are looking for possible action to restore to the processes of our federal government those principles of the democracy upon which it is founded.

We are looking to the American Legion—and to the other major veterans' organizations—to break their bonds of silence and stand up and be counted, not simply among the anti-Communists, but among the protectors of freedom.

The preamble to the American Legion constitution dedicates all legionnaires "to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy; to sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

We believe that the legion and the lesser veterans' organizations have a duty to perform. That duty is to make known to the American public where they stand in the continuing battle between Senator McCarthy and the executive branch of the United States government. If they are pro-McCarthy, let them so announce themselves. If they are prodemocracy, then let their voices be heard and their influences be felt.

When virtually everyone with a voice or a typewriter was having his say about the "great surrender," we were impressed by the unnatural silence which marked the public reactions of the major veterans' organizations. It was a strange silence.

It was strange if one understands that the national leadership of the veterans' organizations has seldom been shy about popping off on almost any subject or issue imaginable.

But we heard not a peep from any of them when a combat hero of World War II, a much decorated former comrade in arms—Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker—was accused by Senator McCarthy of being "not fit to wear" his uniform because he obeyed the orders of his superiors and his commander in chief. . . .

In which direction does the path of loyalty lead?

Our concern is not that the veterans' organization leaders did not join in the universal criticism of Senator McCarthy. It is over the fact that not a single national spokesman had the courage to rise to the defense of a former comrade in arms untainted by the slightest suspicion of "softness" toward communism.

And we wonder why? They are never loathe to criticize the president or any of his policies if it suits their purpose. They attack or defend in dozens of areas outside the veterans' affairs. So why the silence on an issue which touches the very heart of American unity?

In our opinion, the McCarthy-Zwicker issue provides any truly patriotic organization with a heaven sent opportunity to prove its Americanism beyond question.

Where do YOU stand?

[The cartoon which accompanied this editorial is reproduced in the lower right hand corner of this page.]

Bottom

Milwaukee Journal

2 Wednesday, March 10, 1954

Senator Gets Blast on TV

Ed Murrow Program Features Films From McCarthy's Past

New York, N. Y.—Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System commentator, said Tuesday night that Senator McCarthy had repeatedly stepped over the line between "investigating and persecuting."

Murrow ended a half hour film and record roundup of the Wisconsin Republican's career on his "See It Now" program with an attack on the senator's methods and a call to his opponents—and supporters—to speak up.

"This is no time," Murrow said, "for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent—or for those who approve."

Murrow's telecast came as McCarthy was threatening to take legal action to force CBS and the National Broadcasting Co. to give him, personally, free time to answer a speech made last Saturday by Democratic leader Adlai Stevenson. The CBS and NBC networks had turned McCarthy down after giving free time to the Republican national committee.

Offers Him Time

Murrow said at the start of the program that his comments were all from a script and on record, and that if McCarthy wished to answer them, "an opportunity will be afforded him on this program."

Murrow said the usefulness of congressional committees such as that McCarthy heads could not be denied.

"It is necessary to investigate before legislating," he said. "But the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly.

"His primary achievement," Murrow added, "has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and the external threats of communism."

A spokesman for CBS said after the telecast that Murrow was giving his own personal views. CBS reported that the network's switchboard was jammed by an "unprecedented" number of telephone calls after the program.

Some 2,500 calls were received, the spokesman said, of which about 96% were congratulatory. He added that some 1,046 telegrams were received, of which all but 13 expressed approval of the program.

Margaret Truman Is One

A CBS official said those telephoning congratulations included Margaret Truman, daughter of former President Harry S. Truman, and Senator Mike Monroney (Dem., Okla.).

TV stations across the country which carried the CBS network program were flooded with calls, most of them praising the broadcast.

[Upward of 400 telephone calls, every one of them complimentary, were received Tuesday night and Wednesday by WCAN-TV after presentation of the Murrow program, according to Lou Poller, president and general manager of the station. So popular was the program that Poller asked CBS offices in New York for permission to rebroadcast it as a public service. Poller said his station also was willing to give McCarthy time for a reply if he wanted it.]

Murrow opened his program with an acknowledgment that it would be "controversial."

The program included film clips of McCarthy speeches and a sequence from a hearing by his permanent investigations subcommittee.

Murrow showed a film of McCarthy, earlier in his career, in which he spoke out in praise of the two party system. Then he showed the senator during his recent description of the Democratic party as the "party of treason."

Film clips at least twice showed McCarthy in unattractive poses, laughing or chuckling with an almost fiendish expression.

The commentator also showed a film of President Eisenhower during a Wisconsin campaign speech. In the speech, the president pledged to get rid of all "subversives" and emphasized that while congressional investigations were needed, the prime responsibility lay in the executive. This was a slap at McCarthy's efforts to take over this "executive" responsibility.

Hearing Is Shown

Then Murrow took up the senator's claim that he never browbeat a witness. A film of a McCarthy hearing was shown. McCarthy had Reed Harris, formerly of the Voice of America, on the stand. McCarthy, during questioning of Harris, referred to the witness' suspension by Columbia university in the early thirties. He asked if Harris had been furnished a lawyer by the American Civil Liberties Union. Harris conceded that he had.

McCarthy asked if Harris "knew" that the ACLU had been "listed" as an organization serving Communist ends.

Harris said he didn't "know" that.

Murrow afterward explained that this was typical McCarthy technique, and said that the ACLU had not been "listed" by any responsible government agencies nor by the attorney general.

Monmouth Probe Hit

Murrow said McCarthy had "investigated and substantially demoralized the present state department" and had made charges of espionage at Fort Monmouth, N. J., while the army "has been unable to find anything related to espionage there."

The commentator scoffed at McCarthy's claim that "only the left wing press" criticized him for calling Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker, commanding officer at Camp Kilmer, N. J., a "disgrace" to his uniform.

Murrow said editorial opinion on the incident was 3 to 1 against McCarthy in "the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country." He read excerpts from editorials in McCarthy styled "left wing" papers that included the New York World-Telegram & the Sun, the Chicago Tribune, New York Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, The Milwaukee Journal, New York Herald Tribune and Washington Times Herald.

Murrow made his points in a quiet voice. There could be no implication that he was "hysterical" or "excited" about McCarthy . . . but rather that he was giving a cold, dispassionate picture of the man.

As Murrow said, his purpose was to get at "the truth."

In Washington, McCarthy's wife said the senator went to bed early Tuesday night and did not see the program. She refused to wake him up to talk to reporters.

CAPITOL STUFF

By JOHN O'DONNELL

Washington, D. C., June 22.—Just two years ago this week, this reporter along with several thousand other newspapermen, radio and TV commentators, magazine writers, assorted pundits and trained seals, packed suitcases, took a firm grip on the portable typewriter and started off for the Chicago stockyards and the scene of the Taft-Eisenhower battle for the Republican nomination for the Presidency.

Political developments of today shed a new and important light on the Chicago events of two years ago. The fog of political battle on the convention scene, particularly the defeat of Taft in the emotional warfare over his southern delegates, then obscured all the strategic and trickiness of the Eisenhower political staff.

Now political news from Texas blasts to bits the pious protestations of the Eisenhower followers at the convention that Ike's delegates were the real McCoy Republicans, and were not, as the Taft forces charged, "Republicans only for a day." The Eisenhower high command paraded through Chicago carrying the "thou shalt not steal" banners, which infuriated friends of the late Senator from Ohio.

The argument, thought up by the Eisenhower high command, was that Ike's delegation represented the honest upsurge of an authentic two-party system in the Lone Star State, one that would endure. According to the Ike forces, only the blind and the bigoted could believe that these Ike delegates were rally Democrats who had crashed the Texas state convention, overpowered the regular GOP organization and would promptly return to the Democratic fold once they had accomplished the defeat of Taft and put Ike, whom they considered a Democrat, in the White House.

Now Few Texas Republicans Are Entered.

So now what happens down in the Lone Star State—where the Ike boys professed such confidence that the GOP would be a permanent and lusty political growth? We point to the present political news. Here's your answer:

There are 14 state offices to be filled in the coming election. Four Republicans have filed in the primary. In 21 district Congressional

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Herbert Brownell

William Rogers

Sherman Adams

Henry Cabot Lodge

They masterminded the coup against Taft.

races, only four Republicans have entered. There are contests for more than 5,000 county offices in Texas, but less than a dozen Republicans are in the field.

Less than a dozen Republicans have filed for 165 seats in the Texas Legislature.

That's what one brief span of two poltical years has done to the sanctimonious promises and phony moral indignation of the Eisenhower forces. By throwing out the Taft delegates, elected by the regular Texas Republican organization, they killed off GOP hopes to maintain even the core of a second party.

Who masterminded the convention coup which cost Taft the nomination? The strategists for Ike were New York's Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, present Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Brownell's top assistant, William Rogers; then Republican Senator from Massachusetts Henry Cabot Lodge and Gov. Sherman Adams of New Hampshire.

And who sat in at the famous conference last January when the decision was made to file charges against Wisconsin's Senator Joe McCarthy, thereby setting the stage for the recent great TV extravaganza? The names are familiar. Present at that still secret session were Attorney General Borwnell, his chief assistant William Rogers, White House assistant Sherman Adams and Henry Cabot Lodge, now chief U. S. Delegate to the UN.

Two years have passed, but the same group of one-worlders have not changed their technique. In '52 at Chicago, it was an effort to destroy by charges of theft the character of perhaps the most honest—intellectually, financially, politically—personality in public life that this generation has seen.

The Signs Were Ready—the Tactics Worked.

In Washington in '54, it was an effort to block by smears the efforts of the one Senator who has slugged away at the chore of turning up the names of individuals—hangovers from the New Deal and Fair Deal past—who have been protecting or failing to oust subversives and security risks.

The technique of the Ike boys in their successful effort to kick out the 38 Taft Texas delegates differed in some details from the present efforts, but the basic principle was the same: never underestimate the gullibility of the suckers; never hesitate to roar the most brazen charges.

Nobody in his right mind would ever conceive of Senator Taft as being a crook. Yet the Eisenhower boys had their signs all made, "We Like Ike—Rob with Bob." "We Like Ike—Graft With Taft," "Thou Shalt Not Steal," etc. And the cruel fact is that the tactics worked.

Now the same crowd has done its best to knock off the one Rebublican in Congress who knows more about Commie infiltration than any member of Senate or House.

UJA Leader In, Cites Progress

Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, executive vice chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, yesterday reported that Israel has made remarkable progress toward economic independence. Landing at International Airport after a visit to Israel, Schwartz said a $50,000,000 campaign will be started at once to maintain the upward trend, support Israeli agriculture and assist resettlement of immigrants.

TIME *The Weekly Newsmagazine* ● RELEASE
Rockefeller Center TIME and LIFE BUILDING New York

FOR RELEASE JUNE 16, 1952.

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY LAUNCHES NEW ATTACK ON TIME

NEW YORK, June 16 - "Over the past two weeks, Senator Joseph McCarthy, of Wisconsin, has been sending out letters attacking TIME to the advertising managers of a number of TIME's advertisers," James A. Linen, publisher of TIME, reported. "To date eleven national advertisers have notified TIME that they had received the Senator's letter, which is attached."

Linen said the Senator's attack on TIME began after a cover story on Senator McCarthy appeared some seven months ago in its October 22, 1951 issue.

"The following month," Linen said, "Senator McCarthy launched a campaign through the mail and through the press charging that the whole story was a 'vicious and malicious lie' and a 'clearly deliberate, dishonest attempt to discredit my (Joseph McCarthy's) fight against Communism.'

"Obviously it is ridiculous to state, as McCarthy has, that the story was an effort to 'obstruct the fight against Communists.' As everybody knows," Linen stated, "TIME was among the first to expose Communists and the Communist program and has continually and consistently adhered to that editorial course.

"We obviously do not agree with McCarthy's tactics," Linen stated, "and evidently from what we hear our advertisers don't either."

###

Larry Hoover
JUdson 6-1212

COPY

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

May 28, 1952

Dear Sir:

Nora de Toledano, wife of Ralph de Toledano, who was co-author of Seeds of Treason and who has also written Spies, Dupes, and Diplomats, did an excellent job documenting the extent to which TIME Magazine has been deliberately twisting and distorting the facts about my fight to expose and remove Communists from Government. Her story, under the heading, "TIME Marches on McCarthy," was published in the February issue of The American Mercury. I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of this, in view of the fact that you are one of TIME Magazine's advertisers.

I realize that bringing these facts to the attention of TIME's advertisers will cause some of the unthinking to shout that this is endangering "freedom of the press." It might be well, therefore, to define freedom of the press. To me freedom of the press means freedom to print all of the truth regardless of how pleasant or unpleasant it may be, and regardless of who may be helped or hurt thereby, as well as freedom to editorialize as the editor sees fit so long as he does not misstate facts. Freedom of the press does not mean freedom to lie and twist and distort facts as some would have the American people believe.

I heartily disagree with those who apparently feel that it is proper to expose only those liars who do not own newspapers or magazines. It is my opinion, it is much more important to expose a liar, a crook, or a traitor who is able to poison the streams of information flowing into a vast number of American homes than to expose an equally vicious crook, liar, or traitor who has no magazine or newspaper outlet for his poison. To allow a liar to hide behind the cry, "You are endangering freedom of the press," is not only ridiculous, it is dangerous.

TIME's advertisers make it possible for the Luce chain to send into millions of American homes the type of dishonest twisted news as exposed in the enclosed de Toledano article. Many of those advertisers are militantly anti-communist and intensely American. When I know that they are not aware of the facts and because of that are unknowingly helping to pollute and poison the waterholes of information, I have a duty to bring that to their attention. For that reason, I am enclosing a copy of a de Toledano article as well as a reprint from the Congressional Record which contains copies of the documents referred to in the de Toledano article.

Sincerely yours,

S/ Joe McCarthy

Harvey Marshall (Harvey Matusow, alias Harvey Matt)

Home # CYprus 9-7563, or through

Hayes Registry (Harvey Marshall) PLaza 7-6300

Was govt witness for prosecution of top communist leaders; was communist youth leader himself; worked for McCarthy; says he has all intimate knowledge of McCarthy's acts in Maryland election, other state electio etc; says he has documents on McCarthy's plan to attack McCloy on question of army "subversives" directive.

Matusow is young (about 28); dedicated; professional informer; dangerous --says he's through with McCarthy and wants to see him brought to book --says money is no motivation.

He would be thoroughly discredited by McCarthy in any court, except for one thing--he was an important expert witness for the FBI-Govt case against the communist leadership; furthermore, in McCarthy's anti-Stevenson Chicago speech of Oct 1952, McCarth called onMatusow to stand up in the audience to prove McCarthy's point.

Matusow would have to be investigated with the skillof a leading prosecutor--somebody of the caliber of Robert Morris or Telford Taylor. Morris, incidentally, is a graduate of the McCarthy group; Matusow says Morris played an important part in the Maryland-Tydings election.

TIME INCORPORATED • RELEASE • ime and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York

FOR RELEASE AT 6:00 P.M. EST FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1951.

NEW YORK, Nov. 9 -- James A. Linen, Publisher of TIME, today answered the charge, made by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, that TIME's cover story on him in its issue of October 22 contained "false statements".

Said Linen: "We believe our interpretation and analysis of Senator McCarthy's political activities is an honest and factual one drawn from months of interviews, research, checking and cross-reference."

Senator McCarthy had charged, in a telegram released to the press, that TIME's story had as its purpose to "obstruct the fight against communists" and that the magazine had not used information in its files alleging that Gustavo Duran, once a State Department employee and now a section chief at U.N., is a Communist.

"TIME's record in the fight against Communism," Linen said, "is long, clear and consistent. It cannot be twisted around to make it appear that TIME is obstructing that fight."

Thirteen days after the story appeared, Senator McCarthy wrote to Henry R. Luce, Editor-in-Chief of TIME, alleging "not only false statements in regard to Duran but the many false statements in the story." Luce replied by letter on November 5:

"Dear Senator McCarthy:-

"You say that a story about you in the October 22 issue of TIME contains "many false statements".

"Your letter specifies only statements relating to Gustavo Duran. In support of your view that Duran was a Communist agent, you cite an interoffice message of April 25, 1947 from TIME's Washington Bureau. This dispatch was never published in TIME, and for a very good reason. It simply transmitted certain charges against Duran collected by U.S. Army Intelligence. You will note that it concluded with a significant cautionary note from TIME's reporter:

'Remember that counter-intelligence operations do not involve proof of assumptions. They are made on a working basis for the purpose of neutralizing foreign espionage and on occasion for disseminating false information.'

"TIME, after examining the available evidence in this case, came to the conclusion that there was not sufficient documentation to support the charge that Duran was a Communist agent.

"In your letter you ask what action I intend to take 'to correct not only false statements about Duran but the many false statements in the story.' If you will let me know what other statements you consider false, TIME will be glad 1) to re-check them. 2) to publish corrections of any errors.

"You conclude your letter by a reference to those principles of fairness which must be the basis of a free America. You feel TIME hasn't lived up to those principles in its treatment of you. TIME feels you haven't lived up to those principles in your campaign against Communism.

"Surely we must both try harder than ever before to put those principles of fairness into practice both in the field of politics and in the field of journalism.

Sincerely Yours,
Henry R. Luce"

Luce's letter crossed a telegram to Luce from the Senator dated November 6, in which the Senator threatened to publish the complete TIME, LIFE, FORTUNE file on Duran. Publisher Linen replied:

"Senator Joseph R. McCarthy
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

"Henry Luce's reply to your letter of last week was mailed Monday and no doubt you received it shortly after dispatching your telegram of Tuesday.

"Neither your letter of October 31st nor your telegram of November 6th produces any evidence that any of the statements in TIME's story about you in its October 22nd issue were false or erroneous.

"On any story TIME uses as many sources as possible and then checks these with the greatest of care in order to keep its statements accurate and truthful. I repeat my statement to William Loeb that in the case of the entire story about you, 'every word in TIME's story, incidentally, was thoroughly checked for accuracy of fact and interpretation.' Our editors sifted and weighed a tremendous amount of material before clearing the final story. Your statement that 'this proves without a doubt that the article published on October 22 was not a casual project of TIME, LIFE & FORTUNE, but a project prepared with painstaking care for a definite purpose -- to obstruct the fight against Communists' is a complete non-sequitur and contains no logic.

"As to your statement about the TIME files that you have and your threat to make them public, I have this to say. What you claim to hold is confidential material, such as any editorial enterprise amasses in the course of dealing with any major news story. It is from the evaluation of such confidential material that editorial judgments are made, and the basic material is normally considered to be immune from pilfering and from public use. Nonetheless, you say you have such files and intend to publish them. My only answer to your threat then, is to say that if that is your intention, I cannot prevent you from carrying it out. Because I am sure that you will not quote the files in their entirety, I reserve only the privilege of carrying on the quotations as you make them public to restore them to their proper context and meaning.

James A. Linen
Publisher
TIME"

The text of Sen. McCarthy's October 31 letter to Henry Luce follows:

"Mr. Henry R. Luce
Editor, TIME Magazine
Time-Life-Fortune Building
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Luce:

"As you know, ever since I commenced the public phase of my fight against Communists high in our Government, the Communist Daily Worker has led a vicious personal smear attack against me, which has been gleefully joined in by a vast number of the camp-following elements of the press and radio. You, of course, are fully aware of the extent to which TIME magazine has joined in this campaign.

"If I were to attemp to read, much less answer, all of the false statements and smear attacks on me, no time would be left for any other business. For that reason, I have ignored the Communist party line smear attack and relied upon the good judgment and common sense of the American people to see through the smoke screen of slime and smear and recognize the truth.

"On October 22nd, TIME magazine carried a feature story about McCarthy, which contained the usual number of untruths and half-truths. At this time I would like to call your attention to statements in that article about the evidence which I gave on Gustavo Duran.

"As you know, all of the material which I have given about Duran's background came from Army Intelligence files. Your article accuses me of lying about the Duran case. You state:

" ' Duran, never a red, was definitely and clearly anti-Comminist. . . . He worked for the United States Government in Cuba during World War II tracking down axis and Communist agents.'

"In this connection, I would like to call your attention to a memorandum in the files of TIME Magazine, dated April 25, 1947, written by Jim Shepley, who, I understand, was one of your Washington correspondents at that time, to David Hulburd, in your New York office. It is initialed by RTE, who I assume is Robert T. Elson, who is now National Affairs editor of LIFE Magazine. This memorandum is entitled: 'Duran-Michanowski - I - NA -- INTL -- LA.' It goes much further and ascribes many more damaging activities to Duran than those discussed by me. I especially call your attention to the third paragraph on page one, which effectively deals with Duran's original claim of mistaken identity. You will recall that Duran originally claimed that he was not the Gustavo Duran described in the Army Intelligence report. This claim was no longer made, however, after I produced a picture of Duran in the uniform which he wore while regional head of the Sim in Spain. As you know, Prieto, Minister of Defense for Spain, and others have labeled Sim as the counterpart of the Russian GPU and Communist-controlled.

"I also call your attention to the last paragraph on page one of the memorandum in your files. I call your attention also to paragraph four on page two of your memorandum, to the effect that Duran was chief of Sim for the Madrid zone, and finally if there is any doubt about the complete and deliberate falsity of your story on Duran, I call your attention to the concluding paragraph on page three of your office memorandum.

"In view of the memorandum in your own file, prepared by your own staff, which is much more damaging to Duran than anything I have said about him, plus the Army Intelligence report which confirms everything I have said, it would be interesting to know the basis for TIME's statement: 'Duran, never a red, was definitely and clearly anti-Communist.'

"Other statements in the story are equally untrue, but I confine myself to this phase of it, because your own files contradict your story on Duran in every detail. Your own files on Duran, if true, also show that I greatly understated the case against Gustavo Duran.

"In view of the above, I would like to hear from you as to what, if any, action you intend to take to correct not only false statements in regard to Duran but the many false statements in the story.

"I realize, of course, that you have interests in a sizeable number of publications and that it is not even remotely possible for you to personally supervise all your writers or read all the stories before they are published.

"I assume you are, therefore, not personally responsible for this vicious and malicious lie being broadcast to millions of American people in a clearly deliberate, dishonest attempt to discredit my fight against Communism.

"I don't ask or expect any decency from TIME Magazine so far as I personally am concerned. However, I am sure you will agree with me that if freedom of the press is to be maintained, then the editors of a national magazine such as yours, regardless of how much they want to discredit my fight against Communists, do owe some honesty and decency to the public.

Sincerely Yours,
Joe McCarthy"

The Text of Senator McCarthy's Nov. 6 telegram follows:

"Henry R. Luce, Publisher
TIME NYK

"I am still awaiting an answer to my letter of October 31, regarding the article published in TIME Magazine on October 22. This article used Gustavo Duran as the example of a loyal American who has been falsely accused by McCarthy. The complete files of TIME LIFE & FORTUNE in the Duran case are now in my possession. In spite of the fact that your own researchers confirmed everything which I have said about Duran, a completely opposite story was published by TIME. The fact that this deliberate falsification of the facts has been sent into the homes of millions of Americans whose future depends on the outcome of the anti Communist fight in this country makes it impossible for me to consider this matter closed.

"As you well know, the TIME story is a direct and flagrant contradiction of the facts reported by your staff. The fact that this falsification of the story was knowingly done is borne out by your editors letter to William Loeb editor and publisher of the Manchester Union in which he states 'every word in TIMES story incidentally was thoroughly checked for accuracy of fact and interpretation. It is a policy that the Senator would do well to follow.'

"This proves without a doubt that the article published on October 22 was not a casual project of TIME LIFE & FORTUNE but a project prepared with painstaking care for a definite purpose -- to obstruct the fight against Communists.

"During my recent speaking tour through the West one of your staff reporters accompanied me. In reporting to the New York office, he honestly advised that the evidence on Duran which I gave my audience was one of the most convincing links in the picture of Communist infiltration of Government. His strong representations on this point undoubtedly led the TIME LIFE & FORTUNE staff to the conclusion that this story had to be discredited if the American people were to continue to be lulled into believing as LIFE recently put it 'Communist infiltration of Government is no longer a legitimate worry.'

"It is quite evident that the purpose of the article published in TIME of October 22 was intended solely to discredit McCarthy so that in the future he could no longer be believed regardless of his evidence.

"This is one of the most dishonest examples of prostitution of freedom of the press which has ever come to my attention. This is to notify you that unless TIME corrects the false statements on Duran and the other deliberate distortions of the facts in that story within one weeks time I shall have no choice but to make public your complete file in this matter so that the public may be aware of the sinister dishonesty of your magazine in this typical case.

Joe McCarthy USS."

Larry Hoover Judson 6-1212.

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

Is Senator Joe McCarthy a secret Communist?

After an exhaustive analysis of the national situation as it exists with respect to fear of McCarthy, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot share the fears which he has created on the national scene.

To quote the words of the immortal Roosevelt; "There is nothing to fear but fear itself." There are two things to fear of Sen. McCarthy and to my way of thinking they are trivial and should not cause grown men to quake.

1. If the person is a woman, don't get too close to McCarthy in a swimming pool.

2. If a man, don't let him kiss you on the lips.

I know such thoughts are not pleasing but there is no way to discuss disreputable people without some unpleasantness. It is the weaknesses of our public officials which often shapes their course and in so doing, sometimes patterns the destiny of nations. Just as Hitler's weaknesses brought him untold power, so does the weakness of McCarthy bring him untold strength.

Women should fear McCarthy in a swimming pool because McCarthy hates women. He looks upon them as rivals in the game of love. That's what makes his marriage to Jean Kerr so astonishing.

Joe has found a unique way to satisfy his perverse lust to physically scare and hurt women. In the swimming pool on the great Maryland estate of Garvin Tankersly, Joe likes to grab the women guests and hold them under water until their lungs are close to bursting. He only releases them when they start to drown. Joe gets a sadistic thrill out of this little sport. "Tank" Tankersly is the person who concocted the fake pictures used in the Tydings campaign. "Tank," a lad from Lynchburg, Va., was famed in his hometown for placing bets on his sexual prowess. After he was released from arrest for carrying concealed weapons in Roanoke, Va., he came to Washington and got a job as a photographer on the Washington Times Herald.

When Colonel McCormick, owner of the Times Herald, placed his married niece in the job as editor of the paper, photographer "Tank" soon won her favor and became executive editor. They later married although "Tank" had been happily married and a father of three children, before taking to himself another bride. This marriage made "Tank" the multi-millionaire who now entertains Joe McCarthy and the horsey set at his swank estate where Joe disports himself in the swimming pool by forcing hapless females under water.

The social soireee which usually feature the presence of McCarthy as guest of honor and include many leaders of the extreme-right wing press and some leaders of government, can only be compared to Hitlerian orgies. The people who comprise this set do not face realities. They are cavorting in a make-believe land, a virtual fairyland.

And this is the group which wields such tremendous power over our federal government. This is the gang which is asking the parents of this nation to entrust the lives and liberties of their children to them.

After McCarthy's victory in his campaign for the Senate, Joe burst into the hotel room where the voting returns were being tabulated. Ecstatic with joy, he rushed over to the president of the Young Republicans, Lloyd Tegge, and kissed him full on the mouth. An eyewitness to the scene reported it was as soulful a kiss as she had ever seen. Tegge pushed McCarthy away. It is just possible he remembered another incident involving another young Republican, William McMahon, who also permitted McCarthy to kiss him and later had to leave for Tokyo to avoid scandal.

After this column's expose of Joe's abnormalities, his social pals decided something must be done about it. Joe was a homey guest at the Washington residence of William Randolph Hearst Jr., owner of the American Weekly, among other enterprises. The build-up started.

The American Weekly came out with a three-part series on the private life of Joe McCarthy. Joe was pictured as a religious man who led a quiet life devoted to heroic crusading against Communism. Even Joe's bedroom was photographed with religious symbols in full view on the dresser. It was the worst sacriligious cover-up ever portrayed in the public press.

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The story described Joe in polite pursuit of pretty Jean Kerr, whom he later married with a big fanfare of publicity. But the story has never been told about the time Joe pushed Jean off on an extended vacation to Honolulu. She was observed in tears at the Washington Airport when Joe put her on the plane, but it was also observed that she brushed him off when he tried to kiss her goodbye.

Jean Kerr had learned of McCarthy's frailties in December of 1950 which occasioned the tearful breakup and the hurried trip to Hawaii. Joe wasn't heartbroken at the separation. He was fearful of exposure by a furious woman. He even prevailed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation to keep an eye on her while she was in Honolulu. An FBI agent was with her when she tripped and broke her ankle on the moonlit shores of Waikiki.

The following is a list of telephone calls made by Joe to Jean:

12/13/50 To Honolulu, Hawaii to Miss Jean Kerr at Queens Hospital 5-5981
12/15/50 To Honolulu, Hawaii, Miss Jean Kerr, at Queens Hospital
12/19/50 To Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
12/21/50 To Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
1/ 3/51 To Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
1/ 5/51 To Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
1/ 7/51 To Hnoolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
1/ 8/51 To Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Jean Kerr
1/11/51 Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Miss Jean Kerr
1/12/51 Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Miss Jean Kerr
1/15/51 Honolulu, Hawaii 7-1981 to Miss Jean Kerr

Of course, all the calls were made in the interests of the United States Government and if Joe has forgotten the contents, perhaps I might be in a position to refresh his memory.

Jean Kerr was not the first of his secretaries to set her bonnet for the boss. Another of his former female assistants also thought the senator was considering her when the time came for the 44-year-old bachelor to take unto himself a wife. She, too, attended parties and social affairs with the Senator but never quite made the grade when it came time to go home. She admitted she was always left standing at the post while Joe escorted some Gay young blade from the party. When the truth dawned upon her, she resigned and left Washington, a sadly disillusioned but wiser young female.

I am glad to report she is now a happily married young housewife.

McCarthy was once queried by a reporter who was friendly to him as to whether he intended to get married. The reporter thought the senator owed him a scoop for past favors. McCarthy told him there wasn't the slightest chance of wedding bells. Two days later, the announcement of the forthcoming marriage between Senator Joe McCarthy and Jean Kerr was announced by Miss Kerr.

When McCarthy was called for confirmation, he replied: "whatever Jean says goes." The friendly reporter who thought he earned the first break remonstrated with Joe for the slight and was informed by the hapless bridegroom: "she blackmailed me into it."

Jean Kerr was known throughout Washington as a very ambitious woman. As the wife of a powerful senator, she would gain much social prestige. As the wife of a President — heaven help us!

The marriage of the McCarthys will take its place in history as the biggest farce of the Century. Even Hitler went respectable after he came to power in Germany. He gave up Ernst Roehm for Eva Braun and later had Roehm killed to bury his past. He wound up marrying Eva Braun in the bloodiest wedding in the history of the world. Millions upon millions of lives were offered up as a sacrifice to the lust of the debaucher of Germany.

I'm just tracing a pattern. It can't happen here? Don't you believe it. It's happening. The same men who put Field Marshal Von Hindenburg in power in Germany later forced him to accept Hitler as Chancellor. Germany always had a President but Hitler ruled. Russia also has a President but who ever heard of his name?

The oil millionaires of Texas and some large industrialists of the country will eventually force McCarthy upon the United States. Before the coup d' etat can be accomplished, it will be necessary to still the voices of the liberal commentators and a few newspapers.

Time Magazine was almost forced out of business when McCarthy ordered a boycott of the advertisers of this magazine. Fanatic supporters of the right wing and secret support from the left wing adherents respond to any dictates, from sending letters and telegrams to the White House to threatening advertisers with loss of patronage.

Drew Pearson was sponsored by a large bank in Dallas, Texas. The bank's largest depositors threatened to withdraw their accounts unless bank sponsorship was withdrawn. The bank complied. A small merchant took on the broadcast until he, too, was forced to cancel by threats against his business.

This is the United States of America today. A reign of terror is blanketing the minds of the people. A self-imposed fear because the enemy are still few in number. The trouble with the American people is that the onlookers always outnumber the fighters. People who should be in there fighting against McCarthyism are only willing to hold the other fellow's coat.

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

Is McCarthy a secret Communist?

While in Washington recently, I heard former Governor Harold Stassen, present head of the Mutual Security Agency, interviewed by the press upon his return from South America. Stassen was brisk and straightforward in his answers to all economic questions. When a reporter asked him to comment on charges of disloyalty in his department made by Sen. Joe McCarthy, Governor Stassen became mute. He made no attempt to defend his employees though he knew the charges were false and infamous. The mere mention of McCarthy's name brought an immediate reaction. He shadow-boxed, side-stepped, hedged and evaded. The brisk, direct answers had ceased. The Governor was a man in fear.

I had always been an admirer of Harold Stassen. What I saw and heard nauseated me. Why do grown men have to live in fear?

Extreme right-wing thinking and left-wing philosophies require the same mental processes. There is no difference between the Communists on the left and the Fascists of the right. They both exist through the enslavement of man's mind. They can only thrive through fear.

Hitler and Stalin rose to power through identical methods. Attack, attack. Create fear — promote confusion, keep the world off balance. Attack, attack, never defend, never look back, attack, attack.

The McCarthy apologists who say they "disagree with his methods but his intentions are noble," are either stupid, gullible people, or, people with a motive; a base, traitorous motive to destroy democracy.

How can a man's intentions be noble when he himself is a cheat, a liar, and a thief. McCarthy has never had a sincere thought or motive during his entire public career. His whole life is a fraud.

Even his service in the Marine Corps during the war was a fraud on the wonderful organization of men who spearheaded the attacks in the Pacific campaigns.

How many Marines were able to bamboozle a commission before they consented to serve with the Corps? McCarthy did. And he waited until long after the war was on, August, 1942 to be exact. How many Marines had safe desk jobs during the war? McCarthy kept his feet firmly planted on a desk in zones which had been made safe by the Marines months before. How many Marines were permitted to spend half the war years back home campaigning for public office while in uniform? McCarthy did.

How many Marines were permitted to resign from the Corps when the going got rough? McCarthy did. McCarthy had been applying for leaves to stay in Wisconsin to campaign for public office. The Marine Corps finally issued an ultimatum to Joe to fight or resign. Joe left the service.

How many Marines had to wait 10 years before it could be determined if they were brave enough to merit a medal? McCarthy was decorated in 1952 in his senate office after browbeating the Marine Corps for ten years to give him a medal. The Corps needed his vote in the Senate at appropriations time and McCarthy got his medal. Nobody knows what the decoration was for unless it was for bravery in action when he slipped and broke a bone in his foot while emerging from a swimming pool during a "shellback initiation" aboard the Navy tender "Chandeleur" as the ship crossed the equator.

McCarthy was known in his outfit as "the only guy in the Marine Corps who could promote anything up to and including the Congressional Medal of Honor."

He's been a phony all his life and he'll die one, and this is the "man" who is being groomed for President of the United States. McCarthy, in a speech before a Manufacturer's Association of suburban Cicero on January 20 of this year, stated that under no circumstances would he be a candidate for president in 1956. He told reporters that Ike was his choice.

The build-up is starting, McCarthy strategy calls for his playing coy for a couple of years. McCarthy will keep insisting he is not a candidate even though no one asks him, in order to create a demand for his candidacy. He even thinks like a woman, playing hard to get.

Tell the public they can't have something and the demand becomes overwhelming, whether it is sugar during times of war or the presidency of the United States.

The Texas oil millionaires have switched to McCarthy. He is just as anxious for right-wing support today as he was for Communist aid in 1946.

In seeking the Communist vote in his campaign against Bob LaFollette, McCarthy stated: "Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else." His statement that: "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere about it," would bring charges of treason against anyone else but McCarthy. These were McCarthy's public sentiments in 1946, after the war was over and Russia had already started its campaign of fear against the rest of the world.

Today, McCarthy brands as a Communist anyone who thought well of Russia as far back as 1932. Persons called before the McCarthy Committee who innocently became a dupe of the Reds in early youth and have since recanted are still branded as traitors by the phony Red fighter, although he himself attended Communist cell meetings in Wisconsin in 1936 and had the repu-

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tation of the town's leading pinko. But to espouse the cause of the Communists as late as 1946 in his campaign for the United States Senate and still be called sincere by the stupid people who think his "intentions are noble," is almost too much for sensible people to endure.

It is easy for McCarthy to play both sides of the game from extreme left to extreme right because both sides are the same.

The $200,000 appropriation for the extension of the McCarthy Committee passed the Senate the other day with only one dissenting vote. Hitler had to set fire to the Reichstag before his power became absolute. It will not be necessary for McCarthy to follow this tactic because the fire of fear burns deep in the minds of the members of Congress. It is consuming all opposition.

If the extreme right-wing elements are successful, it may not be necessary for Russia to go to war. We may have a Communist in the White House even sooner than the Soviet timetable envisioned.

If McCarthy is not a secret Communist with a mission to take over the country for the Soviet Union, then he is a lunatic. He shows absolutely no responsibility for what he says or does. He is not the menace. It's the people who fear him who are endangering the country.

One thing about the man, he's smart enough to know when he can't win. He's a good enough lawyer to realize that truth is a defense in a libel action. McCarthy has had every opportunity to serve me with papers if I ever wrote an untruth about him. He knew I was in Washington and he knew where I was staying. I traveled the length and breadth of the senate office building many times and sat in the Senate gallery three days in a row!

For people to quake before this mountebank is the shame of the nation. What he needs is a Napoleon hat and a Greatcoat so he can stick his hand into the lapel and play emperor.

These are the times which try men's souls. What a Daniel Webster could do in the United States Senate today.

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

A century ago, Abraham Lincoln declared that a foreign tyrant could never conquer this country, could not by force take a drink from the Ohio River. Our real danger, he warned, would come from the hands of a domestic tyrant, a demagogue who would rise in our own midst, an ambitious man who would burn and thirst for power. This tyrant would not come before the people, beating his breast and shouting his true purposes. He would come in dark disguse, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and would end up devouring the whole flock.

It doesn't take much experience in the political woods to recognize the trail of a tyrant. All who have tramped through history have left the same footprints. They have appealed to the passions and trampled down reason. They have preached blind patriotism, played on public fears, inflamed hatreds and prejudices. They have struck down their critics with charges of treason. And they have all worn the same disguise; they have posed as patriots.

Adolf Hitler passed himself off as the German savior; he taught that the enemies of Hitler were the enemies of Germany. Benito Mussolini posed as an Italian patriot; he preached that the enemies of Mussolini were the enemies of Italy. Josef Stalin enshrined himself as a Russian hero; he claimed that the enemies of Stalin were the enemies of Russia.

Today, Senator Joe McCarthy calls himself a Crusader for America; and he shouts that the enemies of McCarthy are the enemies of America.

Like the tyrants of the past, McCarthy waves the flag, stirs up our red blood, gives lip service to American ideals. But behind this red-white-and-blue smokescreen, he tramples roughshod over individual rights, kicks justice in the face and violates all the rules of fair play that are sacred to America. The methods of McCarthy—trial by accusation, guilt by association, character assassination—are no more American than Russia is a people's democracy.

It is high time we took Abraham Lincoln's advice and examined some of the footprints that are being stamped upon our society today. With this as my purpose, I offer another installment in the sordid, shocking, unAmerican record of Joseph Raymond McCarthy.

I proved in a previous article that McCarthy started his political career as a pinko, that his own past is as cluttered with Communist associations as the victims he denounces. Like a true demagogue, however, McCarthy was able to subordinate his own political philosophy and adopt any line that would get him ahead. He traveled the full political cycle from far left to far right, zigzagging as suited the circumstances. He hitched his political wagon to the fastest-rising star, riding up with the Democrats during the New Deal days, then switching to the GOP when the elephant started moving faster than the donkey in Wisconsin.

But through all this erratic political maneuvering, McCarthy followed a careful blueprint. He studied the masterwork of power politics, the roadmap of tyranny—Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf." McCarthy's close political crony of the 1930's, Jerry Jolin, has admitted that McCarthy was a devoted student of "Mein Kampf."

How well did McCarthy learn the lessons of "Mein Kampf"? How close has he followed Hitler's techniques? Here is the record:

1. When Adolf Hitler was nothing but a loud noise in German politics, he began accusing the Social Democrats of 14 years of "Marxist misgovernment." He used the Communist smear freely to discredit those whose power he coveted, or who stood in his way. In his time, Hitler exposed and jailed more alleged Communists than anyone in history. McCarthy, too, has used the Communist club to attack the opposition party and beat his enemies over the head.

2. Hitler undermined the democratic structure by attacking the heroes of the German Republic. He poured out invective against prominent German statesmen, both military and civilian, who stood up for democracy. Some of Hitler's old speeches sound strikingly like McCarthy's attack on General George Marshall, the World War II hero and Nobel peace prize winner. McCarthy accused Marshall of participating "in a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any such previous venture in the history of man." In the same speech, McCarthy accused General Dwight Eisenhower of conspiring with Marshall to sell out the world to the Communists.

3. Hitler persecuted all religions that would not bow to his will. Yet he piously proclaimed that the state had no intention of interfering with religious beliefs, but only wanted to weed out the "Marxist element" in the clergy. The investigation of the churches today is also disguised as an investigation of individual clergyman. Though Hitler was a renegade Catholic, he didn't hesitate to strike down Catholic priests who defied him, such as Father Joseph Rassaint, who had written anti-Communist articles but nevertheless was accused of collaborating with the Communists. Though McCarthy, too, is a Catholic, he has not hesitated to accuse his Catholic critics of following the Communist line, such as Commonweal magazine which is as bitterly anti-Communist as it is anti-McCarthy.

4. Hitler's favorite device was the Big Lie, since he claimed that people "are more easily victimized by a large than by a small lie." It would take a full volume to trace all the twists and turns of McCarthy's untruths. He is the only member of the U.S. Senate who can be called a congenital liar without fear of libel. He once went so far as to document a lie by inserting into the Congressional Record a forged FBI report on the loyalty of Edward Posniak.

5. Hitler was surrounded by strong-arm men, who intimidated his opponents. McCarthy never goes anywhere unless he is accomanied by a couple of musclemen. During the Maryland election campaign, McCarthy sent three of his strong-arm boys—Don Surine, Ewell Moore and George Niles—to take a frightened

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Baltimore printer on a midnight ride. They tried to browbeat the printer, William Fedder, to give them an incriminating political document.

6. Hitler rose to power by organizing German youth, then building an elite corps of fanatical followers. McCarthy also became a political power in Wisconsin by re-organizing the state's dormant Young Republican clubs. He put in his own men, homosexuals such as Ed Babcock and Steve McMahon, to take over the leadership of the Young Republicans. Eventually, they rallied enough support to overthrow the Republican Old Guard and get the GOP senatorial nomination for McCarthy. Now McCarthy is quietly forming Freedom Clubs and McCarthy Clubs across the country in an attempt to band his fanatical followers together.

7. Hitler was financed by millionaries and industrialists, who visioned a return to unhampered, unlimited free enterprise. He was also supported by powerful conservatives, who did not condone his methods but believed they could control him for their own ends. Today, McCarthy is financed by Texas oil millionaires and midwestern industrialists. Certain conservatives, while deploring his methods, have used him as a technique for vote-getting. The early supporters of Hitler lived—and died—to regret it.

8. Hitler, in his drive for power, waged a vigorous campaign for more authority for the Reichstag, because it was only through the Reichstag that his Nazi Party could wield power. Senator McCarthy also derives his power from the legislative branch, and is fighting for the Bricker Amendment and other measures to increase Congress' authority. After Hitler seized complete control, of course, he transformed the Reichstag into a rubber stamp.

9. German law seemed to have no control over Hitler. McCarthy, too, appears to be above the law. He was elected to the Senate in violation of the Wisconsin Constitution. The State Supreme Court expressed its indignation, but failed to take legal action against him.

McCarthy accepted $10,000 from Lustron Corp. exactly one week after his Senate Investigating Committee began investigating Lustron. He arranged for a Pepsi-Cola lobbyist to endorse a $20,000 note one month after leading the Senate fight to get more sugar for the soft-drink makers. There are federal laws against such conduct.

McCarthy has cut corners on his income taxes since he was a circuit judge, but in each instance, he has been allowed to settle out of court. He repeatedly borrowed the bank account of his assistant, Ray Kiermas, to speculate on the stock market, though the kickback law prohibits a Senator from taking money from his employees. McCarthy's complex financial manipulations have violated the Wisconsin banking laws. The Army publicly accused McCarthy of violating the Espionage Act by publicizing classified material. Yet in all these cases, the Justice Department shows no inclination to prosecute.

10. Hitler had the habit of rearranging history to suit his own fancy. McCarthy, too, has been caught revising the past to conform with his idea of what should have happened. One conspicuous example was his rewriting of the Senate hearing, at which Voice of America official Donald Creed testified. The questions and answers were changed to suit McCarthy.

11. Of course, Hitler was notoriously anti-Semitic. McCarthy loudly denies that he is anti-Semitic, pointing to the fact that he has a Jew, Roy Cohn, on his staff. The fact is that Cohn is an opportunist who has discredited himself in the eyes of his own people. McCarthy will go on pretending that he is friendly to the Jews, because he can't afford to alienate them yet. However, McCarthy slipped into the Senate recording room once at 3 a.m. to making a recording for the notorious anti-Semite, Upton Close. On another occasion, McCarthy arranged to have Upton Close's propaganda actually printed in the Congressional Record. McCarthy's chief lieutenant, Don Surine, conspired with another anti-Semite, Gerald L. K. Smith, to smear Anna Rosenberg, the former Assistant Secretary of Defense. Surine even carried a letter of introduction from Smith.

Other anti-Semites, such as Benjamin Freedman and the Rev. Wesley Swift, used McCarthy's office as headquarters for their undercover campaign against Mrs. Rosenberg. This was brought out during sworn testimony.

It was also Joe McCarthy who defended the Nazi storm troopers after they had been found guilty of murdering American GIs in cold blood at Malmedy. McCarthy charged that American "vengeance teams," made up of Jews, had tortured the Nazi SS men into confessing.

Meanwhile, McCarthy is being praised to the skies in Germany by Dr. Werner Naumann, who was nominated in Hitler's will to succeed Goebbels as propaganda minister and who was arrested only recently by the British for heading a Nazi conspiracy to overthrow the West German government.

There are many who will say that I have not proven that McCarthy is a secret Communist but only that he is a Facist. Is there a difference?

The record is clear. Those who are for America must fight Communism, Facism and McCarthyism.

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

Is Senator McCarthy really a secret Communist?

The newspapers of the country are not playing fair with the American people. There is a great deal of information which many papers possess and which is not being printed so that the people might better be in a position to realize what is taking place in the country today.

I have just returned from the capital of the United States. Conditions in Washington, D. C. indicate a definite and hurried trend toward totalitarian principles. The city is blanketed by fear. People speak in soft tones. They peer over their shoulders before expressing an opinion and government officials both high and low nervously look around the room before giving expression to to their thoughts for fear the room is bugged.

It is a mood of hysteria which now has the nation's capital in its grasp. The newspapers, with few exceptions, are woefully derelict in their plain duty to inform the citizens. The press is cowed. It, too, lives in fear.

The pall on freedom which has descended on the country can be traced to one man. The person who has done more to weaken the country's security against internal subversion by intimidation, blackmail and smears is the junior senator from the state of Wisconsin, Joseph McCarthy.

What is the strange hold which McCarthy has on government officials? Why does the newspaper industry, almost to a man, fear him? Why does the Gallup poll show him to be steadily rising in popularity? Who is McCarthy?

Senator McCarthy is really a secret Communist!

From out of his past, the whisper has risen like a ghost to haunt him. When I first heard it in Washington, I thought it too incredible to be true. I knew he was a sadist and a pervert and if I had only stopped to think, the answer should have been, and why not a Communist?

McCarthy has been operating through a defense mechanism caused by a guilt complex. When McCarthy started on his first large publicity campaign, he uttered a charge that the State Department was honeycombed with homosexuals. According to the senator from Wisconsin, perverts were security risks because of their susceptibility to blackmail through fear of exposure.

I always thought that McCarthy "protesteth too much" and a search of his past disclosed that he, too, was a homosexual. His tactics became clear. By leading a supposed fight against perverts in government, he could avert suspicion from himself. For anyone to say that McCarthy is a sex deviate, would bring an instant retort: "ridiculous, he is the foremost fighter against perverts."

And yet, the plain unvarnished truth is that McCarthy, by his own admission is a security risk on the grounds of homosexuality.

His next big campaign was against Reds in Government. Another phase of a defense mechanism operating through a guilt complex. And yet, the hottest rumor in Washington is that McCarthy was a Red and for all we know, might still be a secret Communist. I got the story, the hottest story in the country and here it is:

An August 11, 1951, a mysterious witness was hustled behind closed doors of the Senate Internal Security Committee. His name was Albert Levitt. He was a confessed ex-Communist, who had come to squeal on his past associates. He talked all right, but he said much more than Chairman Pat McCarran had bargained for.

Albert Levitt, the ex-Communist, testified that he had seen Joe McCarthy at Communist meetings—the same Joe McCarthy who is now pretending to lead the fight against Communism. Levitt's testimony was never made public. The secret transcript has been mysteriously removed from the committees' files. Levitt himself has disappeared.

The records show that the Committee sat during the week when this testimony was brought out. All records of the committee were preserved except the transcript for the day when Levitt made the charges.

It is not too difficult to imagine what happened to this amazing testimony since Pat McCarran and Joe McCarthy are buttonhole buddies. But the important question is not so much who hushed up the story, but is it true? Was Albert Levitt telling the truth under oath?

To find the answer, I have searched McCarthy's past. It is no secret that McCarthy as a youth, was a radical left-winger. For the record, he was a New Deal Democrat. He was in charge of ticket sales for President Roosevelt's Birthday Ball in Waupaca, Wisconsin, on January 30, 1936. Seven months later, he was elected president of the Young Democratic Clubs of Wisconsin's Seventh District. He also ran as the Democratic candidate for Shawano County prosecutor.

Behind this Democratic front, however, young McCarthy had the reputation of a pinko. He was quick to take the stump and deliver bitter speeches about the "Hoover depression." He hung around with the radical element in Waupaca. When he accepted a job in the law office of a staunch Republican in nearby Shawano, the Waupaca County Post wrote jokingly on February 20, 1936: "Just to add a dash of zest in the life of Mike Eberlien's new hired man (McCarthy), we carefully padded his brief case with a couple of copies of the New Masses, a recent edition of the Daily Worker and a vest-pocket sized Das Kapital."

This was a teasing reference to the fact that McCarthy's new boss didn't realize he had hired the neighboring town's leading pinko. Of course, McCarthy was able to change his political spots overnight, to adjust his policies to suit his purpose. In time, he ran the gamut from the far left to the far right. He has given voice to every philosophy under the political sun. But what are his true beliefs? Where does his allegiance lie?

Newspapers are charged with the duty of guarding the liberties and freedom of America. The United States is the haven of the free world. If a threat to our liberties is not challenged by the newspapers of the country, we, too, will join the inevitable march towards a totalitarian state. It destroyed Germany, it will prove the eventual downfall of Russia and if the present trend continues in this country, it is conceivable that we too may be in line to go the way of all dictatorships.

If other newspapers will remain silent because of fear of advertising and circulation boycotts, which has been McCarthy's methods of silencing opposition, this newspaper will do its duty

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in the interests of freedom. Ours may be the only voice shouting in the wilderness.

I cannot expect some stupid, gullible people to believe me because there are none so blind as those who will not see. But I hope, that among the rest, if only a slight spark of understanding is kindled, the truth might nourish and grow until the flame becomes a conflagration which will consume this evil influence that has descended over our land and has caused a blight on the thinking, liberty and freedom of the people.

This series will continue daily until all the evidence I have gathered against McCarthy is brought out. His sadism, perversion and traitorous conduct will see the light of day.

I do not intend to be smart, facetious or crude because human weaknesses should not be exploited. Abnormalities of unfortunates should not be exposed to ridicule and though perversion might be tolerated among those whose lives do not affect the country's welfare, it does become a menace when these weaknesses imperil the strength of the nation.

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

Is McCarthy really a secret Communist?

It cannot be denied that McCarthy has been shouting louder than anyone else against the Communists. Yet for all his shouting, he has not uncovered a single Communist who wasn't already known to the FBI.

McCarthy has been showered with greenbacks from well-wishers; he has collected fabulous contributions from right-wing millionaires; he extorted from the taxpayers the largest appropriation ever spent on a Congressional investigation. All this money was supposedly invested to help him hunt Communists. He was armed with subpoena power, deluged with tips and leads. Yet, after four years of investigating, he hasn't come up with a single new Communist.

But if McCarthy has done the Communists no real harm, has he helped their cause? He has been undermining the democratic processes and subverting American values. Does this help Communism? He has been stirring neighbor against neighbor, sowing seeds of suspicion, spreading confusion and hysteria.

Has he played into Communist hands? The Communist strategy, as any expert can tell you, is to divide and conquer. They hope to inflame labor against capital, Jew against Gentile, Protestant against Catholic, white against black. They preach hate and fear and suspicion. Their blueprint for revolution is to disorganize the populace, paralyze the government; then take over with a strong-disciplined minority.

The Communists do a lot of shouting, just like McCarthy. They shout about civil rights, about the downtrodden Negro, about slum clearance. But there are no civil rights in Russia; they don't care about the Negro except to use him; and they secretly delight in slums, which are the cesspools of Communism. Likewise the Communists shout against McCarthy, but they are no more sincerely anti-McCarthy than they are sincerely pro-civil rights.

Herbert Philbrick, the FBI counter-spy who rose higher in the Communist party than did Whitaker Chambers, Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, among other, has this to say about McCarthy: "According to leaders of the Communist Party, McCarthy has helped them a great deal. The kind of attacks he has made do three things the comrades like. They add greatly to the confusion, putting up a smoke screen for the party and making it more difficult than ever for people to discern just who is a Communist and who is not; they make the Party appear a lot stronger than it is; and they do considerable damage to some of the stupid liberals whom the party hates."

Who has benefitted more than the Communists from McCarthy's attacks on the State Department? on the Army? the Voice of America? Is it only coincidence that McCarthy has heaped his strongest abuse upon the same men the Kremlin wished to discredit? — such leaders as General George Marshall, who bolstered Western Europe against Communism; ex-Secretary of State Dean Acheson, whom diplomats regarded as the greatest anti-Communist brain; Phillip Jessup, who made such a fool of Andrei Vishinsky at the United Nations that the Kremlin called him back to Moscow until McCarthy blocked Jessup's re-appointment in the Senate. McCarthy also organized a smear campaign against General Douglas MacArthur and General Dwight Eisenhower until it became politically unpopular to keep it up.

Eric Sevareid, brilliant commentator and reporter for the Columbia Broadcasting System in a speech before the School of Journalism of the University of Minnesota, said: "For the uninitiated, let me give a couple of small but typical examples of how the McCarthys can use even the best of the daily press to do their work.

When, during McCarthy's assault of innuendo against Ambassador Charles Bohlen, the press play began to go against him, he reached into his bag of tricks. His demanded — the headline word is always, "demanded," somehow — that Bohlen be subjected to a lie-detector test. Now, it was preposterously impossible that the administration, having nominated Bohlen, would subject its distinguished diplomat to any such indignity or that Bohlen would accept the indignity.

Every sensible reporter and editor in town knew this was just a McCarthy straw man, for headline purposes. Yet, as sober a paper as the Washington Star gave an eight-column banner line to this so-called "demand," which of course spread the notion among those who "read as they run" that Charles Bohlen

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WHERE I STAND

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might be a liar."

"Again in difficulties, McCarthy and his office carefully leaked out the news that he was on his way to consult with Whitaker Chambers. This was entirely a stunt, yet so responsible a paper as the Washington Post gave it an eight-column headline, which of course spread the notion among those who read as they 'run' that somehow Bohlen was mixed up with Alger Hiss and the now famous "Pumpkin Patch" papers and treason. And McCarthy stayed in the headlines that much longer, prolonged the agony for Bohlen and the President that much more, and spread through innuendo an evil lie that much further."

When President Eisenhower appointed Bohlen to be Ambassador to Moscow, he knew that Bohlen was the best informed man in this country on Soviet technique. The Russians feared Bohlen because he knew too much about them. The Daily Worker heaped storms of abuse upon Bohlen and Eisenhower for appointing him, yet McCarthy was the man who tried to block the Bohlen appointment in the Senate. Whose game was McCarthy playing? Was he secretly following the Communist Party line.

Just a few months back, McCarthy unloosed upon the country the shocking news that Fort Monmouth was a hotbed of espionage and Soviet intrigue. His committee rushed to Monmouth and held hearings for over a week. Employees were suspended indiscriminately. Some of the nation's top scientists resigned from this all-important signal corps research center because of McCarthy's smear against all who were engaged in the top-secret work.

McCarthy made the headlines of the nation, quickly dropped the investigation and went charging after some other sensitive nerve center of the government.

What are the true facts of the Fort Monmouth investigation?

After an intensive investigation by Army Intelligence, secretary of the Army Stevens, issued a statement that there was no evidence of espionage at Monmouth. It was too late, however! The place had been disorganized, scientists refused to go back to work because of the smears and innuendoes, and valuable research projects were impeded.

The truth of the McCarthy investigation of Monmouth has now been ascertained by no less an organization than the FBI. Senator McCarthy was led into making the shocking charges by a Communist agent.

He did a job for the Commies. As clever a case of sabotage by Russia as has ever been perpetrated in this country. The FBI knows the story but nothing will come of it because of possible embarrassment to McCarthy.

It was also Senator McCarthy who defended the German war criminals and accused the American Army of torturing them. The Nazi murderers who massacred American war prisoners at Malmedy were sentenced to death. On the floor of the Senate McCarthy screamed that the judges who convicted the Nazis were "morons." As for the United States officers who obtained the confessions, McCarthy demanded they be given the lie-detector test.

McCarthy's accusations against the American judges who convicted the murderers at Malmedy kept up for several weeks, both on and off the Senate floor. The Communist press in Germany was echoing every word; mass meetings were held, and an inflamed Germany threatened riots if the convicted murderers were executed. The sentences were commuted. The murderers of American boys shot to death while their hands were tied behind their backs escaped with their lives. The victory belonged to Joe McCarthy and the German Communists.

But the amazing, little known fact is that the charges hurled by McCarthy on the Senate floor were sent to him in the first place by a German Communist, one named Rudolf Aschenauer. McCarthy was caught red-handed in possession of a manila envelope with Aschenauer's address in the upper left corner.

The Communists needed a U.S. Senator to give the false charges respectability, so they would carry more weight in Germany. McCarthy carried out the Communist plan. He got away with it.

The Swiss police also caught a confessed Communist, by the name of Davis, working on McCarthy's payroll. When McCarthy denied any connection with Davis, the Swiss Court produced a letter from Davis to McCarthy and the records of trans-Atlantic phone conversations between the two.

So, despite McCarthy's efforts to shout it down, the whisper still persists: "Is Senator McCarthy really a secret Communist?"

WHERE I STAND

by HANK GREENSPUN

Is Senator McCarthy a secret Communist?

Joe McCarthy has instituted a reign of fear and terror in the capital of the nation, unequalled since, perhaps, the days of the War of 1812 when the British invaded Washington.

To accomplish this nefarious plot, he had to have help. It would be interesting at this time to show the people with whom the senator counseled, conserted and picked as his aides. A study of these individuals with their backgrounds would be indicative of the type of person we can expect to infest the government when and if McCarthy does become president of the United States. It would not even be necessary for the senator to achieve the presidency, because all his present recommendations for high government posts are receiving favorable consideration from the present administration.

An analysis of the men and women around McCarthy would not make pleasant reading. It might even be classed as shocking but the truth should not be sugar-coated especially when it presents a pattern which has destroyed other countries and is presently endangering ours.

McCarthy's chief assistant and hatchet man is a former FBI agent by the name of Don Surine. Surine was fired from that agency for supposedly disregarding FBI rules and regulations.

In testifying before a government committee, Surine stated under oath that he resigned from the FBI. He knew he had committed an act of perjury in this testimony so, in order to cover himself, he immediately dispatched a letter to J. Edgar Hoover on Feb. 7, 1950. The text of the letter to J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, follows:

"Dear Mr. Hoover: I regret to advise you that as of Feb. 7, 1950, I desire to submit my resignation as a Special Agent. I have enjoyed working for you the past ten years or more and have appreciated your considerations in various personal and official matters during that time.

"In the event I can ever be of service to the Bureau please do not hesitate to call upon me.

"Sincerely, Donald A. Surine."

On March 6, 1950, the following letter was dispatched to Surine by Hoover:

"Dear Sir: The Bureau has been advised of your recent conversation with Inspector Nease and it will not be possible to change the manner in which you were separated from the Bureau's rolls. As you have been previously advised, the action was based upon a complete disregard of Bureau Rules and Regulations and no facts were submitted by you to warrant altering the original action in your case.

"Very Truly Yours, J. Edgar Hoover, Director."

Beneath this seemingly pleasant and official interchange of communications, there is an undercurrent of gross immorality which seems to typify the people with whom Senator McCarthy has surrounded himself.

The following affidavit gives a clearer insight into the type of person who is presently McCarthy's chief administrative assistant. When this affidavit was made, Surine was married and a father of 3 children.

"I, Raymond F. Weber, was living with Doris Jo Perry at the Emerson Hotel in Baltimore at the time of her arrest. She was arrested while visiting the room of two Army officers for immoral purposes. She was arrested by two FBI men — one of them being Don Surine — who later came to my room and arrested me. I was booked and released on bail that same day.

"Upon returning to the Emerson Hotel to get my luggage, I happened to step into the same elevator with Doris. She signaled me to follow her, and I followed her to Mandell's restaurant. She told me that Surine had turned her loose with the understanding she would help prosecute me. She also told me that Surine was going to put her in a different hotel and take care of her. During the next few months while I was out on bail, I saw Doris several times. She referred frequently to the fact that she had nothing to worry about because Surine would take care that nothing happened to her.

"I also learned from Doris that Surine was visiting with her almost every day, that he slept with her occasionally at the Abbey Hotel where he had put her up. I was present on a number of occasions when Doris called Surine and when Surine called Doris to make arrangements for a date later. Surine frequently picked up Doris at Burke's restaurant where she drank heavily.

"Naturally, I was sore having Surine, the same FBI man who had arrested me, going around with my girl friend and sleeping with her while I was awaiting trial. So I made a complaining call to the FBI. I understand that Surine was dismissed from the FBI as a result of the subsequent investigation into his relationship with Doris. Incidentally, I pleaded guilty, and Doris never testified against me. We are still good friends.

"Raymond F. Weber."

"Notary Seal."

I also have in my possession an affidavit from the woman in the case, Doris Jo Perry. She substantially confirms everything stated by Weber except that her affidavit contains many more details, all tending to show the immorality of the man who today has terrorized every witness to be brought before the McCarthy committee. Fear of Don Surine is only secondary to that of McCarthy.

Surine expects every witness to answer questions truthfully before senate committees though he himself committed perjury on more than one occasion.

Ed Babcock, another one of McCarthy's administrative assistants was picked up by Washington police in 1950 and charged with the offense of solicitation for a lewd and immoral purpose,

(Continued on Page 2)

rgy and fought to keep him on, but pressure from the administration forced "Doc" out of the picture.

And, thus, we see that in order to qualify as a member of the inner sanctum of the McCarthy cabinet, one must be a liar, a communist, a pervert, or all three. In fact, being a member of the "Gay" set is almost a condition precedent to landing a job with McCarthy.

This is the man who is being groomed for President of the United States. A country which can pridefully point to presidents Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson.

"What fools we mortals be."

48 - 5:06 - 7:30 - 9:50

WHERE I STAND

which is the District of Columbia charge for soliciting another man to engage in unnatural sexual acts. Babcock pleaded guilty and paid a heavy fine while the press tried to hush the story.

Charlie Davis, another operative of McCarthy, was dishonorably discharged from the United States Navy for confessed homosexuality. He admits he belonged to the Communist party organization in Southern California right after World War II. Records show Davis is of extremely low moral character and would do anything for money.

Roy Cohn and G. David Schine, the attorney and investigator, respectively, for the McCarthy committee, are in a class by themselves. Their puerile behaviorism is in complete character with the type of investigations which McCarthy pursues; neither consistent, constructive, informative, intelligent nor investigative for that matter.

The favorite story in Washington today is about Cohn and Schine following McCarthy down the corridors of the senate building after a committee hearing. Joe happened to lapse into his normal gait which is a little to the left of manly, and Schine observing the effeminate crawl, poked Cohn in the ribs and in real be-bop language tittered: "dig that crazy convertible."

To adequately describe these "Katzenjammer Kids," their background, and the effect they have on International relations, would take a volume of words, so, of necessity, a separate chapter will be needed to chronicle their misdeeds.

And, now we come to Dr. J. B. Matthews, who became staff director of the McCarthy "Circus" committee last spring, after McCarthy decided that tall, blonde, handsome, dreamy-eyed Schine was not heavy enough for the job.

"Doc" Matthews, as he is affectionately called by all his co-workers, is of the same ilk, stripes and class as his "boss," McCarthy, and the rest of the crummy immoral group of bogeymen who are now frightening an entire nation. "Doc" got his start with the House Un-American Activties Committee when Congressman Martin Dies of Texas was its chairman.

"Doc" was chief investigator for the group and his first big headline game when Chairman Dies startled the press of the country with the sensational story that the Un-American Activities Committee offices were burglarized and files on secret activities were filched.

The story of the burglary is not exactly as Martin Dies told the quickly assembled reporters although Dies really believed it to be true at the time. The real scoop on the sensational "robbry" is this: —

"Doc" Matthews was in the habit of throwing "hot parties" in the staff office late at night. On this occasion, somebody went wild and smashed a window with an empty whiskey bottle. "Doc" and Bob Stripling, secretary of the committeee, quickly sobered up and had to figure a way "out" and fast! "Doc" hit on the bright idea of blaming the Communists; so, Bob and "Doc" jerked open the file cases and scattered the contents over the floor. Next morning, Congressman Dies was called in to survey the ruins — which, incidentally did not include the whiskey bottles.

"Doc" was later fired by Dies when it was discovered that he was serving two masters. "Doc" was stealing Dies' thunder of filching "hot dope" from the files and ghost-writing speeches for Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, a member of the Committee who had red-baiting ambitions of his own. Later Thomas became Chairman of the Committee and really did a job on the Reds until he was retired from the Committee, and by Congress because of a minor transgression like padding payrolls. Thomas exchanged his Congressional immunity for prison stripes.

The best description of "Doc" Matthews comes from no less and authority than the "old describer" himself, Westbrook Pegler, who in one of his better columns referred to Matthews as a "fellow-traveler" and "self-confessed female impersonator." Of course, Pegler and Matthews have since made up and are both now playing on the same team.

This is the same man, Dr. J. B. Matthews, chief investigator for Sen. Joe McCarthy, who gave the Eisenhower administration its first great setback with a false and bigoted story in a national magazine in which the Protestant clergy was characterized as being "infiltrated with Communists."

McCarthy approved of his investigators' conclusion on the

00 — Show Times 12:30 - 2

The Facts About Facts Forum—#1 12-27-53 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

A Rich Man, A Growing Power

HAROLDSON LAFAYETTE HUNT, of Dallas, Tex., may be the richest man in America, which, if true, ordinarily would be of only passing interest.

However, in the last 30 months Hunt has created an organization of growing power in American mass communications and public opinion.

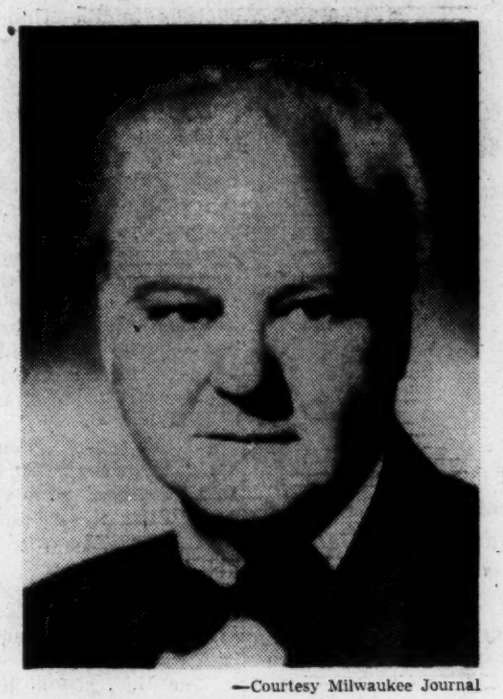
This organization is Facts Forum. It is, Hunt says, a nonpartisan, non-political, educational project with strict rules against carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation. Except for anti-communism, and soil and water conservation, it has no opinions of its own, he says.

On this basis Facts Forum has, according to its figures, gathered 125,000 participants in its varicus activities; it has obtained over a million dollars worth annually of free radio and television time; it has presented many famous Americans in various interview and panel shows; it produces one network radio show and one network television-radio simulcast and is considering taking over a third well-known radio show. Its network time is free.

On this same basis of nonpartisanship, it sends out a mass of literature and "public opinion polls" to newspapers, radio stations and to every member of Congress.

On this same basis it has obtained a federal tax exemption both for its expenditures and for its contributors. Recently a former moderator for Facts Forum was appointed to the most powerful single body governing mass communications in America, the Federal Communications Commission.

Facts Forum began officially in June, 1951. It helps create local discussion groups whose basic information comes from the description of "both sides" of national issues as interpreted by Facts Forum. These "both sides" presentations are broadcast over 222 radio stations on recordings made by Dan Smoot, an ex-FBI agent who is now chief moderator for Facts Forum. The material for these broadcasts comes partly from a free circulating library with hundreds of titles and 20,000 books, which are given free to participants who get six other persons to read any given book first. Transcripts from the "both sides" broadcasts are sent to interested listeners and are reprinted in the organization's house organ, the Facts Forum News, which is sent to 60,000 persons monthly.



—Courtesy Milwaukee Journal

Haroldson Lafayette Hunt: He is the Forum's 'angel' and may be the richest man in the U.S.

Facts Forum also conducts a "public opinion poll" on certain selected questions, the results of which it releases as news to 1,800 newspapers, 500 radio stations and every member of Congress, some of whom introduce it into the Congressional Record.

Facts Forum also pays for certain newspaper and periodical activities by individuals.

It has 20 paid persons on its staff, mostly in the headquarters in Dallas, with branch offices elsewhere. It has a paid organizer and speech instructor for use in localities where Facts Forum activities are being created.

In recent months Facts Forum has branched out into radio and television network shows. It now produces the Mutual Broadcasting System show, "State of the Nation," a half-hour radio show on 315 stations on free time. It also produces the American Broadcasting Company television-radio half-hour show, "Answers for Americans," also on free time. Both shows have been favorably reviewed by impartial critics.

These are in addition to a half-hour television show filmed by Facts Forum in Washington and sent out free to 58 stations. The basic Dan Smoot "both sides" program is on 222 radio stations.

The moderator for Facts Forum on its two network shows is now in negotiation to add the MBS half-hour radio program, "Reporters' Roundup" to the growing list of Facts Forum activities.

The man behind this growing national organization is probably the most obscure individual among the rich men of the world. He broke his lifelong rule against personal publicity by announcing the formation of Facts Forum but before that, H. L. Hunt was unknown even to many citizens of Dallas.

It is problematical whether Hunt is, as he has been labeled, "The Richest Man in America" or "The Man Who Comes Closer Than Anyone Else on Earth to Being a Billionaire." He abhors such terms.

Yet, more is known about many local bankers than about H. L. Hunt. He is not in "Who's Who." In 10 years there are

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The Facts About Facts Forum—#1

Hunt Made Fortune in Texas Oil Fields

Continued From Page One

only two known references of any size to him in national magazines. A national magazine once tried to interview him, gave up and almost did a story on the difficulties of seeing H. L. Hunt. When Life magazine surreptitiously photographed Hunt crossing a street in Dallas, it was regarded as an incident of note.

Twenty-five years ago, no national magazine would have bothered to sneak a picture of Hunt. He was then an oil driller whose operations were undistinguished in size. Before that he was a farmer.

Worked as Farmhand, Lumberjack, at Odd Jobs

Hunt was born on a farm near Vandalia, Ill. At the age of three, it is said, he could read and write, but he had to leave the fourth grade to go to work. He worked as farmhand, lumberjack and at odd jobs. His father, who had fought in the Confederate Army, had once described the rich soil around the battlefields in Lake Village, Ark., so there H. L. Hunt finally went to grow cotton and pecans.

Hunt was and is a gambling man. In Lake Village today they say that he won his first oil lease in a poker game—on a bluff. Thus, about 1920, Haroldson Hunt got the whiff of oil. By 1930 he was doing moderately well, wildcatting around Van Zandt Country, just east of Dallas, and Scurry County, 250 miles to the west. It was the beginning of the Depression, and other drillers were pulling out. Hunt had a hunch there was something there and put everything he had into the two areas.

"Making money is something some people have a knack for," Hunt has said. He had the knack. By plunging in east Texas and Scurry County, H. L. Hunt got in on the ground floor of the two largest known oil deposits in the United States. It was these underground pools which made the multi-millionaires of Texas during the Depression.

Hunt is still adventurous. He still bets at the race tracks, but now with hundreds of dollars—and with the help of an employe who is a graduate statistician from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

At 64, Hunt is vigorous, stands six feet tall, has green eyes and generous grey hair. An admirer of George Washington, he lives in a five-times-larger replica of Mount Vernon, in Dallas. He has four sons and two daughters. One of his sons left school at the age of 19 to go into the oil business and made $3,000,000 before his health broke down.

Has a Distaste for Conspicuous Spending

Unlike some of his Texas oil colleagues, Hunt has not spent money openly on charities in amounts that would indicate his wealth, or indulged in financially publicized businesses. Texas oilman H. R. Cullen, for example, once gave a single gift of $150,000,000, and this year rewarded his favorite college football team for a single victory by giving their college over $2,000,000. Hunt has a distaste for such conspicuous expenditures. Another fabulous oilman, Clint Murchison, has made generous financial contributions to projects of Sen. Joseph McCarthy and controls companies whose known value is $302,000,000. For Hunt's fortune there are only estimates.

Hunt is estimated to own $200,000,000 worth of farmland. He is estimated to be the biggest independent oil operator in the world, with holdings in excess of $500,000,000. He is estimated to be the largest grower of pecans in the world. He has, in addition, gold mines, natural gas and other interests. His gross income has been estimated at $200,000 a day, an unusually large portion of which he can keep because of special exemptions for venture oil drilling.

Politically, Hunt is not noisy. Like his friend, novelist Louis Bromfield, he hates the New Deal and the Fair Deal and loves the soil. (Hunt owns more soil, probably, than any other American.) Some say that he has a farmer's coolness toward cities generally and toward the melting-pot atmosphere of the East, specifically. He has said, "The healthiest thinking in this country is being done by people who live on medium-sized farms."

Hunt made the bulk of his fortune during the Depression, a period which, he feels strongly, marked a deplorable tendency among his fellow Americans to demand welfare services from the federal government. He feels that the Democratic Party, except for the Dixiecrat movement, is the instrument of socialism and Communism in this country, and that the Republican Party as presently constituted displays dangerously radical tendencies.

In addition, he believes the American government should limit itself to the affairs of this country to a much greater degree than it does at present. During the first Iranian oil crisis, when Britain reportedly was threatening to withdraw from NATO if American oilmen continued to move into Anglo-Iranian operations, H. L. Hunt quietly appeared in Iran. This was after a strong plea by the American State Department that Americans stay out of the Iranian-British fight. Hunt feels the State Department meddles too much in foreign and business affairs.

MacArthur's Strongest Supporter in 1952

Hunt supported General MacArthur for the presidency in 1948 and later, when the general was deposed by President Truman and visited Texas in a special plane, Hunt was on his plane. Hunt was MacArthur's strongest supporter for the presidential nomination in 1952 and paid much of the bill for the "spontaneous" demonstrations for MacArthur at the Republican convention. Hunt is a firm supporter of MacArthur's foreign policy of total war in Asia or total withdrawal.

Apparently, Hunt was not prepared to start a third party in 1952, for MacArthur was run later that year by the Constitution Party, the America First Party, and the Christian Nationalist Party. But at the last minute Hunt, a Texas delegate to the Republican convention, switched his vote to Eisenhower.

Hunt is also a strong supporter of Texas' nominally Democratic governor, Allan Shivers, who supported Eisenhower, largely on the basis of the latter's promise to return oil-rich tidelands to the states. Recently Governor Shivers awarded tidelands leases in the largest transfer of such oil properties in history. The biggest single awardee was H. L. Hunt, who got more than 100,000 acres at an average of $6 an acre. Others paid averages as high as $400 an acre.

Hunt believes that Shivers is a good possibility for President of the United States. He thinks the same of Senator McCarthy, a friend of his whose name has been linked to Facts Forum. Once Hunt was asked by a reporter if he was one of McCarthy's "angels" and Hunt, grinning, replied, "I think that's stretching it a little."

Recently, Hunt was asked if he were supporting McCarthy for the presidency in 1956. He replied:

"Some day I might be able to answer that better. But I think it is a little too early. It's two years away. I may also be interested in Joe Martin, or Senator Byrd, or Senator Jenner, or Senator Bridges. Or Governor Shivers."

But Hunt avowedly admires McCarthy and McCarthy's methods.

Bought 50,000 Copies Of Jenner's Report

Hunt, as did the Republican National Committee, bought 50,000 copies of Senator Jenner's report of alleged subversive infiltration of the Roosevelt administration. Hunt promoted distribution of the report in the Facts Forum News. During the 1952 campaign the Hunt family in their own name contributed $11,900 to help elect J. Glenn Beall as Republican senator from Maryland and to attempt to elect Zales Ecton senator from Montana and Chapman Revercomb senator from West Virginia.

However, an organization called "Americans for America," spent more than $50,000 for the benefit of utra-conservative Republican candidates all over the country. Honorary chairman of this organization was Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck, a supporter of America First before World War II and of Senator McCarthy afterward. General Wood is a national officer of Facts Forum. The biggest contributor to Americans for America was H. L. Hunt.

Yet, all this was done with a minimum of publicity. It was Facts Forum which put Hunt in the news. Facts Forum is believed to be the most public and at the same time the largest non-profit enterprise in which Hunt has ever indulged.

Facts Forum has existed for 30 months. During the first—and relatively quiet—half of its life Facts Forum spent about $200,000 tax-free dollars, and the Hunts gave Facts Forum $219,000 tax-free dollars. Facts Forum will not say what its current budget is. But in the second 15 months of its operations it has expanded enormously. It has added at least four regional offices with paid organizers (one in Hunt's birthplace, Vandalia, Ill.), and entered network radio and television activities on a coast-to-coast scale. So there is reason to believe that the $200,000 expenditures of the early months of Facts Forum is only a fraction of the current budget. In those early months, the Hunts supplied more than 95 per cent of the listed contributions.

Unanimous Approval For 'Forum' Lacking

With such admirable aims announced by Facts Forum, one would expect unanimous approval. The "town meeting" idea has always been popular in this country. And, indeed, many national figures have expressed publicly their full support of Facts Forum. These include Sen. George Malone, Sen. Harry F. Byrd, and Sen. John W. Bricker.

But there are some startling demurrers. This is odd for a "nonpartisan educational" enterprise. One of Washington's better known Washington correspondents, Carleton Kent, of the Chicago Sun-Times, offered money for merely interviewing a senator on Facts Forum, declared, "I wouldn't touch that organization with a ten-foot pole." Sen. Estes Kefauver who appeared in one of the first Facts Forum television broadcasts, said, "I wish I knew then what I know now about that organization." Sen. Warren Magnuson, who appeared on the first Facts Forum television show with Senator McCarthy, was asked to make another Facts Forum appearance but declined. This is a pattern repeated by others.

Why there should be such unprecedented distrust of a "non partisan educational" organization will be discussed in later articles.

Tomorrow: How Facts Forum Gives "Both Sides."

The Facts About Facts Forum—#2 12-28-53 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

On Giving 'Both Sides' of an Issue

ONE of the most admirable projects a man of wealth could underwrite would be the stimulation of rational debate among Americans on the problems facing them.

With the destruction of civilization a possible penalty for unwise decisions, a calm and judicious citizenry would have a better chance of surviving the perils of the atomic and the totalitarian age.

When H. L. Hunt, the Texas oilman, came out of a lifelong silence to announce such a program—a nonpartisan, non-political educational organization—many persons hoped that this happy occasion had arrived.

Into this organization, Facts Forum, Hunt poured hundreds of thousands of dollars until today it is a nationwide project of 125,000 participants with a number of network radio-television and other public-opinion projects.

The basic coast-to-coast radio program of Facts Forum is a presentation, largely on free time, of "both sides" of national issues as interpreted by the staff of Facts Forum and given over the air by Facts Forum's chief moderator, Dan Smoot.

Dan Smoot

As this basic program progressed the Facts Forum version of "both sides" made many listeners uneasy. They seemed to feel that "both sides" were not equal in emphasis as interpreted by Facts Forum.

In January of 1952, for example, Smoot gave "both sides" of a Facts Forum question, "Should we negotiate whatever peace we can get in Korea?" Of Facts Forum members polled, 85 per cent had voted to stay in Korea, 15 per cent to get out any way we could. To the argument for staying in Korea, Smoot devoted less than 300 words of the broadcast, to the argument for getting out, more than 1,000 words.

A Program on the Death Penalty for Those Who Would Overthrow Government

Some broadcasts also seemed to be not so much "both sides" of a single issue, but merely two versions of the same side.

For example, Facts Forum devoted one program to the question of whether advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence should be punishable by death. Presumably the two sides of this question would be (1) Yes, the death penalty should be imposed, and (2) No, the death penalty is too severe and present laws should remain.

But as presented by Facts Forum, the pro-death penalty argument was that Communists threaten the security of 150,000,000 Americans and therefore are guilty of a crime worse than murder, which in many states is a capital crime.

Facts Forum's argument against the death penalty was made, in part, in these words:

"The real, subtle, accomplishing influence of communism is achieved not by the card-carrying members of the party or by the publicly known fellow travelers, but by the people in the lunatic fringe which surrounds the party.

It's Not the Commies, but Some Who Think They Are Anti-Communist

"People in this fringe group are never identified as Communist sympathizers and many of them seem to be unaware of it themselves. . . . It is these people and not the Communists who are responsible for all of the first-rate achievements of communism in the United States."

Facts Forum often repeats the thesis that the nation is in danger of complete collapse because of subversion and that this is the doing, not of Communists, but of certain people who think they are anti-Communist. Facts Forum concluded that to kill these people who think they are anti-Communist would be to abridge their civil rights.

A study of Facts Forum presentations of "both sides" shows that there is a consistent approach to national issues and that this approach involves these factors:

1. Facts Forum regards as on one side in one camp, the liberal, moderate and conservative views. The "other side" is the extremist right.

2. In arguing for what it says is the viewpoint of the liberal-moderate-conservative side of an issue, Facts Forum uses dryly rational, subdued style. In arguing for what it says is "the other side"—the extremist right—Facts Forum uses highly emotional, inflammatory language.

3. Facts Forum presents what is often a fair and factual description of the liberal-moderate-conservative side. Then, in presenting its version of "the other side," it devotes much of its time charging the liberal-moderate-conservative element in this country with subversion, betrayal, and treason.

4. On Facts Forum, personalities and name-calling often

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'Both Sides' Interpretation Upsets Many

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dominate and facts are forgotten.

An example of how the "both sides" technique works is the Facts Forum broadcast of "both sides" of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. It said of those against the act:

"The gallant fight against the bill was led by Senators Humphrey, Lehman, Kefauver, Moody, Benton and Douglas. These champions of real democracy and international understanding certainly would not have tried to defeat this bill if it had been a good one . . ." The broadcast then listed some of the organizations against the bill which, it said, "include nearly all religious and racial groups, the CIO and most of the AF of L affiliates."

How Facts Forum Presents 'Other Side'

Facts Forum then presented "the other side:"

"Those who want to destroy the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act would throw open the doors of the United States to the Socialist hordes of Europe. They are not worried about the downtrodden people of Europe. They want to flood America with people who have been drenched by the Socialist propaganda of Eastern Europe—people who would swell the tide of Socialist votes in our great industrial centers.

"This is the purpose of those who know what they are doing—the Americans for Democratic Action, whose aims and ideals are almost identical with those of the Socialist Labor Party of Britain; the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, an officially cited Communist organization; the National Lawyers Guild, another known Communist front; and the Communist Party itself.

"And, of course, rallying around these is the usual clique of innocent dupes who don't know what they are doing—the gulliberals—who have always done the work of the Communist Party."

Dan Smoot ended this Facts Forum broadcast with the words:

"I have just given some views of conservatives who look upon the McCarran-Walter Act as one of the best and most generous pieces of legislation ever enacted in America or elsewhere—and of liberals with an opposite point of view."

Another time Facts Forum presented "both sides" of the question, "Should we continue to handle Korea as a limited police action?"

The first part of the program was devoted to the arguments of those who favor American intervention in Korea. It quoted the schoolish terms of Gen. Omar Bradley and the relatively unemotional words of Adlai Stevenson. "Korea," it quoted Stevenson, "is the most remarkable effort the world has ever seen to make collective security work. In choosing to repel the first armed aggression of the Communists, we chose to make bitter sacrifices today to save civilization tomorrow . . ." Thus went in style and tempo the argument for handling Korea as a police action.

Then came, as Facts Forum put it, "the other side":

'It Is a Strange War For a Man Who . . .'

"It is a strange war for a man who has been taught to love the American flag but who now finds himself fighting under a blue flag representing a world organization of which his enemy, the Soviet, is a member.

"He is in a Korean foxhole as the result of a United Nations order, but our Constitution says that only Congress can declare war. It's called a United Nations' police action, but the United Nations' only noticeable contribution is the policy of appeasement which keeps the Americans from winning . . .

"It's cold up here in the winter—sometimes 30 below zero. If a boy cries his tears turn to ice. And then there is the enemy, always the enemy. Joe can feel him out there in the blackness, and sometimes he can hear him. And sometimes when a star shell bursts overhead, he can see him—not one, but thousands, moving relentlessly forward . . .

"Presently, the third assault wave starts, and then the noise—the screaming, eerie unearthly noise of mindless men in a banzai charge. And a boy from Texas starts firing as fast as he can feed clips into his automatic weapon. He fires until the gun is red hot in his hands. The Commies die. They die by the hundreds, and fall in heaps; but there are endless numbers of them. For every one that falls, ten come up to charge over his dead body; and some of them get through—one, ten, or a thousand.

"Then it is the kind of fight that man fought centuries ago; knives and fists, fingers groping for eyes, and teeth seeking a soft spot in the neck. Maybe Joe will die in the slit trench, and maybe he will live—his hands sour and gummy with half-digested rice gruel ripped out of the stomach of a bleeding bundle of rags and bones at his feet . . .

"Korea. Police action or war? A question for all Americans. This is Dan Smoot for Facts Forum."

Tomorrow: Which side is the Facts Forum side?

The Facts About Facts Forum—#3 12-30-53 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

How to Identify a 'Conservative'

IT has been asserted that Facts Forum, the "educational association for the dissemination of information, training and enlightenment," backed by Texas oilman H. L. Hunt, is being used as a vehicle for the sentiments of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

This has been denied by Facts Forum.

The fact that half of its basic program more often than not is devoted to the political philosophy and methods of Senator McCarthy could be coincidental.

This program goes over 222 radio stations, largely on free time, and is Facts Forum's own version of "both sides" of important national issues.

It also could be coincidental that in this basic broadcast Facts Forum usually presents as one side of each issue the sentiments of the extremist, isolationist right.

There is evidence, however, that this extremist, isolationist side is also the side of Facts Forum's backers and officials.

The McCarthy connection will be discussed later.

But some listeners thought that beginning with that point in the 1953 session of Congress when President Eisenhower signed the bill giving tidelands to the states, Facts Forum expressed with increasing frequency direct criticism of the Eisenhower administration. On many such occasions the argument was not what is accepted as the major political argument in this country: a defense of the Eisenhower administration against the point of view that the administration should be more "liberal." In most cases the "both sides" involved a defense of the administration against the McCarthy point of view, that is, that Eisenhower is too leftist.

In describing the two sides of whether Eisenhower was cleaning up the "mess" in Washington, the "no" side appeared to be pure McCarthy:

"The new telephone directory of the State Department," Facts Forum said after reciting a defense of Eisenhower, "shows fewer than 15 names of key men missing from the old Acheson directory . . . the new administration's proposed resolution of these (Yalta and Potsdam) agreements and the appointment of Bohlen, one of the architects of our old policy of Soviet appeasement, completely white-washed the worst errors of the Roosevelt-Truman foreign policy. . . . There is no question about the ability and high-minded integrity of President Eisenhower. But he cannot possibly perform the superhuman task of putting this nation back on the road toward peace and freedom and national solvency with a team distinguished for its dedication to the old policies of Communist appeasement and New Deal Socialism. . . ."

This was in June, 1953.

This kind of argument appeared often as the "conservative" opinion in the United States. "What wasn't to be expected, however," one program concluded, "was that the Eisenhower administration would listen to Stevenson's appeasement recommendations with respect. . . ."

On many other issues conservatives listened with amazement to Facts Forum's presentation of what it called the "conservative" side.

On the issue of compulsory fair employment practices (FEPC), for example, conservatives generally oppose it because they feel it invades states' rights and employers' rights and because they feel education is better than legislation. Only the extremists have claimed that it is a subversive plot. Facts Forum's argument against it included:

"In 1928 international communism started a calculated program to stir up race hatreds in America. Within a few years the campaign began to reflect itself in political agitation for race and class legislation, and in riots and civil strife all over the nation. . . . Before the Communist race agitation began in 1928 we had achieved more harmony and mutual understanding among our racial groups. . . ."

Facts Forum also interposed what it presented as the "conservative" view of Negro anthropology:

"Remember that the Negroes, when first brought to America by Yankee and English merchants, were not free people reduced to slavery. They were merely transferred from a barbaric enslavement by their own people in Africa to a relatively benign enslavement in the Western Hemisphere. . . .

"Think of the condition in 1865. A large, illiterate and economically dependent population—a primitive people only recently removed from savagery with no cultural or racial traditions of their own had to be assimilated into a civilization which it had taken the white man 5,000 years to develop. . . ."

On the issue of modern education and federal aid to education, conservatives generally are opposed to it on the basis that modern education allows the individual too much freedom without teaching him discipline, and that federal aid might place centralized bureaucratic control over local schools. Facts Forum included on its "conservative" argument against federal aid and against modern education:

"Is any child ever taught that America is a constitutional Republic with a central government of limited powers—that it is not, was never intended to be and (God willing) may never become a democracy? . . .

"Unquestionably, much of modern education has had the subversive effect of battering down the safeguards of tradition and undermining American individualism, which is our only real guarantee against tyranny. . . ."

On the matter of whether the United States is a democracy, there is a curious schizophrenia in Facts Forum. Facts Forum's chief moderator, Dan Smoot, and its sponsor, H. L. Hunt, believe we are not a democracy and should not use the word

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Facts

'Conservative' Viewpoint Is Extreme One

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in connection with the United States—we are a constitutional Republic.

In October, 1953, Smoot declared in a personal speech in Canada, reprinted in the Facts Forum News:

"One of the best indications of how far we in the United States have slipped is the wide contemporary use by practically all of our intellectual and political leaders of the word 'democracy' to designate our system . . .

"The Founding Fathers knew, and Jefferson said in specific terms, that a democracy is the most evil kind of government possible."

Not only had the United States slipped, but so, apparently had Facts Forum. In its early months, when it was just starting as a public organization for enlightenment, Facts Forum broadcast:

"Democracy is a political outgrowth of the teachings of Jesus Christ . . . Christianity was essential to the creation of our democracy."

Again, in a broadcast of Facts Forum's creed, Smoot, in the early, slipping days of Facts Forum, broadcast:

"We in Facts Forum know that American democracy . . . is still the most nearly perfect expression ever made by man in legal and political terms of a basic ideal of Christianity."

Own Activities Cloud Claim of Impartiality

It is possible that a special guest on a Facts Forum broadcast, Arthur Conrad, had, in the meantime, been so persuasive he had reversed Facts Forum's stand on democracy. In arguing that public schools are in the grip of subversion, Conrad told the Facts Forum radio audience that in one textbook he had in mind "the United States is not referred to as a Republic—it is a democracy. Well, you see, Mr. Vishinsky talks about democracy. Mr. Acheson talks about democracy. Mr. Nehru talks about democracy. . ."

There are other evidences of Facts Forum's claims of impartiality being clouded by its own activities. On one broadcast, Smoot devoted the entire time to an uncritical review of the book, "The Key to Peace," by Dean Clarence Manion. This book holds that social developments in this country since 1932 h[illegible] and the result of deliberate subversion and that American society as it exists today is dominated by "alien philosophies."

"I don't know whether Dean Manion is right or wrong," Smoot concluded, "but I believe that a wide exchange of thought in the free market of ideas will produce solutions for the staggering problems of our time."

The transcript added that "The Key to Peace" is available in the Facts Forum free circulating library.

While encouraging "a wide exchange of ideas," Facts Forum, as far as is known, has never devoted a similar program to the opposite—and presumably majority—point of view: that social developments since 1932 were done with the approval of the electorate and are something other than subversive programs sneaked in by foreigners.

But now Facts Forum distributes a recording and transcripts of its own creed, entitled, "America's Promise," in which Smoot declares that in the Twentieth Century "alien philosophies" have been introduced into American society and all but ruined it. He said he drew the political philosophy for this broadcast from Manion's "The Key to Peace," which, in the interim, presumably, Facts Forum had decided was right.

Suggests Inquirer Trying to Interfere

Facts Forum has frequently answered critical questions about itself with the suggestion that the inquirer is merely trying to interfere with the exposure of spies. This, apparently, is based on the fact that Facts Forum declares it is anti-Communist and anyone critical of Facts Forum must therefore be against fighting communism.

Perhaps the first public evidence of a possible link between Senator McCarthy and Facts Forum was disclosed in a column by Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent for the Providence Journal-Bulletin. Collins had been approached to interview Senator McCarthy on a Facts Forum program. The approach was made by a former McCarthy aide, Victor Johnston, who is now director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. Collins quoted Johnston as saying that Hunt was ready to spend some of his fortune electing "our kind of guy." The Collins article was picked up by many of the most respected newspapers in the country, but it was also quoted by the New York Communist paper, "The Worker."

Facts Forum chose the version cited in "The Worker" to photostat and reprint by the thousands. It sent this to its entire mailing list. It could not, it explained "repress a feeling of pride in making this enemy. The attack proves our program for Freedom has been sufficiently effective that instead of continuing to snipe at us through the usual news channels, the Communists' first team has finally come into the open with a direct attack."

Forum Felt Compelled To Remind Listeners

Yet, once in the past, when presenting arguments against Universal Military Training, Facts Forum felt compelled to remind its listeners:

"The Communists . . . have opposed UMT and thereby, some feel, have driven many anti-Communist forces into supporting a bill which they might otherwise oppose . . . The Communists have many times been found supporting measures they don't want and opposing measures they do."

It is interesting to note that some Facts Forum members apparently are responding to the organization's efforts to produce alarm at the word "Communist." Although "The Worker" reprint bore denials printed on the margin by H. L. Hunt and by Facts Forum's president, some members thought Facts Forum had joined the Communist cause. The next issue of the Facts Forum News explained on page one:

"Some who received our last mailing which included a reprint from the Communist newspaper, 'The Worker,' have written us deploring that 'The Worker' and Facts Forum have joined hands. Facts Forum hopes that it is still on the opposite side of the fence for it mailed out the reprint to impress that fact."

Tomorrow: Facts Forum defines treason.

The Facts About Facts Forum — #4

How to Identify A Communist

BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN 12-30-53

FACTS Forum, the tax-free "educational" organization of Dallas oilman H.L. Hunt, has, in addition to a number of radio-television debate programs, a philosophy of its own.

An early broadcast stated the nature of Facts Forum's anti-Communism:

"The people who are most effectively promoting Lenin's program for the destruction of America are, for the most part, people who denounce Russian Communism, many of them quite honestly. . . . They are, in short, people who have lost faith in the traditional American system of free enterprise and who believe that a planned, controlled collectivist economy, in which the state underwrites cradle-to-the-grave security for all, is the only kind which can produce the brand of peace and well-being that people want today.

"These people who believe in collectivism, rather than the Communists themselves, are responsible for all of the first rate achievements of Communism in the United States."

Just What Classes of People Are Against 'the Individual Freedoms'?

In another broadcast of its own creed, Facts Forum declared:

"Writers of textbooks being used to promote the collectivist idea among our youth—like all other spokesmen for this way of life—claim that a majority of the American people want a planned economy and that the will of the people in this instance should be obeyed. . . . Facts Forum believes that an overwhelming majority of the American people want to preserve the individual freedoms which made America great . . ."

It is difficult, sometimes, to be sure just what classes of people, according to Facts Forum, are against "the individual freedoms." Facts Forum's usual method is to place collectivism, planned economy, and social developments like Social Security and Securities and Exchange Commission created under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations in a single camp opposed to "the individual freedoms which made America great."

One must assume from Facts Forum's own words that it regards those who supported such moves as the SEC and other agencies for planning as "responsible for all of the first rate achievements of Communism in the United States."

In addition, Facts Forum in presenting its own views appears to place "intellectuals," universities, artists and educators in a context of treason, betrayal or stupidity.

'. . . the Certified Gentlemen and Scholars Of the Day, Dripping With Degrees . . .'

In its widely distributed *The Hope of the World,* Facts Forum declared as its own creed:

"The Communist parties of the world, in large part, are led and staffed . . . by middle-class intellectuals. This is particularly true in the United States. . . . By 1940 they had infiltrated the fields of science, art, education, entertainment and communications. Again, it was the middle-class intellectuals who stood by, or were deceived by, Communism. The powerful forces against Whittaker Chambers when he first began to testify were marshalled, not by the Communists themselves, but by Americans, respectables, the certified gentlemen and scholars of the day, dripping with degrees . . ."

On the other hand, Facts Forum has issued specific instructions to members on how to get on the mailing list of Edward A. Rumely's Committee for Constitutional Government, and has announced that Garet Garrett's *The People's Pottage,* and John T. Flynn's *While You Slept* are available free from Facts Forum. It has, as its own creed, broadcast many indictments against our universities and has alleged subversion in the public schools. It has printed in its News to members the personal damnation as "pro-Soviet" and "un-American" the period of Roosevelt and Truman and of the present overseas information service. Dan Smoot, the Facts Forum moderator, is quoted in the December, 1953, Facts Forum News, as saying, as his own sentiments:

"For 20 years it was fashionable in the United States to be un-American and pro-Soviet. When something like this happens, it is very late in the night of history and in the life of nations."

He also said as his own sentiments, reprinted by Facts Forum for its mailing list: "Today it is humiliating that we have some-

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The Facts About Facts Forum—#4

How to Identify Communists

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thing called a Voice of America, a governmental propaganda system trying to sell America to other people . . ."

Smoot went on:

"I think that the great villain of the 20th century is neither Mussolini, nor Hitler, nor Stalin, nor Malenkov nor the hydrogen bomb. The 20th century threat to civilization is an idea—the idea of collectivism. . . . Some of the best people of good will in our time are right out in front, trying to lead the world toward the uniform conformity and idiocy of collectivism. Witness, Dr. James Conant, America's High Commissioner in Germany, formerly president of Harvard, criticizing the idea of private schools. . . ."

But, Smoot added, all of these ideas of the last 20 years in America will go when "the winds of freedom" will "sweep across our land."

(This recalled the words of another Facts Forum moderator, Hardy Burt, who said that Facts Forum would cause people to make decisions that would lead to "the ultimate American political philosophy.")

Smoot told his audience:

"The best evidence I have that the cause of freedom in America is picking up tremendous impetus is, if you will pardon me, the organization which I myself represent: Facts Forum."

Facts Forum Presents 'Bookburning' Defense

Considering such pronouncements of Facts Forum as its own creed, what is the listener to suppose is Facts Forum's opinion in the "both sides" arguments it presents?

In one such "debate" Facts Forum presented, as one side, a defense of "bookburning":

"A hundred Dr. William A. Wirts can be hounded to death for trying to expose Communist conspiracy in American life; a score of Dr. Edward A. Rumely's can be persecuted by left-wing Congressional committees and dragged through the courts for refusing to furnish the names of people who buy anti-Communist and anti-Socialist literature; a thousand learned men can be excluded from academic posts because of their stand against New Deal Socialism—and the great liberal press of the nation is silent.

"Those bleating about the banning of pro - Communist books from our overseas libraries have never said a word about the banning of anti-Communist books . . .

"Your government has been compelling you to buy and circulate books that you do not approve of . . .

"If you spent your own money to send books abroad, you might elect to send a copy of John T. Flynn's 'While You Slept,' or of Garet Garrett's 'The People's Pottage,' in order to show how a great free Republic can be debauched, betrayed and possibly destroyed by an international criminal conspiracy working among power-hungry politicians, subversives, apathetic ignoramuses, and soft-headed do-gooders at home . . .

"Operating propaganda libraries is not a valid function of our government. When America was America, we didn't need any Voice of America or Overseas Library or any other fancy experiments in propaganda to sell the world on America . . ."

Opinions Reflect Those Of Own Spokesmen

This is just one side of an issue which Facts Forum presented "impartially." Is it not precisely the opinion of Facts Forum's own spokesmen whose own opinions were publicized through the facilities of Facts Forum?

While Facts Forum has implied that critics of it are obstructing the exposure of treason, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that a careful listener of Facts Forum's own creeds would assume after awhile:

That "the other side" — the isolationist, McCarthyite side—is the Facts Forum side;

That when Facts Forum refers to "pro-Soviet" and "un-American" it includes the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and the people who supported them;

That when it refers to "American freedom," it means, among other things, a total absence of government regulation in business and a withdrawal from the United Nations.

In fact, a careful listener might go beyond that. In a rare speech in 1951, H. L. Hunt described what he believed would be a struggle to the death in this country between two schools of thought—the far right and the far left. The moderates, or "middle-of-the-roaders" as he called them, would amount to nothing. The fight will be, he said, what he called the Liberals against what he called the Constructives.

A careful listener to the growing voice of Facts Forum in American mass communications might be excused if he wondered if Facts Forum is H. L. Hunt's instrument in the fight for which he is preparing.

Tomorrow: Facts Forum and the professional hate agitators.

The Facts About Facts Forum—#5 12-31-53 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Literature, Free and Circulating

H. L. Hunt, who may be the richest man in America, has said of his growing organization:

"Facts Forum is a non-profit national educational organization devoted to the study of political science, soil and water conservation and the art of living."

As such, Facts Forum has obtained a federal tax exemption, acquired over a million dollars worth of free radio-television time a year, and is becoming an increasingly powerful voice in expression of political opinion.

When it began in June, 1951, it stated that one of its purposes was to combat Communism. It was natural that it should have in its first free circulating library four books, some by ex-Communists, exposing the operations of the Communist Party.

However, the remaining two books, which presumably expressed Facts Forum's range of ideas on American society, were *The Key to Peace* by Dean Clarence Manion, and Joseph Kamp's, *We Must Abolish the United States.*

Manion's book is an ultra-conservative tract denouncing social developments in this country since 1932 and objecting to the use of "democracy" as a description of the United States.

Joseph Kamp operates the Constitutional Education League. He has been indicted, convicted and jailed for contempt of Congress when he refused to say who are the League's officers and contributors. He is the author, among other things, of *Hitler Was a Liberal* and *Behind the Lace Curtains of the YWCA,* the latter charging the YWCA with being a Communist-front organization. He has had contractual relations with some of the most noted racial and religious agitators in the country, having advised one, "I pull no punches in exposing the Jewish Gestapo or any Jew who happens to be a Jew." In another work, *Open Letter to Congress,* he attacks what he calls "the Jewish Gestapo and the Smear Bund" and "the Jewish Ku Klux Klan."

LIBRARY LISTS 55 BOOKS NOW BEING CIRCULATED

Fifty-five late books by famous authors and celebrities—some 2,500 copies of them—are available just for the asking at Facts Forum's *free* circulating library.

Now on the list are:

CHINA STORY, THE NEW SOVIET EMPIRE, THE COMMUNIST TRAIL IN AMERICA, RED MASQUERADE, KEY TO PEACE, YOU CAN CHANGE THE WORLD, SEEDS OF TREASON, CRISIS IN EDUCATION, BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, AMERICA'S SECOND CRUSADE, YOUR RUGGED CONSTITUTION, FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS, GOD AND MAN AT YALE, PUT FREEDOM FIRST, OUT OF BONDAGE, ANIMAL FARM, ROAD TO SURVIVAL, CRIME IN AMERICA, UNDERMINING THE CONSTITUTION, and BASIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Also THE COURT AND THE CONSTITUTION, LENIN, THIS DECEPTION, SOVIET GOLD, THREE WHO MADE A REVOLUTION, FORCED LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA, ONE WHO SURVIVED, STALIN, I SPIED FOR STALIN, THE RED PRUSSIAN, THE REAL SOVIET RUSSIA, and TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.

U.S.A.—THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION, DARKNESS AT NOON, THE WHOLE OF THEIR LIVES, VERDICT OF THREE DECADES, COMES THE COMRADE, MEN WITHOUT FACES, THE YOGI AND THE COMMISSAR, TELL THE WEST, LOST ILLUSION, AMERICA'S RETREAT FROM VICTORY, I BELIEVED, MY THREE YEARS IN MOSCOW, 11 YEARS IN SOVIET PRISON CAMPS, THIS IS MY STORY, I CHOSE FREEDOM, THE GREAT GLOBE ITSELF, THE FORRESTAL DIARIES, MASTER PLAN U.S.A., WHILE YOU SLEPT, I LED THREE LIVES, A FOREIGN POLICY FOR AMERICANS, THE RED PLOT AGAINST AMERICA, and GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS.

The librarians constantly are looking for new books and appreciate suggestions for additions.

New books are first submitted to the Reading Committee which is a group of men and women headed by D. F. Cassidy of Dallas, chairman. Their duty is to read the books and prepare a written report. Each book is given to two members of the committee and, in order for a book to become part of the library, two favorable reports are necessary.

The circulating system is simple. Anyone can check out a book whether he actually belongs to Facts Forum or not. Each book contains a sheet of instructions and six self-addressed, stamped cards. Each reader should fill out one of these cards and send it in to the office, so that an up-to-date record can be kept on the exact location of the book. At the end of seven days, the book should either be passed on to another reader or returned to the Facts Forum office. When six readers have had the book, the last reader may contact the office and additional cards will be sent so that the book may be continued in circulation.

LIBRARY LIST in Facts Forum News in February, 1952

Under Pressure of Formal Protest, Two Books Came Off the Shelf

Facts Forum began its basic library, circulated free to members and used as source material for its broadcasts, with more than 100 copies of Joseph Kamp's, *We Must Abolish the United States,* a violently anti-United Nations work.

Later, Facts Forum added another book to its free circulating library. This was John O. Beaty's, *Iron Curtain Over America.* The highly respected Protestant magazine, *Zions Herald,* had this to say of the author and this book, "Beaty is a recent 'intellectual' addition to the lengthening list of outspoken bigots across the country, and his volume appears to be the most extensive piece of racist propaganda in the history of the anti-Semitic movement in America."

Under pressure of formal protest by the Anti-Defamation League, Facts Forum removed these two books from its library.

Several months ago a new Facts Forum unit was formed in Westchester County, New York. Its leader used Facts Forum meetings for open anti-Semitic agitation. After another formal protest, Facts Forum got a new leader for the unit.

U.N. . . . a Device to Permit the Colored Races to Rule the White Races

Both the Kamp and Beaty books have been highly praised by Allen A. Zoll, whose anti-Semitic and racial agitation goes back before World War II. His American Patriots, Inc., is on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and he was indicted, although the charge was nolle prossed, for allegedly trying to extort $7,500 from a New York radio station in payment for withdrawal of a Christian Front picket line.

Early this year when a new Facts Forum unit was formed in the New York City church of a national adviser to Facts Forum, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, the first speaker to address the group was Allen A. Zoll. Zoll attacked the United Nations as a device to permit the colored races to rule the white races and charged that UNESCO is an alien conspiracy to teach sex delinquency to American school children. A protest to Dr. Peale from a parishioner brought no disapproval of Zoll but praise for Facts Forum.

The appearance of known racial and religious bigots under the sponsorship of Facts Forum has disturbed many groups seeking to eliminate religious bigotry in America. Where such groups have lodged formal protests against known professional racist propagandists, Facts Forum has removed them or their works.

It is possible that many such professional propagandists would be attracted to Facts Forum by the organization's super-nationalist tone, if for no other reason.

Printed with transcripts of most of its "both sides" broadcasts, for example, Facts Forum lists the works from which it drew its

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Literature Offered, Free and Circulating

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material. Generally, this covers works ranging politically from the slightly left-of-center to the extreme right. But after some of these works Facts Forum also issues specific instructions to members on how to get the literature, how much to pay, etc.

Of those works for which specific instructions for acquisition are issued, 85 per cent express the isolationist, pro-McCarthy, or laissez-faire economic point of view. Of the remaining 15 per cent, most are government bulletins.

Some examples of the 85 per cent as printed in Facts Forum's literature:

"'America's Retreat from Victory,' the story of George Catlett Marshall, by Senator Joseph McCarthy, available in Facts Forum library."

(It is the senator's contention that General Marshall is "steeped in blood," and a man "whose every important act for years has contributed to the prosperity of the enemy.")

"'Spotlight Bulletins . . . These bulletins can be ordered direct from the Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East Street, New York 17, New York. No charge for single copies."

(This is the organization of Dr. Edward Rumely, described by the Anti-Defamation League as "a political propaganda organization of extreme right-wing orientation which, however, does not indulge in religious prejudice.")

Instructions Given For Getting on Lists

Other groups for which Facts Forum issues specific instructions to members for getting on mailing lists and acquiring literature are Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council (the Buchanan Lobbying Committee of the 81st Congress said of the NEC that it attempts "to disparage those who oppose its objectives by appeals to religious prejudice, often an ill-concealed anti-Semitism." The Illinois American Legion also has warned against Hart.); Garet Garrett's "The People's Pottage" (circulated by Facts Forum and used for broadcasts, it interprets the Roosevelt administration as unconstitutional, subversive and a traitorous maneuver which needlessly involved the United States in war against Hitler, ending with a call to arms and an appeal for "a leader").

As a source for its discussion, "Communism in Religion," Facts Forum listed and gave specific instructions on how to get Kenneth Goff's, "Traitors in the Pulpit." The Anti-Defamation League lists Goff as "a well-known bigot." Goff has worked and traveled with Gerald L. K. Smith, the country's best-known anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro agitator.

In some cases Facts Forum not only uses a book to prepare its broadcasts, and gives instructions to members for buying it, and offers it free for the reading, but it even gives its own personal recommendation of the work. An example is the book, "Wings for Peace," by retired General Bonner Fellers, which calls for a drastic cut in ground forces, a buildup of air power, withdrawal from NATO and the atom bombing of China. The New York Times said of it: "This book has the faults of special pleading and opinion is sometimes tinted with prejudice." Facts Forum told those who get its News or wrote for a transcript of its broadcast: "This book should be read soberly and thoughtfully by every American interested in the defense of the free world."

Curious Provision In Basic Regulations

The isolationist, anti-United Nations tone of Facts Forum appears especially significant in the light of a curious provision in the basic regulations of Facts Forum:

"No part of its (Facts Forum's) earnings shall ever inure to or for the use of the United Nations."

When asked the reason for this provision, Facts Forum said it was necessary in order to get a federal tax exemption.

The chief of the tax-exempt organization division of the United States Internal Revenue Service says this is not necessary.

Mrs. Cordye Hall, of Dallas, who is active in many civic enterprises in her city, approached the leaders of Facts Forum in its early days to ask why Facts Forum distributed only anti-United Nations works. She made a formal request that it also put in their library some pro-United Nations works. She suggested, "Let's Join the Human Race," by Stringfellow Barr; "Plan for Peace," by Grenville Clark; "The United Nations World," and "The United Nations Bulletin." Facts Forum informed Mrs. Hall that it was not interested in that type of literature.

In recent months Facts Forum has added some pro-United Nations and middle-of-the-road literature to its library.

But Facts Forum continues to exhibit a sympathy for extremist views and religious propagandists. Recently in two successive issues of its Facts Forum News the organization told its members, under the headline, "Counter-Subversives":

"Only unquestioned patriotism can save America.

Recommendations Given On Loyalty Experts

"The names of the following have been given Facts Forum as having devoted much of their lives and means toward gaining an understanding of subversion and keeping files on un-American activities. Facts Forum does not know if they welcome applications for reports, nor what charges, if any, they make.

"Should you have a favorable report from any of them as to the unquestionable loyalty to America of any publication, association or person, you may assume it is the result of careful consideration and diligent research."

Among those listed is Carl McIntire, an unfrocked Presbyterian minister. He has accused the leadership of the National Council of Churches, which embraces all the major Protestant denominations, of pro-Communism. Of the "unquestioned loyalty" of Roman Catholics, McIntire has said:

"The strengthening of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world only involves the fostering of a false religion which enslaves human souls in darkness and superstition. . . . Rome will sell her secret confessional system for political world power. But actually the Roman Catholic Church becomes a 'spy system' through the priests, with the priests' first loyalty to the Vatican. . . Are not the Roman Catholics in the United States committed to a foreign power?"

As far as is known, Facts Forum has never withdrawn its recommendation of McIntire and its other loyalty experts.

Tomorrow: Cash on the line for political opinions.

The Facts About Facts Forum—#6 1-1-54 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

The Letters, Polls and Cartoons

ONE of the most democratic institutions in America is the "letter to the editor." Here, usually, any citizen can express his opinion in public print—barring obscenity, libel or commercialism.

Newspaper readers in the vicinity of Dallas, Texas, have had many opportunities to read letters by a "J. McCarthy, 1348 Highland Road, Dallas" (presumably no blood relation to J. McCarthy, of Appleton, Wis.).

Once Mr. McCarthy wrote against Truman's having intervened in Korea, another time against Social Security, another time against all New Dealers and Fair Dealers, another time accusing Truman of promoting socialism and Communism, another time pleading for an end of "international giveaways," another time attacking then-Secretary of State Dean Acheson, another time charging the United Nations with being "a rabble of nations," another time urging a low legal limit to all income taxes.

These happen to coincide with the opinions of H. L. Hunt, the multimillionaire Dallas oilman who has created a nationwide "voter education" program called Facts Forum. Presumably, however, Mr. McCarthy held these opinions sincerely, as he has a right to do.

For Letters and a Song, $594 and a Blanket

But what most readers of Mr. McCarthy's letters in the newspapers do not know is that Facts Forum paid Mr. McCarthy for writing these letters.

Mr. McCarthy received, as a result of writing these letters and other promotional efforts for Facts Forum, close to $600 in the first 15 months of Facts Forum's operations. To be precise, during this period Facts Forum gave Mr. McCarthy $594 and an electric blanket, including $300 for a song to the tune of *"Buckle Down Winsocki"* ("Wake Us Up, Facts Forum, Wake Us Up; We Can Win, Facts Forum, If You'll Wake Us Up").

In addition, Mr. McCarthy formed a Facts Forum unit in his neighborhood which then received an additional $200 in cash from Facts Forum's headquarters.

Facts Forum has paid thousands of dollars for such activities. But it has not been limited to letters to editors. The Nebraska Business News once carried a news article praising Facts Forum. The readers did not know that the author, Owen E. Cotton, later received $64 from Facts Forum for this. Students at Southern Methodist University once read in their campus newspaper a news story urging support of Facts Forum. They did not know that the author, Richard Vann, later received $32 from Facts Forum for this. As far as is known, Facts Forum has never paid for a news article or editorial contrary to the views of its backer.

The Dollars Encourage The Letter Writers

The payment for letters to the editor is made by Facts Forum on the basis that it encourages citizen participation in public issues. Facts Forum has paid for some letters contrary to the views of its backers. But the cash payments show a pattern which is something less than impartial.

A tabulation was made of all letters to the editor for which Facts Forum paid and whose texts are available. (In some cases, Facts Forum did not reprint the texts so no judgment as to political content was possible. Also, there may be gaps in available texts as reprinted by Facts Forum.)

Of 193 letters to the editor for which Facts Forum paid and whose texts are known, the overwhelming majority express isolationist, anti-United Nations, pro-McCarthy, uncontrolled-economy views.

After eliminating about 12 per cent of the letters which were on non-political subjects, there was left payment of $4,069, of which $3,630 was for isolationist, or anti-United Nations, or pro-McCarthy, or uncontrolled-economy views, and $439 for opposing views.

The Money Was Split On a 9-to-1 Basis

Thus, out of every $10 paid to persons who got letters on political issues printed in the newspapers and then sent to Facts Forum for "judging," $9 went to letter-writers expressing the views of H. L. Hunt and $1 to those with opposing views.

At one time the one-sidedness of these payments attracted attention and Facts Forum announced that from then on the payment would be equally divided between what Facts Forum called "Liberal" letters and "Constructive" letters, presumably meaning what others have called "Liberal" and "Conservative."

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"Should the U. S. continue in the United Nations?"

FACTS FORUM NEWS printed this cartoon in November to show result of poll on U.N.

It Conducts Poll of 'Informed' Opinion

Continued From Page One

But this, apparently, was soon abandoned. In November, 1953, Facts Forum announced payments of $295 for ten letters, all of them expressing Hunt's opinions. In December, 1953, it announced payments of $360 for 11 letters, $275 for nine pro-Hunt letters, $75 for one anti-Hunt letter, and $10 for one non-political letter.

The letters follow closely the Facts Forum political thought in another respect. The letters sent to newspapers are, at Facts Forum's request, on subjects current in the Facts Forum "public opinion poll."

Each month Facts Forum mails out 120,000 postcards with poll questions on them. It says it gets about 12,000 back. All signed cards are counted in the poll. Facts Forum suggests that members fill out the cards together at their meetings.

The results are then incorporated into a news release which goes to 1,800 newspapers all over the country, 500 radio stations and to all members of Congress. The news release refers to it only as a "public opinion poll."

It's Called a Poll Of 'Informed' Opinion

However, in its own publication, the Facts Forum News, it is described not as a cross-section poll — which most editors, radio newsmen and Congressmen would assume a "public opinion poll" to be — but as a poll of "informed" (that is, Facts Forum membership) opinion.

On a special radio program early this year, the chief Facts Forum moderator, Dan Smoot, an ex-FBI agent, interviewed for the second time on a Facts Forum program, Robert Stripling, former investigator for the House un-American Activities Committee. The broadcast began:

Smoot: "Mr. Stripling, I've noticed the last few days that many people who are interested in the Communist conspiracy in America have been speaking with great jubilation about the appointment of Scott McLeod to be the new boss of security in the State Department. Scott, as I remember, was for 10 years an FBI agent. Do you attach much significance to that appointment?"

Stripling: "Yes, I think it is very important . . . I know Mr. McLeod not too well—but I am familiar with his record, and I have every confidence that he will do a magnificent job for the American people."

There was currently a controversy in Washington over McLeod's appointment since McLeod was regarded by some as the hand-picked candidate of the McCarthy group which would thus pass on the employment of every member of the State Department from ambassador down.

McLeod Appointment Gets 91 % Support

But for Facts Forum members there was little controversy. In the same issue of the Facts Forum News in which the transcript of the Smoot-Stripling broadcast was printed there were the results of a Facts Forum poll. One question:

"Was Ike's appointment of former FBI man R. Scott McLeod as 'boss of security' in the State Department wise?"

Answer: 91 per cent, "Yes."

Apparently, "news releases" about Facts Forum "public opinion polls" have not been universally accepted as news by American newspapers. In instructions printed for members, Facts Forum has repeatedly said such things as:

"Some newspapers may not consider the results of Facts Forum polls to be news. They will know of your interest if you call or write them for results."

Some of the Facts Forum poll questions appear matter-of-fact. Many do not. Many appear to be of the have-you-stopped-beating-your-wife type. Once, for example, Facts Forum asked:

"Are internationalists less tolerant of Communism than the average citizen?"

This places "internationalists" in some questionable relationship to Communism. What is more important, it is impossible to answer this question either yes or no without agreeing that "internationalists" are different from "the average citizen."

Or, another Facts Forum question:

"Would destruction of Christianity from within be worst of all treason?"

But Facts Forum sometimes uses an even more provocative kind of question, described perhaps as the have-you-stopped-beating - your - wife - or - do - you - continue - to - torture - little-children type. One example:

"Is the inroad of Communism in Latin America more dangerous to us than our tolerance of Communists in the United States?"

Acceptance of Both Premises Is Required

Answering this by either yes or no requires acceptance of both premises of inroads of Communism in Latin America as a danger to the United States and of the idea that Americans are tolerant of Communists in the United States.

There is another significant quality to many Facts Forum questions. In 1946 Elmo Roper, who also conducts polls, experimented to see how much he could change the response to the same basic question by using emotional words. In one question, asked of identical cross-section groups, he substituted in one case the slightly emotional word, "propaganda" for the term, "our point of view." He changed the result by 50 per cent.

Some Facts Forum questions where emotional words automatically suggest a particular answer:

"Were military supplies to China held up by Hisslings?"

"Is Congress inadvisably abdicating its Constitutional powers?"

"Are 40 per cent or more business executives deceived into supporting organizations undermining freedom?"

"Are subversive movements gaining in the public schools?"

"Are the large foundations now doing more harm than good for freedom?"

"Are the pink segments of the press losing their power?"

"Can pinks filch the word FREEDOM as they have others of fine U.S. tradition?"

"Did pro-Communists in the U.S. bring about the Korean War?"

The answer to all these questions must be either "yes" or "no."

When reporting the results of these polls Facts Forum sometimes uses illustrations, cartoons signed by "Welch."

One such cartoon illustrated the results of the Facts Forum poll question, "Should the U.S. continue in the United Nations?" It showed an ox-cart marked "U.N." The poor "ox" is Uncle Sam, haggard and dying, trying to pull the vehicle alone. In the ox-cart, led by a brute with a hammer-and-sickle sweater and lashing Uncle Sam with a whip snapping "Veto, Veto," are a band of grinning foreigners.

This cartoon was run by Facts Forum to illustrate the results of its question. The results: the majority of those polled had voted to stay in the United Nations.

Despite the nature of Facts Forum questions and the context in which they are asked, they are represented to organs of public opinion as "public opinion." Some of the members of Congress who get the results regularly insert them into the Congressional Record as "public opinion."

Yet, in its own literature—but not to editors and Congressmen—Facts Forum says it is not a poll at all:

Purpose of Poll: To Focus Attention

"The purpose of the poll is to focus the attention of large numbers of people in all walks of life and in all parts of the nation on a carefully selected group of important questions. By thus causing thousands of people to consider the same group of questions at the same time, the poll may be invoking a powerful psychological force for good."

Then Facts Forum in its News (which carries the results) instructs members:

"Call your newspaper for poll results. . . . Ask your friends to write letters to the editor on poll questions. . . . Call the results of Facts Forum polls to the attention of public officials. They will pay more attention to them as they appear in the Congressional Record. . . Write your members of Congress the results of poll questions you wish them to remember. . . . Explain to friends that when they vote a poll card it takes the place in some measure of writing every member of Congress a letter. . ."

The League of Women Voters of the United States has been unable to obtain a clear tax exemption because it takes a stand on national issues, though never on candidates.

Facts Forum—which annually spends more than the national organization of the League of Women Voters—subsidizes letters to the editor at the rate of 9-to-1 in favor of the opinions of isolationism, pro-McCarthyism, and laissez-faire economics. It operates what it calls "a powerful psychological force for good" in the form of mailing 120,000 sets of questions a month, the results of which it then presses by direct "news release" and membership pressure on organs of public opinion and on every member of Congress.

Facts Forum, unlike the League of Women Voters, has been able to obtain a tax exemption not only for itself but for its contributors because its regulations read, in part:

"No substantial part of the activities of Facts Forum shall ever be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation."

Sunday: The rumors of Senator McCarthy-and-Facts Forum and how they grew.

The Facts About Facts Forum—#7 1-3-54 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

The Forum and Joe McCarthy

THE most persistent rumor heard about Facts Forum, the increasingly powerful "non-partisan" organization, is that it is a tax-exempt device to use free radio and television time to promote the political fortunes of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and his bloc in Congress.

This has been denied by officers of Facts Forum and by the man who created the organization, H. L. Hunt, multi-millionaire Dallas oil man.

Hunt has said, "I have never subscribed a dollar to Senator McCarthy in my life, nor has he ever solicited me for a dollar in his life. I have no connection with Senator McCarthy whatsoever."

McCarthy Presented in Person Only Once. However . . .

Robert H. Dedman, Hunt's lawyer, who has been president of Facts Forum from its beginning, has said, "Senator Joseph McCarthy, whose only appearance on a Facts Forum program was in a debate with Senator Magnuson, has no managerial, financial or policy-making connection with Facts Forum."

It is true that in 30 months of operations, Facts Forum has presented Senator McCarthy in person only once. Also, there is no evidence of a direct financial connection between Facts Forum and the senator.

However:

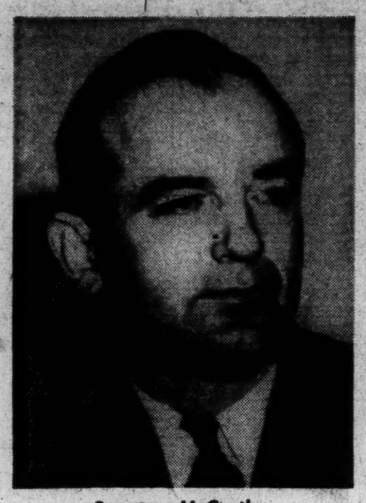
1. McCarthy aides were instrumental in setting up a Facts Forum coast-to-coast television project;

2. There are personal ties between Senator McCarthy and Facts Forum's sponsor, H. L. Hunt; and

3. There is evidence that Senator McCarthy is a special beneficiary of the facilities of Facts Forum's nationwide, tax-free operations.

Facts Forum has said that "over-active imaginations" caused news stories linking Hunt and McCarthy. This apparently was a reference to speculation last spring that when McCarthy met another Texas oil millionaire, Clint Murchison, he also talked with Hunt. "Actually," says Dedman, "Mr. Hunt was in Washington when the senator allegedly came to Texas to see him."

However, the spring before that, in April, 1952, in the crucial days of pre-convention



Senator McCarthy

maneuvers for presidential support in Texas, Senator McCarthy was brought to Dallas for a speech by the American Legion and the "Citizens Non-Partisan League of Dallas."

A few days before the speech, Facts Forum devoted part of its radio time to a buildup of the speech.

"Facts Forum is pleased to announce," it said over the air, "that everybody in the Dallas-Fort Worth area now has an easy opportunity to hear Senator McCarthy in person and make his own evaluation of him. . . ."

Mr. Hunt Asks Reporters To Give Joe Publicity

Before the speech, Senator McCarthy was in the Dallas Athletic Club where he was interviewed by reporters. Newspapermen were astonished when H. L. Hunt, the man who almost never consented to publicity, personally asked reporters to stress the time and place of the McCarthy speech.

The night of the big speech, with H. L. Hunt in the audience, Senator McCarthy was introduced for the "Citizens Non-Partisan League" by the chief moderator of Facts Forum, Dan Smoot.

About a year ago, Senator McCarthy and Hunt had another meeting, this time for dinner. They discussed the senator's political situation and they discussed Facts Forum.

Shortly afterward, Miss Jean Kerr, then Senator McCarthy's research assistant and now his wife, and Robert E. Lee, a close personal and political friend of McCarthy, went to work for Facts Forum. Their job was to set up the Facts Forum television project.

There has been considerable circumspection on the part of most Facts Forum officials about the work of Lee and the present Mrs. McCarthy.

Mrs. McCarthy and Mr. Lee Worked On Early TV Programs

President Dedman, asked when Lee and Miss Kerr worked for Facts Forum and if they were paid, replied without mentioning their names:

"Facts Forum is indebted to loyal Americans who assist in its crusade to stimulate thinking on public affairs and does not ask their political affiliations nor question their motives. The question whether or not they were paid for their services is a personal question and unless their loyalty to the United States is in question Facts Forum would prefer not to answer."

Asked if Jean Kerr ever worked for him while he was with Facts Forum, Lee at first said, "No, Jeannie never worked for us." Pressed, Lee concluded, "I'm pretty sure she didn't."

Two other Facts Forum officials were more positive in their recollection. Mrs. Meredith Hollis, who followed Miss Kerr in making contacts for the program, said that Miss Kerr worked under Lee for Facts Forum.

H. L. Hunt said of the present Mrs. McCarthy, "She had done a great many things for Facts Forum." He said she was not on the Facts Forum payroll at the time.

"She and Robert E. Lee," Hunt said, "were instrumental in getting together the

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The Facts About Facts Forum—#8 1-4-53 BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

8 Small Points and the BIG One

WHEN Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, of Dallas, Texas, announced in 1951 that the assets of one of the greatest personal fortunes in America would be devoted to the impartial stimulation of public debate, the idea was greeted as a noble contribution to the country's political intelligence.

Hunt said he was interested only in dispelling public apathy about public affairs. He said the new organization, Facts Forum, would use every non-partisan means to bring information to Americans on the issues facing them.

This seemed to answer a plea made by Lewis Mumford several years ago:

"For what are all our fine instruments of rapid communication, if we do not use them to communicate intelligence and to unite and equip the civilized?"

Aims Stated, Then Came Federal Tax Exemption

Into this organization Hunt has poured large amounts of his money. Facts Forum has grown until it has its own basic radio program going over 222 stations coast-to-coast, largely on free time; it pays for the production of two network radio shows, one a TV simulcast, for which it gets free network time; it is considering a third well-known network radio show.

It sends a constant flow of material to newspapers, radio stations and members of Congress. It has, according to its own figures, 125,000 participants in all parts of the country. A former moderator is now a member of the Federal Communications Commission.

On the basis of Facts Forum's stated aims, it was granted a federal tax exemption on its expenditures and for its contributors.

For an impartial, non-partisan educational organization this was proper.

Presentation of 'Both Sides' Appears Heavily Biased

Yet, as Facts Forum grew in power and scope, many persons—and not just Communists as Facts Forum freely implies—have grown gravely concerned with the net effect of this program on American political climate.

There have been criticisms which, in the light of a more basic one, can be classified as "minor":

1. Facts Forum's presentation of "both sides" of national issues for purposes of educating the voter appears to be heavily biased on the side of isolationism, ultra-conservatism and McCarthyism.

2. Facts Forum uses its powerful facilities of free radio time and the 60,000 circulation of its News, plus news releases to newspapers, radio stations and every member of Congress, to express the personal political philosophy of H. L. Hunt and the chief Facts Forum moderator, Dan Smoot.

3. Despite its rule declaring that "no substantial part of the activities of Facts Forum shall ever be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation," the facilities of Facts Forum are used to conduct a "public opinion poll" which it admits is not a cross-section poll but merely a device to "exert a powerful psychological force" which is then applied through news releases and membership pressure on organs of public opinion and on Congress.

4. Despite this same rule, the funds of Facts Forum are used to subsidize expressions in newspapers which are ostensibly merely individual opinions but for which Facts Forum pays, with a 9-to-1 preponderance of the rewards going to those expressing isolationist, ultra-conservative and McCarthyist views.

Appreciation and Friendship Asked for Sears, Roebuck

5. The activities of Facts Forum have attracted known race-hate agitators who have led and addressed local Facts Forum meetings. The works of known religious agitators have been distributed by Facts Forum as "voter education."

6. Despite a regulation stating of Facts Forum that "none of its property or earnings shall ever inure to the benefit of any private individual," Facts Forum has used its public relations machinery for the unusual promotion of the company of one of its national officers, Gen. Robert E. Wood. Besides being on the board of Facts Forum, General Wood is chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck. A page one article of the Facts Forum News, a tax-free publication sent to 60,000 persons including all members of Congress, declared in part:

"It is very appropriate that Sears, Roebuck should be sponsoring Facts Forum. For Sears, Roebuck and its mail order business is as American as the town hall meeting itself.

"Since Sears, Roebuck is helping us in our fight to overcome apathy and indifference, it might behoove us to express our appreciation and friendship for Sears whenever possible."

McCarthy Associates Are Active in Forum Program

This was printed as the recommendation of the president of Facts Forum, Robert H. Dedman.

Sears, Roebuck has used the commercial facilities of its organization to distribute the literature of Facts Forum, notably in Washington, D. C., but also in other localities.

7. There has been participation by associates of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy in the planning and operations of Facts Forum which surpasses the realm of coincidence. Senator McCarthy also has been the beneficiary of unusual treatment in the basic programs of Facts Forum.

The YMCA-YWCA Debate on UNESCO in Dallas

8. The grass roots operations of Facts Forum have often exhibited a spirit which is the opposite of free debate in good faith.

In Dallas a few months ago, the YMCA-YWCA at Southern Methodist University held an open debate on the subject, "UNESCO Under Fire." From a pro-United Nations organization it obtained a speaker to defend UNESCO. The students applied to the headquarters of Facts Forum for an anti-United Nations speaker and Facts Forum supplied one. The results of this student meeting were commented upon by an editorial in the student newspaper, "The S.M.U. Campus." Speaking of sup-

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The Facts About Facts Forum #7

Some Connections Between Forum and McCarthy

Continued From Page One

first Facts Forum programs, the television programs."

The first Facts Forum television program went on the air from the nation's capitol under the direction of Robert E. Lee and Miss Kerr. It began:

"Hello there! This is Robert E. Lee, your Facts Forum moderator, speaking to you from our office in Washington, D.C. . . ."

The first program was a debate between Senator McCarthy and Sen. Warren Magnuson, of Washington.

Mrs. Hollis has said, "You know, McCarthy appeared on the same program with Senator Magnuson and everyone talks about Senator McCarthy and nobody mentions poor Senator Magnuson."

Fans of Senator Magnuson agree ruefully that this is so. They say it was quite easy to forget that Senator Magnuson was on the television screen. After run-offs of the TV film of the McCarthy-Magnuson debate it was discovered that somehow there were almost no closeups of Senator Magnuson and the screen seemed to be filled with Senator McCarthy. This was so plain that the producers asked Senator Magnuson to pose for some extra shots to be spliced into the film. But the senator declined, as he did later Facts Forum invitations.

Miss Kerr and Lee went about arranging future Facts Forum programs. But among politicians in Washington, notably willing to get free television time, a chill began to set in. The combination of Robert E. Lee and Jean Kerr is not unknown in senatorial politics.

She Helped to Write The Housing Brochure

Miss Kerr had gone to work for McCarthy early in his sena-

Mrs. McCarthy

torial career. She helped write the housing brochure for which Lustron paid the senator $10,000, she helped write speeches which have later been published in book form (the publisher is a permanent panel member of a Facts Forum network program). And she helped put together the senator's famous presentation of "205 Communists" in the State Department in 1950 which catapulted McCarthy to fame. In subsequent speeches, McCarthy changed the figure and ended with 81 "cases" with no names.

All 81 cases were found also in a list compiled for the House Appropriations Committee in 1947 with the help of Robert E. Lee, a former F.B.I. agent. It is generally believed in Washington that this is where McCarthy got his names.

McCarthy's charges about the State Department brought him against the firmest opposition he had ever met in the form of Millard Tydings, a conservative Democrat who headed the committee investigating McCarthy's charges. Tydings dismissed McCarthy's charges after stormy hearings. Tydings then went on to run for re-election from Maryland where in 1938 even Franklin D. Roosevelt's opposition had been unable to unseat him. It is this election campaign which most Congressmen recall when they hear the names Lee and Kerr.

A senatorial investigation of the Maryland election, in which Republican John Marshall Butler defeated Tydings, called the campaign a "despicable, back street' type of campaign . . . conducted by non-Maryland outsiders."

The committee found financial irregularities, largely in the form of unreported contributions exceeding $27,000 and used in officially unreported ways; that a tabloid 'From the Record' used a faked photograph of Tydings and Communist Earl Browder and otherwise attempted to destroy the reputation of Tydings; that this tabloid was apparently the idea of Senator McCarthy; that the outside contributions and expenditures were supervised by Miss Kerr and Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Lee.

The committee found that McCarthy's entire staff was put to work on the Maryland campaign. Miss Kerr, it reported, held a dinner in Washington to start the "outside" campaign going. A few days later, the committee report stated, a check for $5,000 was delivered to Robert E. Lee for the Butler campaign, which started a Washington, D. C., bank account. "The account was opened in the name of Mrs. Rex Lee, wife of Robert E. Lee. . . . A substantial portion of the funds was disbursed in connection with a postcard project. . . an activity originated and handled primarily by employes of Senator McCarthy and supervised by Mrs. Lee." (Mrs. Lee was matron-of-honor at the McCarthy wedding.)

Committee Reported She Defended Tabloid

The committee reported that Miss Kerr defended the tabloid as "the type of literature that should go out in campaigns."

The campaign manager, a Chicago public relations man brought in on the recommendation of Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tanksersly, then editor of the Washington Times-Herald, was indicted, pleaded guilty and was sentenced in Maryland for "failure to properly report contributions and expenditures in the Butler campaign."

This apparently explains the hesitation on the part of anti-McCarthy senators to accept the invitation of Miss Kerr and Lee to participate in a program which they were arranging and editing.

Mrs. Hollis says, "When some people thought there might be some Facts Forum connection with McCarthy, they (Lee and Miss Kerr) were both dropped."

Facts Forum also started presenting a single member of Congress interviewed on TV film by a Washington correspondent and by Facts Forun moderator Dan Smoot.

The man who started recruiting correspondents for this show was another former McCarthy aide, Victor Johnston, now director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. Johnston had first come to Washington as administrative assistant to the new junior senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy.

In one of the early programs of this type, Richard Wilson, of Look magazine, interviewed Sen. William Jenner. Johnston recruited Wilson for this. But even though Johnston was authorized by Facts Forum to offer the top price for this interviewing job, $125, he began to run into resistance among correspondents who were uneasy about Facts Forum and its McCarthy connections. One such correspondent who declined to appear asked Johnston whether he was acting on behalf of the GOP

Robert E. Lee

campaign committee, McCarthy or Facts Forum. But Johnston was noncommittal.

Johnston then asked a free lance correspondent, J. Lacey Reynolds to recruit political talent for the Facts Forum television shows. Reynolds says this was supported by an offer of $200 a month made by H. L. Hunt. Reynolds says that after he ran into some rather bitter commentary by other correspondents, he declined the offer.

Mrs. Hollis, in the meantime, had been appointed full time arranger in Washington. She had advantages over the previous three persons, all of whom are close to McCarthy, since she is the wife of a former, well-liked Democratic Congressman from Oklahoma.

Television is not the only medium Facts Forum has attempted to use for the special benefit of Senator McCarthy. Facts Forum has a free circulating library. Members may write for books which they then get free. Last month persons on the Facts Forum mailing list got a book from the Facts Forum library whether they asked for it or not: "McCarthyism, The Fight for America," by Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Inside the McCarthy book is pasted Facts Forum literature, including, "You may wish to broaden the use of the information in this book by selecting as the next reader some friend who reaches the public through speaking or writing. . . ."

How much of its tax-free dollars Facts Forum is spending for the free circulation of Senator McCarthy's book is not known. It has, it says, 125,000 participants. It mails its house organ to 60,000 persons. Postage alone on the Facts Forum mailing of the McCarthy book is eight cents per person. The book ordinarily sells for 50 cents.

Facts Forum ends its notices inside the McCarthy book with the reminder to recipients that it is tax-exempt and that, "The Treasury Department has ruled that contributions to Facts Forum are deductible from adjusted gross income. . . ."

McCarthy Gets High Praise on Program

If Senator McCarthy's television opportunities on Facts Forum have been somewhat jaundiced by unfavorable publicity, his treatment on the basic Facts Forum program is still interesting to study.

In this basic show, Dan Smoot presents "both sides" of important issues. This basic program is sometimes interrupted for the appearance of special guests. Guests on this program have praised Senator McCarthy highly. As far as is known, no one on this basic radio program has ever criticized the most controversial figure in American politics. Adolphe Menjou, during his Facts Forum appearance, for example, said of Senator McCarthy, "I think he is one of the greatest Americans who ever lived and I place him right alongside of Paul Revere, and the day will come when he will be completely justified and the word 'McCarthyism' will be a word of honor instead of opprobrium."

When Smoot presents "both sides" of an issue there is frequently interposed, with no apparent relevance, praise of McCarthy or attacks on his critics, as part of one of the two sides of the question. In a discussion of "Civil Service," for example, there appeared:

"Even while Secretary Dulles was announcing that he welcomed McCarthy's probe, the ruling Acheson clique in the State Department planned a counterattack. With the help of newsmen who have supported them for years, Acheson people publicized McCarthy's investigation as an 'inquisition' which had so 'demoralized' the State Department that routine duties could not be performed. Actually, only the hold-over Acheson crowd was demoralized. The others were delighted . . ."

In June, in a discussion of "Germany," the McCarthy fight against Harvard and Dr. James Conant was interposed with the statement that Conant had so little understanding of Communism that he could say in 1953 when he left Harvard "that there were no open or disguised Communists at Harvard . . . Dr. Conant . . . has a long and eminent record of supporting New Deal Socialism."

Discussion of the Case Of Jessup Recalled

It is sometimes hard to remember during the anti-McCarthy side of the Facts Forum presentation that you are actually hearing arguments against the senator. In the discussion of the case of Phillip Jessup, for example, the defense of Jessup, as presented by Facts Forum, contained Jessup's charge that McCarthy had accused him of being a sponsor of a 1946 American-Russian Institute dinner without publicly naming 99 other well-known Americans on the sponsor list. Facts Forum, in defense of Jessup, added, "It should be noted, however, that the document which McCarthy introduced does show the names of all of these people."

In a "both sides" presentation Facts Forum argued McCarthy's case against the administration. Then it presented Eisenhower's defense against McCarthy charges. As part of Eisenhower's defense it declared:

"There is no need for the President to get into a brawl with Joe McCarthy."

The question has been asked if Facts Forum and H. L. Hunt are grooming McCarthy for the presidency in 1956. Hunt was asked if he wanted McCarthy for president. Hunt replied:

"Some day I might be able to answer that better. But I think it is a little too early. It's two years away. I may be interested in Joe Martin, or Senator Byrd, or Senator Jenner, or Senator Bridges, or Governor Shivers."

Well over a million dollars of free radio and television time are given Facts Forum each year because it says it is a "non-partisan" educational organization doing "a public service."

If the question as to the propriety of free time going to an organization showing evidence of conducting partisan propaganda should be asked the Federal Communications Commission, which controls all American broadcasting, it would come before seven commissioners, one of whom was saying several months ago:

"Hello there! This is Robert E. Lee, your Facts Forum moderator. . ."

Second Wisconsin Man to Be Appointed

Lee is one of the last two appointees to the FCC in 1953. In both appointments Sen. McCarthy was directly involved. The first, John Doerfer, is from Wisconsin and had been active in politics there. He was appointed with the approval of both Wisconsin Senators, as is the custom with such appointments. Lee, whose only radio-television experience has been on Facts Forum, is a personal friend of Sen. McCarthy's and was appointed reportedly with the help of Sen. Styles Bridges and Vice President Richard Nixon. Lee has yet to be confirmed by the Senate.

When former President Truman recently made a passing remark about "McCarthyism" in a television speech, Senator McCarthy demanded free television time to reply. NBC offered him 15 minutes, which ordinarily is considered a generous offer of evening television time. McCarthy said this was not enough. "McCarthy has scare value and we're scared," an NBC executive admitted, asking that his name not be used. McCarthy was then offered a half hour by the networks. McCarthy then said that if any local station which had carried Truman did not carry him he would complain to the FCC. To the general public which saw this printed in the newspapers, this may have sounded like a routine threat. To operators of radio and television stations, however, whose license must be renewed by the FCC each year and whose commercial life is in the hands of that agency, this had real meaning in terms of Commissioner Lee.

Recently, Facts Forum's sponsor, H. L. Hunt, made a personal application in competition with others for a television channel in Corpus Christi. He was permitted to change his application and then get an uncontested channel by the FCC, with the supporting vote of Robert E. Lee, once "your Facts Forum moderator."

Tomorrow: The last article of this series—what Facts Forum is doing to American politics.

THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

The Facts About Facts Forum—#8

8 Small Points and BIG One

Continued From Page One

porters who accompanied the Facts Forum speaker, the editorial declared:

"Using fascist tactics, a group of adults invaded and gained control of the student meeting and endeavored to turn the tide for the speaker they supported. " 'UNESCO Under Fire', a highly controversial topic, was being debated by two Dallas citizens. A theology student moderated. Before the debate started, around 30 adults entered the meeting, and scattered themselves through the audience.

"They tried to twist opinion to their side by loud applause of their speaker and in some cases by laughing at the opposing speaker. They monopolized the question and answer period, reading from material they brought, made character assassinations, and used guilt by association as their most powerful weapon.

"Although the meeting was not closed to outsiders, the members of the 'Y' were surprised that the organization asked to furnish one of the speakers had also supplied an audience and some additional speakers.

"As the question and answer period became more heated a young woman who had been sitting on the front row jumped up and viciously attacked one of the speakers. The 'Y' members who had gathered for Christian fellowship and information about an important topic were a bit shocked.

"The sentiments of the audience were best expressed the next day by a student who before the discussion had taken no side in the matter: 'I couldn't sleep last night for thinking I had been in a meeting of the German-American Bund.' "

Major Criticism That Can Be Made of Forum

But, the major criticism that can be made of Facts Forum is that its net effect is to disseminate fear, suspicion and divisive propaganda.

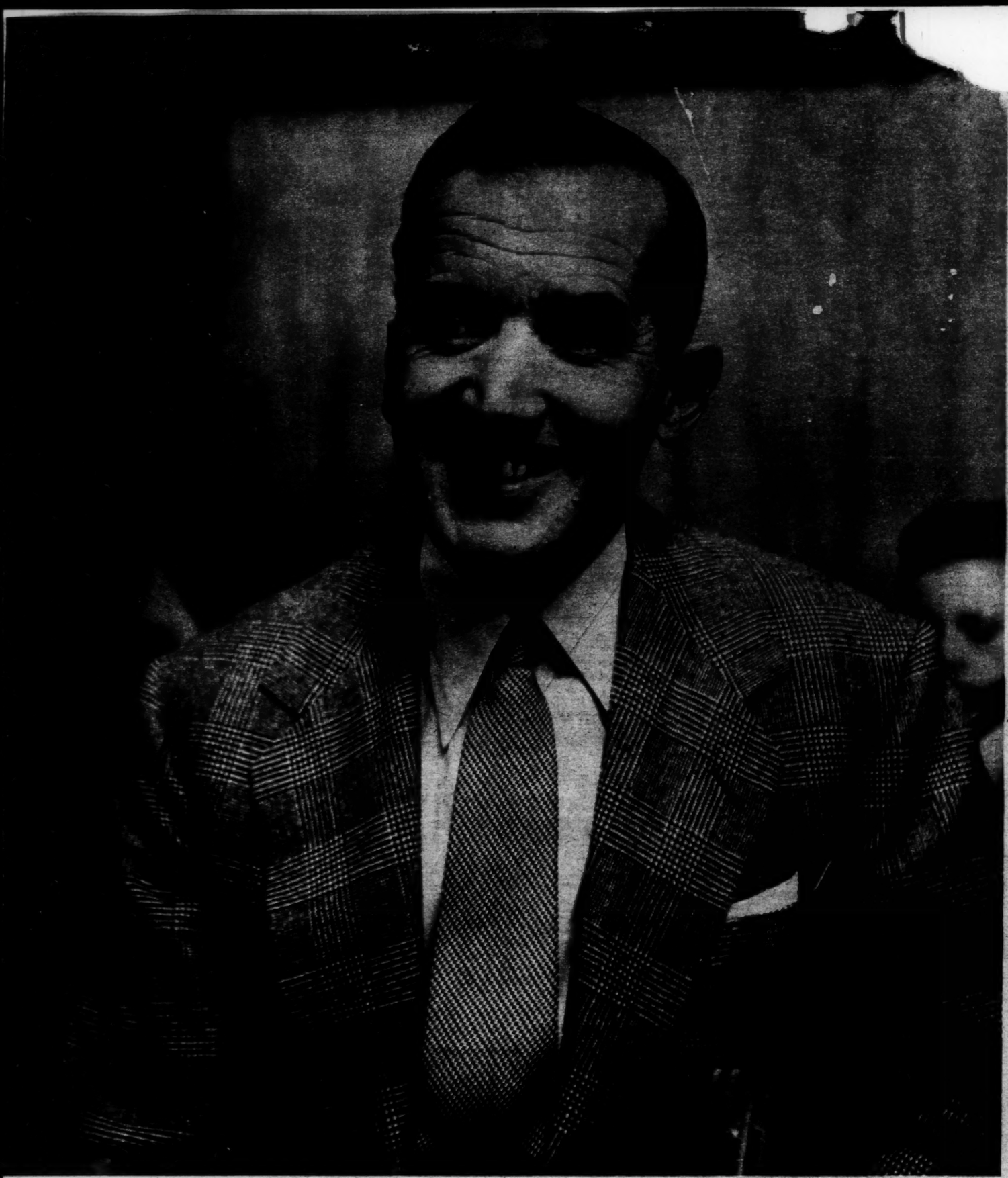
The consistent pattern of its "both sides" broadcasts is to reduce all national issues to:

Isolationism, ultra-conservatism and McCarthyism—versus —treason or stupidity.

The results of this, if carried into the entire field of mass communications, could be to increase the pressures dividing segments of American society, to increase group hatreds, and to implant suspicions which did not exist before.

On Dec. 28, 1951, Facts Forum broadcast, as part of its own creed, a warning to Americans. Facts Forum's moderator, Dan Smoot, read what he said were the words of Lenin uttered 30 years ago:

"We will win the Western World for Communism without shedding a drop of a single Russian soldier's blood. How? We will bankrupt the Western World. We will create fear, suspicion. We will work inside by creating national hatreds, religious antagonisms. We will pit father against son, wife against husband. We will inaugurate campaigns to hate Jews and hate Catholics and hate Negroes . . . We will break their spirit. We will frighten them. We will create political chicanery. We will confuse international diplomacy. We will do these things."



ON-THE-SPOT MURROW

Who'd think news reporting could be made as fascinating as Ed Murrow's two stimulating TV programs, See It Now, which is usually filmed overseas, and Person-To-Person, the show that gives viewers an intimate peek into the homes and private lives of famous personalities.

TV May 1954

Paul Denis

Analyzing

Newsman Ed Murrow has taken his TV audiences to such far-flung places as the Korean battlefield and Elizabeth's coronation . . . now we take you behind the scenes for an intimate close-up of this fabulous gent . . .

Murrow's relaxed and informal personality adds to the pleasure of his newest TV venture, AMOCO and Hamm Brewing Company's "Person to Person" show over CBS.

By CHRISTOPHER PAUL

Even a hard-bitten foreign correspondent has to have a make-up treatment before his TV show. Murrow's "See It Now" for CBS-ALCOA has won countless merit awards.

Six universities have conferred honorary doctorates on him. His office is cluttered with more than 50 major awards for excellence as a news analyst. He has been cited, time and again, as one of the world's greatest reporters.

He is Ed Murrow, 45, son of a Greensboro, North Carolina, farmer, who today probably knows more great men by their first names than any other radio-TV reporter in the world.

His "See It Now" on CBS-TV has been hailed by the critics, and he has emerged as a top reporter without ever having worked on a newspaper. He is, in fact, CBS' highest-paid newsman and a member of the CBS board of directors.

He would have the right to be a bit pompous. But the truth is that he is a friendly, shirt-sleeved worker who slaves hard to turn out the words you hear him utter on TV.

He is what other newsmen call a "bleeder." That is, he sweats out writing his commentary. He labors over the right word. "There are not many writers who are slower than I am," he says. "And the more experienced I get, the slower I get."

He appears calm on your TV screen, but the fact is that he's nervous, and after a 15-minute commentary, he is wringing wet from perspiration.

He works very hard, and spends much time using the trans-Atlantic phone, calling high-up friends in Europe to verify tips. He spent the war years in London for CBS, where his voice became famous, and he is an expert on governmental affairs and military strategy.

In New York, he maintains a hectic pace. He tries to calm down by lunching at private clubs or by sitting in on a really competitive hand of poker.

As often as he can, he commutes to his big house in Dutchess County, near his friend, Lowell Thomas. Here he goes in for wood chopping (he once was a lumberjack) but his principal hobby is golf. He is right-handed, but he plays golf left-handed. When there's company in the house, he enjoys telling tall tales of unlikely happenings to famous people.

He looks the way a famous war correspondent always looks in the movies: tall (six-foot-one), lean and slender (170 pounds), with black wavy hair, bushy eyebrows

Just back from an assignment, Murrow and CBS Rome correspondent Bill Downes chat with a Pan American Airways official at the airport.

from Paul Denis

TV WORLD January 1954

an Analyst

and deep brooding eyes which light up when he smiles.

CBS has sent him all over the world. He has reported the arrival of German troops in Vienna, the bombing of London, the coronations of King George VI and of Elizabeth II, and the Korean battlefront, besides interviewing the rulers of many lands.

Many famous people have given him advice but, he says, "The best advice I ever got came from Judge John Bassett Moore of the World Court. He told me, 'No young man ever takes advice from an older man. But try to remember this: When you meet men of great reputation, your judgment of them will be greatly improved if you view them as though they were in their underwear.'

"The first big man I met after that was Mussolini. And, thinking of Judge Moore's advice, I almost laughed in Mussolini's face!"

He was in London during the war and rates the British leaders this way: "The crown prince for the Conservatives is Anthony Eden, a skilled diplomat who can also fire men's imaginations. For Labor, the top is Clem Attlee, a little man who has grown tremendously during the past few years. The man to (*Continued on page* 80)

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ANALYZING AN ANALYST

continued from page 45

watch is Aneurin Bevan, ablest debator in Commons and unquestioned leader of the Left."

But how about people who are generally underestimated?

"Mrs. Winston Churchill, who has never sought recognition, has ability, balance and judgment. She's a remarkable woman! Gen. Omar Bradley is the most underestimated military man. He has a lot of intellectual furniture in his mind. And don't forget the court clerks in the U. S. State Department who work long hours for low salaries, without publicity or recognition."

He has a high regard for Chaim Weizmann and Thomas Masaryk: "They are the only two moderns who created a nation with their bare hands."

As for Hitler: "I heard him for the first time in 1932. For the first 10 minutes, he was horribly dull. After that, he had them in the palm of his hand. I was stunned by his magnetic hold on his audience, even though he violated every rule of oratory."

Murrow's full name is Egbert Roscoe Murrow, but at an early age, he changed Egbert to Edward. His dad was a farmer, who brought the family to the Puget Sound area of Washington when Ed was six. The father, who became a locomotive engineer for a logging company, still lives there with Mrs. Murrow. Ed Murrow has two brothers: Dewey, a successful contractor in Spokane, and Lacey, an Air Force brigadier general.

Murrow likes to recall his father's lack of enthusiasm about his son's radio job: "My father always thought there was something doubtful about making a living merely by talking."

And he explains modestly that: "The mechanics of television which make it possible for a man to be seen and heard through the land do not automatically confer wisdom or infallibility on that individual."

He is careful to explain to friends that, just because he has been everywhere and seen everything of world consequence, it doesn't mean he knows everything.

"All of us," he once said, "would like to do something to get the world out of the mess it's in; but we just don't know how to help. I feel even more frustrated than most people because, for some reason, I'm expected to have the answers. Well, I don't."

He adds that today the two most powerful forces in the world are equipped with the most devastating weapons the world has ever known. "And what do we do? I just don't

know. And it's that uncertainty that makes me feel absolutely helpless."

He usually reads his script while standing at a reading stand. When he does sit at his uncluttered desk, he often leans back in his swivel chair and puts his feet up on the desk.

On his desk is a picture of his wife and son, whom he hates to leave so often when he must cover assignments abroad.

His wife is the former Janet Huntington Brewster, and they married on Oct. 27, 1934. But they did not have a child until November 6, 1945, when they were in London. It was just before the war ended. His wife was British director for Bundles for Britain and was doing educational broadcasts for the British Broadcasting Corporation.

His son was named Charles Casey, but his dad calls him simply Casey.

"We called him our peace-time bonus. And he's normal in every way except that he likes to go to school. I've tried, but I can't remember liking school."

His telecasts and broadcasts and three volumes of "I Can Hear It Now" for Columbia Records combine to bring him a tremendous fan mail. Although Murrow calls himself a news analyst rather than a commentator, and although he tries to be impartial, his fans have their own ideas of his viewpoint.

Murrow smiles as he says, "I am too radical, and too conservative. At the same time, I am a reactionary, a socialist, anti-Democratic and anti-Republican . . . and I have the letters to prove it!"

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4-8-54

Paul Price

McCarthy ducks Murrow charges

The nation had a superb example of mccarthyism in action when Senator Joseph McCarthy appeared on Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" Tuesday (KNXT 7:30 p.m.)

Joltin' Joe, who evidently wanted to duck a personal appearance and sent along his rebuttal on film, was given the time to answer charges against him made by Murrow on the March 9 telecast.

Murrow dealt with facts in his indictment.

He used McCarthy's own words and film clips of the senator in action to discredit McCarthy, mccarthyism and the tactics that are identified with the man and the philosophy. He charged the senator with using the smear and the half-truth and blasted hard at his high-handed often unfair methods of investigation.

McCARTHY answered as McCarthy would.

On Tuesday's "See It Now" the senator did not offer one defense to the charges made by Murrow. He did not deny them, refer to them in any way or attempt to explain away the recordings and film clips that made him look so bad.

MURROW

Instead, he fell back on mccarthyism — the smear, the half-truth and the outright false statement.

McCarthy, as is his practice with anybody who has the guts to run up against him, tried to link Murrow with the Communists—although he stopped short of actually calling the commentator a party member. This time he could not fall back on congressional immunity.

"MURROW is a symbol, a leader," said McCarthy, "and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

This is the subtlest sort of mccarthyism. The implication is that McCarthy is untouchable because he is making a headline career of policing the Communist front and that anybody who disagrees with him is a threat to the country.

He makes no allowances for the fact that many persons consider his tactics and his "guilt by association" beliefs serious threats to the American principles and institutions that many of us hold dear.

UNWITTINGLY or not, Senator McCarthy dealt in false statements.

In attempting to impugn Murrow's loyalty, he said the respected commentator once was a member of the International Workers of the World.

"That is false," said Murrow.

IN REFERENCE to the Institute for International Education, of which Murrow is a trustee, McCarthy claimed it was chosen by a Soviet agency "to do a job which normally would be done by the secret police."

"That is false," said Murrow.

HERE ARE some examples of the half-truth or "guilt by association" technique.

McCarthy made much of the fact that Owen Lattimore praised Murrow in his book "Ordeal by Slander." The impression one would get from watching the senator's telecast was that Murrow did everything but plead to the jury in the Lattimore case.

Murrow explains the full story as follows:

"At Page 211 occurs the reference to me. After paying tribute to a number of newspaper and radio reporters who knew him personally and whose reporting and editorial work were, to quote Lattimore, 'Clearly based upon the ancient principle that I was guilty until proven innocent,' Lattimore goes on to express appreciation to reporters whom he had never met before the hearing and to reporters whom, like me, he has never met."

REFERRING once more to the Institute of International Education, McCarthy did his best to smear the organization and Murrow because of his association with it.

He neglected to mention that in addition to Murrow, others associated with the institute are John Foster Dulles, Philip Reed, Ralph J. Bunche, Virginia Gildersleeve and Milton Eisenhower, brother of the president.

THE SMEAR, of course, was evident all through the telecast. It was another typical McCarthy example of trying to link with communism anybody who doesn't see in him another Caesar or, at the very least, a new Napoleon.

But the interesting point still was his complete refusal to answer or acknowledge Murrow's charges on the March 9 telecast.

On that date Murrow tossed the gauntlet and slapped McCarthy's face.

The senator let the gauntlet lay and turned the other cheek.

PUBLIC REACTION throughout the country was solidly behind Ed Murrow. The pattern was set in Los Angeles—3711 to 617 — and was running in the same ratio in other key cities.

It also is interesting that the Newspaper Guild in New York yesterday voted its annual Page One award in public affairs to Ed Murrow.

The presentation was made "for Edward R. Murrow's distinguished contributions to the adult and responsible use of broadcasting as a major medium of information and enlightenment for the American people and for the many timely, incisive documentations on 'See It Now,' and for the vivid, live television portrait gallery of outstanding Americans on 'Person to Person'."

PRICE TAG: Congratulations, Murrow—on both counts.

4-23-54

LAST week TV GUIDE presented one of its three Gold Medal Awards to CBS-TV's *See It Now* for "its success in bringing new standards of news coverage and interpretation into the television field." *See It Now*, of course, is presided over by Edward R. Murrow.

This writer, for one, is proud to be associated in the same field with Edward R. Murrow and proud to be associated with a magazine which has had the vision to single him out as a man who has made—and continues to make—a major contribution to the growing stature of television.

For those who find it intellectually satisfying to look down on TV as a medium of claptrap for something called the "masses," we recommend a twice-weekly dose of Ed Murrow, whose *See It Now* on Tuesdays and *Person to Person* on Fridays are perhaps two of the most informative, enlightening and entertaining programs on the air. Murrow has had the courage to speak the truth on many subjects, particularly on the subject of Senator Joseph McCarthy —and it is a sad measure of the hysteria of our times that a simple expression of the truth must be called courageous.

It is our belief that the medium of television can do much to dispel hysteria. It is difficult to become hysterical while sitting alone in one's living room watching calmly, without "benefit" of crowd reaction, while one man or another presents one side or another of a vital issue. It is even more difficult to become hysterical while watching a man of Murrow's stature and integrity quietly putting the finger of truth in a spouting dyke.

—Dan Jenkins

27

McCarthy Proves that Murrow Was Right

Tuesday night Senator McCarthy was supposed to reply to the charges made four weeks previously by Edward R. Murrow, news commentator, that he dealth in half-truths and exaggeration and overstepped the bounds between investigation and persecution in his Communist-scourging activities.

McCarthy did not refute these charges. On the contrary, his broadcast served to confirm their correctness.

McCarthy made it clearer than he ever has before that his so-called logic is based on the following proposition:

"Communists criticize me; therefore, everyone who criticizes me is a Communist."

That kind of phony logic was the only basis for McCarthy's accusation that Murrow's March 9 broadcast "followed implicitly the Communist line." He had 25 minutes in which to produce evidence, if he had any, that Murrow had ever said or done anything to promote communism or to defend Communists. He did not cite a single instance of that kind.

Instead, he told a half, or perhaps a quarter truth about Murrow's connection with the Institute of International Education, accused Murrow of having been a member of the International Workers of the World, a charge which Murrow said was false, and attempted to impute some kind of guilt to Murrow because at one time Owen Lattimore and the late Harold Laski wrote complimentary things about him.

Another example of McCarthy's skill in the art of distortion was his reference to the fall of China which, he said, was delivered into slavery "by the jackal pack of Communist lying propagandists—including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow,—who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers," etc.

Notice that he didn't say Murrow was a member of the "jackal pack." He did not accuse Murrow of having said that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers. It was "friends" of Murrow who did this, he contended, but he did not name them. Obviously his intention was to throw a cloud of suspicion on Murrow, without offering any proof.

And why did McCarthy save for this telecast his insinuation, unsupported by evidence, that Communists in our government delayed research on the hydrogen bomb for 18 months? He didn't even mention Murrow in this connection, but in the context of his remarks the charge was clearly intended to convey the impresssion that Murrow was somehow responsible for the delay.

Thus, McCarthy himself has supplied the evidence that Murrow was right.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER 4/8/54

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NEWS & OBSERVER
MAY 2 - 1954

McCarthy Fighter Tar Heel

NEW YORK—One of the most talked about personalities in all of politics and entertainment these days is a native North Carolinian who doesn't hold office and who isn't known as a singer, dancer or teller of jokes.

He is Edward R. Murrow—born Egbert Roscoe Murrow, which was allowed to become Edward R. at an early age—a native of Guilford County, N. C.

Already a noted newsman and commentator for his outstanding programs on CBS radio and television, Murrow this year became an important figure in political matters and as a subject of the news when he locked horns with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Murrow's special report on McCarthy on his "See It Now" television program on Tuesday, March 9, brought a blistering denunciation from the senator and an overwhelming flood of press and public response. In a little more than two weeks after the broadcast, 22,000 letters had reached CBS, containing an almost 10-to-1 endorsement of Murrow.

Origin Told.

Throughout the great debate that raged afterwards and especially when Senator McCarthy leveled his charges linking the commentator with the Communists, little attention naturally was given to the fact that Murrow is a Tar Heel by birth.

But when the George Foster Peabody Awards committee, voting Murrow a special award, drew up its citation, great emphasis was given to the state of his origin. Edward Weeks, editor of the Atlantic Monthly magazine and a frequent visitor to Chapel Hill and other North Carolina communities, wrote the citation:

"A Tarheel—he was born on a small farm in North Carolina—Edward R. Murrow brings to radio and television those qualities which are summed up in that ringing phrase, 'a fighting Southerner.' He is a believer and he believes passionately in the capacity of this country to do the right thing. He is fair-minded and a fighter for justice. He is courageous with the courage that has compelled him again to take on assignments 'above and beyond the call of duty' . . ."

Accepts Award.

Murrow accepted the award in concise, full of modesty and graciousness:

"I think it was Shakespeare who said, 'Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks.' It was generous, gracious, and in keeping with his New England conscience and sense of fair play, for Mr. Weeks to offer me time to reply immediately. It is true that I was born in North Carolina, but I left there at a tender age—voluntarily—and southerners should not be held responsible for what I may have said or done. . . .

"To one charge I plead guilty, and with pride. I do believe passionately in the capacity of this country to do the right thing. I believe in what Will Rogers used to call 'the big, normal majority.' Somehow in a manner that is to me mysterious, they wonder, worry and sometimes fear. But in the end of the day, when the evidence is in, when prejudices have been readjusted, the national mind is made up. But except on fundamental issues, imbedded in our basic documents, the mind is not made up permanently. There is always the possibility of persuasion, argument and contention bringing about a change by consent. . . ."

Opinion On News.

On one question which has nagged the broadcasting industry for a long while—the objectivity of its news and commentary — Murrow has said:

"I would contend that a program dealing with hard news should attempt to be as objective as humanly possible—and I would be the first to admit that I never have known a completely objective, impartial reporter.

"On a program such as 'See It Now,' which does not deal with hard news, I feel that when an editorial position is taken on a controversial issue, as with Sen. McCarthy, the statement should be made in advance that opportunity to reply would be afforded."

Murrow-McCarthy

Editor:

I feel compelled to forward some comment on the column, Televiews, in your edition of Apr. 17. The writer, William H. Mooring, presents in my opinion a completely biased account of the Murrow-McCarthy controversy. In the second paragraph, the columnist states the theme, in my opinion, of the pro-McCarthyites. This is, to answer all criticism by an attack on the integrity or loyalty of the critic.

Mr. Mooring fails to state explicitly that the Senator did not comment on Mr. Murrow's original charges. Instead, the Senator proceeded to tie up the commentator in a sinister plot to deliver this nation into the hands of the communists.

To satisfy Mr. Mooring's wonder, I would like to remind him that Mr. Murrow has produced an account of a Soviet blast at the U. in which he (Murrow) was terme a reactionary. This title was give to the commentator as a result his work in arranging for exchang students to learn more about fo eign lands. This work McCarth has used as his No. 1 case agains Mr. Murrow.

If Mr. Mooring wishes to ente the Murrow-McCarthy fracas, I be lieve he should act in a mor decent manner by printing at leas part of Mr. Murrow's answer. But such a course of action has been, up to now, completely forbidden by the pro-McCarthyites.

Senator McCarthy has done more than any other man in recent political history to sow the seeds of doubt, distrust, fear, and disunity in this country. If this does not give aid and comfort to our enemies, internal and external, then nothing ever will.

Peter Murray,
Newark.

HA! HA!

BROCKPORT REPUBLIC 4/29/54

Sen. Joseph McCarthy of television and headline fame, has long been a source of irritation to perfectly loyal, non-Red Americans who are not susceptible to double or triple talk or just plain bullying dished up as "Americanism". Nor are these same people taken down the garden path by the efforts of a federal legislator to intrude himself and his precocious staff into the seperate, Executive branch of the government. (We wonder where the Supreme Court is on the Cohn-McCarthy & Carr schedule?)

The point of this Editorial is not to contribute in our small measure to the circulation of publicity for the "Terror Trio" (no doubt, operating on the theory that there is no such thing as **bad** publicity), but to call your attention to this fact:

McCarthy has in the past and is now showing an aversion to LAUGHTER. The big man can dish it out but apparently can't take it.

Since this seems to be the case, therefore, we recommend for your joint participation, a simple expression of sentiment for the Senator. If you feel that your opinion is worth two cents, invest the two pennies in a postal card, addressing it to

Sen. Joseph McCarthy
S. O. B.
(Senate Office Building, that is.)
Washington, D. C.

On the back of said card simply inscribe -in pen, pencil or in blood if you wish- the two interjections "HA, HA"

This effort is designed to provide the Senator with a mass expression of a sentiment he can understand and, incidently, should the Laugh Crusade gain national momentum, provide a tidy income to the Post Office Dept. — a happening we're sure the conscientious legislator will find "American".

SEND YOUR CARD TODAY. The Senator will be dying to see those full mail bags in his office every day!

The People Speak

A WEE BIT CONSERVATIVE

To the Sun: Re McCarthy controversy: You were conservative with your remarks about slanted news stories. I have noticed that otherwise dependable western news-casters take up the slant to some extent. But there was yet enough prudence to bear out the truth if we skip the insinuations and implications and search out the reality. The hot-shots have now gotten the Senator's work mixed up with prosecution.

It was the press that built the Senator up; for what purpose other than to stop him? It is but a sample of the brain-wash that has been going on here at home for years.

Your Murrieta correspondent (Mrs. Raymond Thompson, writing in last week's Sun), a person not interested in the new-worldism, shows the results from that constant flow of propaganda. Leaving the false impressions, insinuations and implications aside, can that writer cite one actual volation by the Senator?

He has been accused, tried and judged; by whom? Maybe he is just too smart for the one-worlders to have near when they gain power over the people. Neophytism will be wobbly; the shrewdest and hardest is so likely to take on from there. — W. C. VERNON, Perris.

BISHOP SHIEL ON TAP

To the Sun: To very many it seems that Chicago's Bishop Shiel's attack on Senator McCarthy was very much uncalled for. We believe that David Lawrence in "U. S. News and World Report" was perfetly correct in saying that clergymen lose respect of their congregations when they mount the political soap boxes.

In this case, left wingers and anti-McCarthy news reporters — such as Edward Murrow—can now trot out Bishop Shiel to give sanction to their tirades against the senator.

Nowadays when a person's loyalty is questioned in any manner, the person rages back: "You cannot do that to me—I'm an AMERICAN!"

"If," as the Lake Elsinore Valley Sun says, "the senator from Wisconsin or his co-workers come through unscathed and able to continue the battle, it will be a miracle. It's never been done before."

Senator McCarthy will come through because wrong doers nowadays are being "scared out of their very pants." But the rest of us should keep our shirts on—including Bishop Shiel.—REV. PAT. MALONE, Blessed Sacrament Church, Alberhill.

SMEAR CHAMP

To the Sun: I was getting ready to answer Mrs. Raymond Thompson of Murrieta who wrote in last week's Sun when I ran across this letter in the Los Angeles Times written by Dan LeFevre of Whittier. It was just about what I intended to say:

"When Senator McCarthy has received a complaint he calls X to a secret meeting where X may bring his attorney and evidence if he wishes.

"Three courses are open to X. If he is innocent he has only to say so, submit his evidence and go back with no publicity.

"If he is guilty, he may offer to resign his government position and look for another job. But if he is guilty and wants to defy the committee and keep his juicy job he must plead the Fifth Amendment and appear at a public hearing.

"This is the distasteful publicity that he could so easily have avoided. This is not a criminal case. X is neither cleared nor incriminated; he must remain under suspicion just as he was before the hearing.

"Neither Senator McCarthy nor the committee nor the whole Senate can clear or incliminate him. That is for the Justice department.

"When X takes his place behind the Fifth Amendment is the time when Americans for Democratic Action take over. They never say a word or make a move to clear X. Instead they attack Senator McCarthy and the committee."

—Frank D. Foreman, Elsinore

But by and large we are in the one-dimensional news stage now, in newspapers, radio, and television. This is real progress, and cause for rejoicing. There are newspapers people can read and commentators they can listen to who do a good job of reporting the "flat" news without any attempt to color it, interpret it, or analyze it. It is possible to put little bumps in this flatness by shades of emphasis, by special selection, and by placement in order or prominence, but we have at least reached agreement that whoever puts bumps in the flatness is not as reliable as one who does not.

Now something new comes into the picture, and that is that the one-dimensional flatness is not enough. People can look at an event and see it with their own eyes (like the McCarthy-Army hearings) and not know what it is all about. There are questions of background, definitions, truthfulness, evaluation, and the attempts of the various people involved in the news to arouse emotions and prejudices.

When I say the public is demanding a change from the one-dimension news policy I mean that while there are no petitions out on the subject, and very few people shouting from rooftops, there are confusion and disagreement as to the meaning of events which call for responsible presentation of the event in 3-D style, including background, possible motives, and a general enlargement of the field of sight and sound so that the public will have a maximum understanding of the news and will be able to act on it accordingly.

The tremendous rise in the circulation of "interpretive" magazines and the popularity of commentators who try to give news length, breadth, and depth, like Edward R. Murrow, prove that there is public demand for more than one simple dimension in connection with important news in this increasingly complex world.

Divisive Influence

To The Christian Science Monitor:

I feel The Christian Science Monitor should point out to its readers (and it has been doing so in excellent fashion, but I feel more should be done) the divisive nature of this McCarthy situation. Everyone surely notices the vast amount of discussion on the situation. But are we noticing how people are divided violently on the issue? Can a pro- and anti- discuss it calmly? And isn't this violent division just what the totalitarian systems want? "Divide and conquer."

It seems to me that our President should recognize this more clearly and use his vast weight of power and prestige to restore a more normal balance in public opinion.

Edward R. Murrow, a fine, objective reporter and analyst deserves the support of every newspaper in our country and I hope the Monitor will give it to him when the occasion presents itself.

Wilmette, Ill. CLIFF W. KRUEGER

L.A. Daily News April 16

Jewel of a Paul Price

Paul Price

Murrow answers McCarthy smear

Edward R. Murrow dedicated most of his "See It Now" program Tuesday (KNXT 7:30 p. m.) to cleaning up a smear mess left over from the previous week by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Because there was no advance notice of Murrow's intent, many thousands of local viewers undoubtedly missed the telecast. For their benefit, the text of Murrow's "defense" is reprinted today. Only minor deletions have been made in the interests of space.

Murrow said:

"LAST WEEK Senator McCarthy appeared on this program to correct any errors he thought we might have made on our report of March 9. Since he made no reference to any statements of fact that we made, we must conclude he found no errors of fact. He proved again that anyone who exposes him, anyone who does not share his hysterical disregard for decency and human dignity and the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, must be a Communist or at best a fellow traveler. I fully expected this treatment.

"The senator added this reporter's name to a long list of individuals and institutions he has accused of serving the Communist cause. The proposition is simple. Anyone who criticizes or opposes McCarthy's methods must be a Communist. If that be true, there are an awful lot of Communists in this country.

"For the record, let's consider briefly some of the senator's charges.

"HE CLAIMED, but offered no proof, that I had been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW, never applied for membership. Men that I worked with in the Pacific Northwest in the mid-twenties will attest that I never had affinity or affiliation with that organization.

"The senator charged that Prof. Harold Laski, a British scholar and politician, dedicated a book to me. That is true. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not.

"He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist press and radio as a center of international propaganda for American reaction, and I have been labeled by them a 'reactionary radio commentator.'

"THE SENATOR alleged that we were doing the work of the Russian secret police, training spies. We were in fact conducting normal cultural and educational relations with foreign nations. I believed 20 years ago, and I believe today, that mature Americans can engage in controversy and conversations, and that we can compete, and successfully, not only in the area of bombs but of ideas.

"Senator McCarthy couldn't even get my present relationship with CBS straight. He repeatedly referred to me as the educational director, a position I have not held for 17 years.

"THE SENATOR waved a copy of the Daily Worker saying an article in it has praised me. Here is an example of what Senator McCarthy calls 'praise' by William Z. Foster in the March 17 issue of the Daily Worker:

"'During the past 10 days Senator McCarthy has received a number of resounding belts in the jaw. These came from Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies. Even Eisenhower himself had to give McCarthy a slap on the wrist.' That was the sole reference to me.

"ANOTHER charge by Senator McCarthy was that Owen Lattimore mentioned me in a book. What Lattimore, in substance, said was that he had never met me, but that I had done a fair job of reporting his testimony. In short, that I had not presumed his guilt. I hope to continue to present evidence developed before congressional committees as impartially as I am able. And that specifically includes the hearing before which Senator McCarthy will shortly appear.

"I require no lectures from the junior senator from Wisconsin upon the evils of communism. Having watched the aggressive forces at work in Western Europe; having had friends in Eastern Europe butchered or driven into exile; having broadcast from London in 1943 that

"HE CLAIMED, but offered no proof, that I had been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World. That is false. I was never a member of the IWW, never applied for membership. Men that I worked with in the Pacific Northwest in the mid-twenties will attest that I never had affinity or affiliation with that organization.

"The senator charged that Prof. Harold Laski, a British scholar and politician, dedicated a book to me. That is true. He is dead. He was a Socialist. I am not.

"He was one of those civilized individuals who did not insist [illegible] political ideas as a precondition for friendship or conversation. Laski, as he makes clear in the introduction, dedicated the book to me not because of political agreement, but because he held my wartime broadcasts from London in high regard.

"Senator McCarthy's principal attack on me was an attack on the Institute of International Education of which I was assistant director and am now a trustee, together with such people as John Foster Dulles, Milton Eisenhower, Ralph J. Bunche, Virginia Gildersleeve, Philip Reed, to name just a few. That institute sponsored—acted as the registering agent—for summer schools in foreign countries, including England, France and Germany and one in the Soviet Union in 1934. Its work has been praised as recently as 1948 by President Eisenhower. It has been denounced by the Soviet me, but that I had done a fair job of reporting his testimony. In short, that I had not presumed his guilt. I hope to continue to present evidence developed before congressional committees as impartially as I am able. And that specifically includes the hearing before which Senator McCarthy will shortly appear.

"I require no lectures from the junior senator from Wisconsin upon the evils of communism. Having watched the aggressive forces at work in Western Europe; having had friends in Eastern Europe butchered or driven into exile; having broadcast from London in 1943 that the Russians were responsible for the Katyn massacre; having told the story of the Russian refusal to allow allied aircraft to land on Russian fields after dropping supplies to those who rose in Warsaw and were betrayed by the Russians, and having been denounced by the Russian radio for these reports, I cannot feel that I require instructions from the senator in the evils of communism.

"HAVING searched my conscience and my files, I cannot contend that I have always been right or wise. But I have attempted to pursue the truth with some diligence, and to report it, even though as in this case, I had been warned in advance that I would be subjected to the attentions of Senator McCarthy.

"We shall hope to deal with matters of more vital interest to the country on subsequent programs."

Commentators' report

What the commentators said yesterday:

It has remained for an American senator to go to the heart of the French-Indo-China issue. Democratic Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana said in a speech in the Senate that France must speedily grant full independence to the three states of Indo-China. Otherwise, he said, the Geneva conference will head toward unmitigated disaster, perhaps even to World War III. His point is well taken and inescapable that the whole military effort in Indo-China is doomed to eventual failure unless the native peoples there see their independence as the prize for which they are fighting.

—CECIL BROWN
(KHJ, 8 a. m.; 5:55 p. m.)

The only thing that can safely be said of the mess of FHA at this point is that the wrecking crew is firmly entrenched—and they are still able to block any moves to provide decent homes at fair prices.

—FRANK EDWARDS
(KHJ, 10:15 p. m.)

. . . In this day, the scientists with their gadgets, their bombs, their discoveries are playing the major role in shaping our politics . . . our relations with each other . . . and our economies. They have taken on greater responsibilities than they have ever had before and their training in science obviously is not enough to equip them for these responsibilities . . .

CARROLL ALCOTT
(KNX, 10:15 p. m.)

We're now being told that there are signs of a spring upturn in business in Los Angeles, as reflected in the sale of new cars, Easter trade, and so on. But all these economic reports on Los Angeles and Southern California make it plain that this part of the United States has good reason to feel confident of the future, and not because of such things as the Easter trade. Partly because of a steady population growth. Partly because of the aggressive, forward looking spirit that prevails in a part of the nation that has grown so fast during the past decade. It has something to do with a carry over of the old pioneering spirit, with its faith in the future.

—ELMER PETERSON
(KFI 5:45 p. m.)

Murrow, McCarthy and th

THE HIGHLIGHT of Senator McCarthy's attack on Edward R. Murrow was the statement that "our nation may well die because of that 18-month deliberate delay" in producing the hydrogen bomb.

This, of course, has nothing to do with Murrow, but never think it was futile; on the contrary, it probably scared the pants off five million boobs, and scaring the boobs is the heart and soul of the McCarthy political technique.

This is perhaps the most masterly exhibition of that technique as yet presented. The cheapest kind of joker can scare the dimwits by poking a hideous false-face at them, but it takes a master to set them sweating and quaking without even a false-face, without anything at all. Probably McCarthy is the only political contortionist in the country who could do it.

Note that the nation may die because of the delay in producing the bomb. The bomb has since been produced, but that isn't the point. There were 18 months, according to McCarthy, when we didn't have it and that vacuum is the fatality; in other words, we are to be blown up by the bomb that didn't exist.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

the "Booboisie"

ıly McCarthy would have dared
o heavily on the complete hol-
ess of the American skull, but
vidence that he knew what he
doing is impressive. This, like
other country, has a consider-
population with a brain capacity
e simian level, but we seldom
e it because it is difficult to
ize the monkey-brains into a
ive idiot army. Fear is the only
that will bind them together,
en the lesser demagogues know;
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was a superb stroke of dema-
and it will go far toward an-
g the question, how silly can a
d get?

Gerald W. Johnson

IC 4/19/54

RADIO AND TELEVISION

By JOHN CROSBY

In Defense of the Cameras

This is in the nature of a progress report on television in politics. Virtually the first television program I ever saw was in 1940 when NBC experimentally telecast from the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia. There were almost no sets available and just about the only way you could see the telecast was to go over to NBC and watch it on a couple of experimental sets.

John Crosby

There wasn't much to see either. Ben Grauer had one camera, a table and a couple of chairs and not much else. He would go on the convention floor, bag a reluctant Senator and drag him back to his table-and-chair arrangement for an interview. The reluctance to appear was understandable. Television had an audience of just about nobody and Senators don't like to waste time on such a small crowd.

* * *

Well, time passed. The Kefauver hearings were held before an audience of millions. Then the 1952 conventions, crawling with TV technicians and reporters. This time, far from being reluctant, the Senators practically had to be swept away from the cameras with baseball bats. They'd show up, statement in hand, in full make-up all ready to go on.

Well, sir, more time passed. There came the McCarthy hearings before another audience of millions. Then just the other day Sen. Watkins, R., Utah, ruled that radio and television would be barred from the McCarthy censure hearings. Again we find the Senator reluctant. We seem to have come full circle.

But, of course, this new Senatorial reluctance stems from entirely different reasons. Now it is not because the audience is so small but because it is so large. Television, it is feared, might turn the McCarthy hearings into another circus and the Senate has had enough of circuses for the time being.

There's no doubt in my mind that the McCarthy hearing was a circus all right or that it did grave damage to the prestige of the United States Senate and to the personal prestige of many of the individual Senators involved. But I cling to the belief that it was the Senators who made it a circus and that television simply recorded the circus. That the presence of TV influenced the behavior of the Senators, and particularly the duration of the hearings, there can be no doubt.

* * *

No doubt TV will always influence the behavior of Senators but not necessarily always for the bad. As a matter of fact, it may already have had a salutary effect. The Senate committee investigating the charges against McCarthy has already decreed that this hearing will follow rules of evidence and maintain the decorum of a court of law. Television, of course, can't claim all the credit for bringing about this welcome shift in the behavior of Congressional committees, but it surely can claim some of it.

When Sen. McCarthy, for example, smirkingly told Secretary Stevens that he couldn't be expected to know about "the dirty politics we play down here," the remark may not have caused a tremor among the case-hardened reporters and politicians in the hearing, but it certainly caused some tremors in millions of citizens who were as unaware as Secretary Stevens that "dirty politics" was such a joking matter. As a medium of education—not necessarily pleasant education—TV has no equal and in this way it can't fail to do some good.

The Watkins ruling barring TV and radio has aroused a storm of what I consider justifiable protest among networks and stations. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System, has called the ruling "grossly discriminatory" since the press will be allowed and TV and radio won't. Actually CBS didn't carry any of the large coverage of the McCarthy hearing. In this case, I believe, Dr. Stanton is not necessarily trying to get CBS cameras into the hearing, but is rather endeavoring to win for the network the right to determine for itself whether it will or will not cover the hearing. I believe they're entitled to that right.

* * *

The circus aspect of televised Congressional hearings is, I am convinced, a passing phase anyhow. Long before TV came along, the press, after all, turned the Scopes trial into a circus, too. Since that time, both press and public have grown a lot more sophisticated. In time a televised Congressional hearing will attract exactly as much attention as it deserves—and not one bit more or less.

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THE OPEN FORUM

"There Is No Hope for the Satisfied Man"
—Frederick G. Bonfils

Self-Respecting Man

I WOULD like to ask Lois Colby who recently attacked pensioners in a Forum letter if she has any assurance when she reaches the retiring age, she won't have to ask for the pension? I worked hard all of my life as a forge blacksmith, but was not able to save because my work only lasted through the summer and in the fall and winter we had to use up what little we saved till spring again. I was born in this state and I worked until I was past 68. I think I am entitled to get the pension.

What is paying on the pension? I don't think a little 2 pct sales tax will ever break anybody.

The governor is a great man about education, look at the crime in Denver (youths and girls ranging from 13 to 19 years old) is that what you want more money for, to teach them to be bigger crooks? M. B. C.
Denver.

H-Bombing—Never!

I AGREE with Forum Writer Neil C. Smith concerning the careless suggestion of Mr. Gustin and others that we should drop H bombs here and there on anyone some of us do not happen to like. While such witless remarks sometimes do no harm except to the user, some people will come to tolerate the idea the oftener it is repeated. Hearing no protest of such inhuman thoughts, those in authority are more apt to do such rash acts.

The result could be the implacable hatred of the survivors if any. At the very least it would cause a moral shock to cultured people, probably most non-Christian, that would take generations to heal which would be of great disadvantage to our children. Without doubt it would be the trigger to set off WW III.

Is the object of such asinine comments to brutalize our sensibilities? M. T.
Denver.

Another Jolt to a Shaky Marriage

WHAT a relief it must be to have the Open Forum, the Denver Post and the Old Age Pension to blame off steam on when one gets up with a "dark brown" taste.

I refer to Mathalde Jones and Lois Colby and others who are always writing in their gripes about pensioners. If it will ease their harassed souls any good, they might remember that the oldsters help pay their pensions by taxes on every penny they earn.

Most every pensioner is someone's mother or father. The young people should remember if their parents did not get a pension, they would have to take care of them, making today's shaky marriages shake even more.

I worked until I was 65 years old and was no longer able to hold a position, then I applied for and got the pension. Every day of my life I am thankful that I live in a state that does take care of its oldsters. MRS. ADA NALLERY.
Englewood.

Katy's Bewildered Fans

I WISH to thank Bob Bowie publicly for his splendid radio column concerning the raw deal that was handed Katy Ellen of KTLN radio station.

After nearly four years of heartfelt, painstaking interest in the job she had created for herself, and endearing herself to thousands of followers, to whom the name "Katy Ellen" really stood for something, to suddenly and without a word of warning have her job literally snatched from under her feet, not only left "Katy" bewildered but her listeners, too.

It smacks of Pearl Harbor methods, a "blow in the dark." Her program was one of the few that was beamed directly to the homemaker, and it gave many of us an outside contact that we would not have had otherwise.
MRS. E. A. KEHN.
Denver.

1880 Sandstorm

WILL the dust storms of today transform all eastern Colorado into a giant sand dune area?

Did you ever hear of the creeping sand dunes in northeastern New Mexico? At the eastern edge of the dunes there is a volcano pit several hundred feet deep. When the wind strikes there, it starts a whirling cloud of sand in the pit and that flour-like sand whips on over eastern Colorado.

In the eighties, as I walked in the dunes, I saw something moving down in the pit. I started to go down—I couldn't stop. A squirrel couldn't climb in such flour-like sand. Something snagged my overalls and stopped me. Where that Indian came from, I don't know. He motioned me to lie down and be still. He was gone about half an hour and came back with a cedar post and rope. He showed me how to straddle the post and lean back. He pulled me to the top.

If you dig into some of those sand hills in eastern Colorado and New Mexico you will find the remains of soldiers and pioneers covered many years ago. Will all the eastern Colorado land we have taken from the grass eventually be a sandy grave? H. E. HAMILTON.
Denver.

TV Star Leashed?

THE Unite Against Dogs plan presented by L. A. in the Open Forum I would like to answer. I will agree that some dogs bark and howl and keep people awake, but dogs can be taught to be nice, the same as some people can be just as noisy as animals.

Why do so many companies use pictures of dogs to help sell their products? I wish this L. C. would look in The Post of 4-16 and see the most wonderfully touching picture a dear little sick child with his faithful pet dog. How can a person hate a dog so bad?

The dog owner is a lot to blame. They have dogs but don't half feed or water them or train them. Right now I am looking at a well-trained dog on TV. He's plenty smart.
Wheat Ridge. G. G.

54's Political Spanking

WELCOME home, Senator Ed! While there are a great many issues on which you and I and many others do not agree, I will say in all fairness, you can and do express your opinions freely, right or wrong.

Your years in the U. S. senate have given you a world of experience which will be of great help to you in solving many of Colorado's problems.

I am quite sure you will win the governorship.

If our present governor accepts the call to run for office, we will take a trip to the woodshed and we are confident the spanking will be given.
Littleton. G. G.

Tough Tactics Okeh

BELIEVE it or not, I am Democrat politically but in regards to Communism I am for McCarthy all the way. I only think he should be rougher and tougher with the ones that refuse to answer question, regardless who they are. If they are really Americans they should be proud to admit it; and if not, mark them down Communists and no friend of ours as they are very dangerous and can't be trusted any place. Anybody who is against trying to weed such people out of our government, like McCarthy is doing, is disloyal to our nation. It is fake loyalty to not get behind McCarthy and help him instead of ridiculing and insulting him.
Edgewater, Colo. E. S. H.

GRIN AND BEAR IT

"Naturally, I'm surprised and delighted to meet Junior's parents . . . he's been telling me that he's the product of a broken home."

Television Programs

FRIDAY, APRIL 30

	KFEL-TV (DuMont) 2	KOA-TV (NBC) 4	KLZ-TV (CBS) 7	KBTV (ABC) 9
4:00P	T Bar V;	Two Gun Theater	Brighter Day	Dairy-Go-Round
4:15P	Fari II	Two Gun Theater	To be ann'd	Captain Osie
4:30P	Fred and Fae	Two Gun Theater	Art Gow	Captain Osie
4:45P	Fred and Fae	Two Gun Theater	Sheriff Scotty	Captain Osie
5:00P	Fred and Fae	Melody Mart	Sheriff Scotty	Captain Osie
5:15P	Fred and Fae	VideoScope	Sheriff Scotty	Corky's Club
5:30P	Snicker	Eddie Fisher	Sheriff Scotty	Sports Corner
5:45P	Flickers	News: Swayne	Perry Como	News
6:00P	Cisco	Dave Garroway	News, Weather	Sky
6:15P	Kid	Show	Photoquiz	King
6:30P	Gene	March of Time	Writers Work	Hopalong
6:45P	Autry	Thru the Years	Shop	Cassidy
7:00P	Captain Video	Big Story:	My Friend Irma:	Stu Erwin
7:15P	News, Weather	Bob Sloane	Marie Wilson	Show
7:30P	Ranger	Soundstage:	Our Miss Brooks:	Play of
7:45P	Rider	Drama	Eve Arden	the Week
8:00P	Morgan's Theater	Boxing	Playhouse	Ozzie and
8:15P	Morgan's Theater	Boxing	Playhouse	Harriet
8:30P	Morgan's Theater	Boxing	Beat the	Anita Colby
8:45P	Morgan's Theater	Greatest Fights	Clock	Playhouse
9:00P	Morgan's Theater	Regal	Tele. Sports	Pecwee Panel:
9:15P	Morgan's Theater	Theater	To be ann'd	Maples
9:30P	The Plainclothes	VideoScope	Topper	Pride of the
9:45P	Man	VideoScope	Topper	Family
10:00P	News, Weather	Yesterday on Film	News, Weather	News, Weather;
10:15P	Dancing	Academy Theater	and Sports	Passerby, 10:20
10:30P	Party	Academy Theater	Perry Como	Feature
10:45P	Fur Animals	Academy Theater	Perry Como	Movie, 10:35
11:00P	Signoff	Academy Theater	Late Show	Feature Movie
11:15P		Academy Theater	News, Weather	Feature Movie
11:30P		Nightcap News	Signoff, 11:20	Feature Movie
11:45P		Signoff, 11:35		Signoff, 12

Radio and television program listings published in The Denver Post are provided by local stations. The Post, as a public service, makes log revisions requested by stations up to publication deadlines, but cannot be responsible for inaccuracies or omissions.

SATURDAY, MAY 1

	KFEL-TV (DuMont) 2	KOA-TV (NBC) 4	KLZ-TV (CBS) 7	KBTV (ABC) 9
10:00A				
10:15A				
10:30A				
10:45A				
11:00A			Test Pattern	
11:15A			News, Weather	
11:30A			Aladdin Theater	
11:45A				
12:00N			Matinee	Test Pattern
12:15P			Matinee	Major League
12:30P			Drake Relays	Major League
12:45P		Test Pattern	Green Thumb	Major League
1:00P		Two Gun Theater	Wrestling	Major League
1:15P		Two Gun Theater	Wrestling	Major League
1:30P		Two Gun Theater	Wrestling	Major League
1:45P		Two Gun Theater	Wrestling	Major League
2:00P	Multiscope News	Two Gun Theater	Wrestling	Major League
2:15P	Vaudeville Time	Two Gun Theater	Kentucky Derby	Major League
2:30P	Jobs for G. I.'s	Two Gun Theater	To be ann'd	To be ann'd
2:45P	Industry on Parade	Two Gun Theater	To be ann'd	To be ann'd
3:00P	Our Catholic Schools	Two Gun Theater	Music	Space
3:15P	Chenewith, Hill	Two Gun Theater	To be ann'd	Patrol
3:30P	T Bar V	Two Gun Theater	Aladdin	Captain
3:45P	T Bar V	Two Gun Theater	Theater	Midnight
4:00P	T Bar V	Fun Time	To be ann'd	Smiling Ed's Gang
4:15P	T Bar V	Fun Time	To be ann'd	Adventures of
4:30P	Fred and Fae	Ace	Small Fry	Blinkey
4:45P	Fred and Fae	Drummond	Serial	Western Playhouse
5:00P	Fred and Fae	Master Life	Lone	Western Movie
5:15P	Fred and Fae	VideoScope	Ranger	Western Movie
5:30P	Silver Theater	Chemistry	Public Service	Western Movie
5:45P	Silver Theater	Chemistry	Public Service	Western Movie
6:00P	Silver Theater	Show of Shows	Two For the	Terry and the
6:15P	Silver Theater	Show of Shows	Money	Pirates
6:30P	Hollywood	Show of Shows	My Favorite	Tom Harmon
6:45P	Offbeat	Show of Shows	Husband	Sports Show
7:00P	Wrestling Film	Show of Shows	That's My Boy:	Boxing
7:15P	Wrestling Film	Show of Shows	Eddie Mayehoff	Boxing
7:30P	Wrestling Film	Hit Parade	Wrestling	Boxing
7:45P	Wrestling Film	Hit Parade	Wrestling	Fight Talk
8:00P	Wrestling	Show of Shows	That's My Boy:	International
8:15P	Vaudeville Time	Show of Shows	Eddie Mayehoff	Wrestling
8:30P	Vaudeville Time	TVA	Kent	International
8:45P	Vaudeville Time	TVA	Theater	Wrestling
9:00P	Vaudeville Time	TVA	Jackie Gleason	Rocky Mountain
9:15P	Vaudeville Time	Academy Theater	Jackie Gleason	Barn Dance
9:30P	Vaudeville Time	Academy Theater	Jackie Gleason	Rocky Mountain
9:45P	Vaudeville Time	Academy Theater	Jackie Gleason	Barn Dance
10:00P	Feature Movie	Weather	Deadline	News, Weather
10:15P	Feature Movie	Academy Theater	Jo Stafford	Chinchilla Show
10:30P	Feature Movie	Academy Theater	Fur Facts	Cerebral Palsy Tele.
10:45P	Feature Movie	Academy Theater	Late Show	Cerebral Palsy Tele.
11:00P	Feature Movie	Academy Theater	Late Show	Cerebral Palsy Tele.
11:15P	Signoff	Academy Theater	Late Show	Cerebral Palsy Tele.
11:30P		Wrestling Film	Late Show	Rest of the
11:45P		News at 12:30	News, Weather	Night, (16 hrs.

McCarthy Critic Wins High Praise By Rockefeller

By ED OLSEN
Denver Post Staff Writer

David Rockefeller, grandson of one of the world's most successful capitalists, had a good word here Thursday for an associate attacked by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R) of Wis., as a "left-winger" who had "abetted the Communists."

The senator recently hurled that charge at Edward R. Murrow, famed CBS news commentator, after Murrow devoted a full television program to a documentary report on McCarthy. One of the "accusations" stemmed from Murrow's work with the Institute for International Education.

Rockefeller told members of the Rocky Mountain advisory committee to IIE, at a Denver meeting at the University Club, that all those active with IIE have "every reason to feel proud of our association with Mr. Murrow — despite the attacks of the younger senator from Wisconsin."

MURROW DEFENDED

The Rockefeller family has long supported the IIE financially. David, grandson of John D. Rockefeller, and several of his relatives have assisted the organization in its "exchange of persons" program for building better international relations.

In his defense of Murrow, who is a member of the IIE board of trustees, Rockefeller was joined by Robert S. McCollum of Denver, chairman of the advisory group.

Exchange of persons is more important to America than ever before, Rockefeller told the group. Anti-American feeling in the world has grown since World War II, he said, at the very time America needs most to be understood to fill its role as a world leader.

He cited "very effective" Communist propaganda as one cause of growing dislike for the U. S.

NOT ALWAYS WISE

"We must admit that to some extent it has also been caused by our own ineptness at handling relations abroad. We have not always acted wisely—which is not surprising for a nation new to world leadership.

"It must also be admitted," Rockefeller said, "that the person or country with less of the world's goods and power is apt to be jealous and resentful of one with more."

He said he had "every faith" in the value of bringing persons from other countries to the U. S.—and sending American students abroad—in "getting the U. S. understood abroad and in improving the chances for world peace."

DRAW FINE LINE

Rockefeller stressed the importance of selecting students or other persons who will visit the U. S. But he argued that the opportunity shouldn't be restricted only to those who have no criticism of Americans.

"We must exclude those people who have expressed themselves unequivocally as bitter enemies of the U. S. But it is equally important that we do not exclude a person because he may be prejudiced or is unfriendly to the U. S.

"Probably those are the people who need to come and learn about us. We must draw a fine line between those who are positively hostile, and those who are simply not friendly," he said.

Dr. Kenneth Holland of New York, president of the Institute for International Education, also addressed the group reviewing the growth of the "exchange of persons" program, which he compared with the laying of cables for a great suspension bridge.

Denver Army Colonel Slated for Promotion

Col. Nelson M. Lynde Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Nelson M. Lynde Sr., 1609 Jackson St., has been recommended by President Eisenhower for promotion to brigadier general, his parents learned Friday.

Eviction-If-Baptized Charge Denied Here

By WALT LINDSTROM
Denver Post Staff Writer

A report that Sands House sanatorium, 5261 W. 26th Ave., would "evict" Mrs. Florence Hawkins, dying cancer patient who wants to be baptized by total immersion, was vigorously denied Friday by Mrs. Evelyn Braun, superintendent of the nursing home.

Dr. William L. Blessing, president of the House of Prayer for All Peoples, 160 Irving St., said that Karl Hawkins, the woman's husband, had been told Wednesday that he must find another place for his wife by Saturday. Hawkins could not be reached immediately for comment.

Dr. Blessing and his son, William L. Blessing Jr., associate pastor at the House of Prayer, want to baptize Mrs. Hawkins as, they say, she has requested. The nursing home has refused to allow the ceremony to take place on its premises, saying it has no suitable facilities for total immersion.

Mrs. Braun flatly denied having told Hawkins that he must find another place for his wife. She also said that Hawkins had told her Wednesday that it was not his desire to have his wife immersed.

MUST SIGN RELEASE

The superintendent said that, in a separate conversation on Wednesday, she had told the younger Blessing that he was welcome to baptize Mrs. Hawkins if she were first removed from the nursing home. As in all cases where a patient is removed from the home, she said, both Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins would have to sign a release and her doctor would probably have to sign, too.

It was her understanding, Mrs. Braun said, that the younger Blessing was making plans to perform the baptismal ceremony next Wednesday. Mrs. Hawkins has received word her daughter will arrive in Denver from California that day, she added, and the dying woman wants the daughter to be present.

Hawkins could not be located to confirm the charges made against the nursing home by the Blessings. His latest permanent address was 380 S. Sheridan Blvd. He is reported to have been staying with friends since Mrs. Hawkins went into Sands House.

National Salute Saturday to Launch KIMN

Station KIMN, a new name for an old friend of Denver radio fans, will go on the air Saturday with a salute from Mutual Broadcasting System across the nation.

The new call letters for station KFEL will be used for the first time during the station's signon at 5:30 a. m. Saturday. At 10:30 a. m., the station will salute the Intermountain Network with a 30-minute program, including all KIMN personalities. At 6 p. m., the Mutual network will join the salute.

KIMN is the key station for the Intermountain Network which includes outlets in nine western states.

Police Seek Man Who 'Jumps' 2 $500 Bonds

Police Friday were searching for Robert A. Mutch, 25, "police character" wanted for jumping two bonds of $500 each.

Mutch, whose last address was 1065 Emerson St., was to appear in police court last week to face traffic charges stemming from arrests March 15 and April 12. He has a police record dating back to 1948.

DENVER POST Radio Log

FRIDAY, APRIL 30

	KLZ 560-CBS	KVOD 630-ABC	KOA 850-NBC	KFEL 950-MBS	KTLN 1150	KMYR 1340
4:00P	A. Jackson	Rhythm	Welcome	News	Joe Flood	News
4:15P	Ruth Ashton	Rendezvous	Travelers	Ray Perkins	Joe Flood	Record Shop
4:30P	Glenn Martin	The Todds	Dr. Paul	News	News	Record Shop
4:45P	Show	Kipling	News	Cooking	Music	Record Shop
5:00P	KLZ News	Crocker	Alex Dreier	Songs of the	Music	News
5:15P	Rhythms	Road Info.	Rockies	B Bar B	Glenn Miller	Sports: Leo
5:30P	News	Chet Huntley	World News	Wild Bill	Sports	Around Town
5:45P	Ed Murrow	Bill Stern	KOA News	Hickok	S. Thompson	Melodies
6:00P	Gay	News	Dinah Shore	Heatter	C. Collins	News
6:15P	Lombardo	Lum, Abner	Denver	News; Sports	Music	Parade of
6:30P	Godfrey	The Lone	Calling:	David	Signoff	Hits
6:45P	Digest	Ranger	Yelland	Harding		Drummond
7:00P	Godfrey	Ozzie and	Phil Harris	Bill Henry	Local and network programs of KLZ, KOA and KFEL are duplicated in whole or in part on Frequency Modulation: KLZ-FM, 94.1; KOA FM, 85.7; KFEL-FM 97.3 megacycles.	News
7:15P	Digest	Harriet	Alice Faye	Perry Como		Par. of Hits
7:30P	Mr. Keen:	World We	Bob Hope	Fulton Lewis		Baseball
7:45P	Mystery	Live In	Show	News		Baseball
8:00P	McCarthy-Army	Boxing	Walk a Mile	Bears		Baseball
8:15P	Sounding	Boxing	McCarthy-Hearings	Bears		Baseball
8:30P	Board	Hits and		Bears		Baseball
8:45P		Encores		Bears		Baseball
9:00P	Serenade	Hank Show	Barbours	Bears		Baseball
9:15P	O'Keefe Quiz	TBA	KOA News	Bears		Baseball
9:30P	L. Thomas	KVOD News	Philo	Bears		Baseball
9:45P	Curt Massey	TBA	Vance	Bears		Baseball
10:00P	KLZ News	Ozzie and	KOA News	Bears		News
10:15P	Tenn. Ernie	Harriet	John Henry	F. Edwards		Talk
10:30P	Beulah	World We	McGees	McCarthy-Army		of the
10:45P	News, Music	Live In	2nd Chance			Town
11:00P	CBS News	Spts. Rndup.	KOA News	5-Min News		News
11:15P	Record Show	Voices in Air	Concert Till	Kilocycle		Talk
11:30P	Showboat	Voices in Air	Midnight:	Club With		of the
11:45P	Showboat	Voices in Air	Truendell	Rosa Cole		Town
12:00M	Off, 12:10	Signoff	On All Night	On All Night		On All Night

KLIR, 990 Kc. (Independent)
FRIDAY
3:00 p. m.—This Is the Hour
4:00 p. m.—Lakewood Hour
5:00 p. m.—U.N. Story
5:15 p. m.—Rhythm Rendezvous
5:30 p. m.—News and Sports
5:45 p. m.—Blue Barron Presents
6:00 p. m.—Music You Want
6:30 p. m.—Signoff

KGMC, 1220 Kc. (Independent)
FRIDAY
3:00 p. m.—Bud's Colorado Roundup
6:20 p. m.—Greatest Moments: Scriptures
5:20 p. m.—Denver Bears
5:25 p. m.—Colorado Roundup (cont.)
6:30 p. m.—Signoff

SATURDAY, MAY 1

	KLZ 560-CBS	KVOD 630-ABC	KOA 850-NBC	KIMN KFEL-950	KTLN 1150	KMYR 1340
5:30A	Mountain	Rise and	Breakfast	Swanson's	Music	Best of the
5:45A	Roundup	Shine	Bell	Mailbag	Music	West
6:00A	CBS News	Colorado	KOA News	Salute	Music;	News
6:15A	Roundup	A & M	Breakfast	Gus Swanson	News, 6:25	Clock
6:30A	Rancher	Farm	Bell	Gus Swanson	Joe Flood	Watcher
6:45A	KLZ News	News	Question Box	Gus Swanson	Joe Flood	Health Club
7:00A	World News	Back to	KOA News	Ron McCoy	Joe Flood	News
7:15A	Brighten Up	the Bible	Frank White	News	Joe Flood	Clock
7:30A	Top of Morn	News	Alex Dreier	Ron McCoy	News	Watcher:
7:45A	KLZ News	Music	KOA News	Ron McCoy	Joe Flood	Knight
8:00A	Weather	No School	Weather	News	Joe Flood	News; Give
8:15A	Morn. Show	No School	Pete Smythe	Ron McCoy	Joe Flood	Chance
8:30A	Robert Q.	No School	Pete Smythe	Morning	News	Red Cross
8:45A	Lewis	No School	Pete Smythe	Chapel	Music	Sun. School
9:00A	Child Health	No School	Back to	Jobs for GIs	Music	News
9:15A	Robert Lewis	No School	the Bible	Vic Damone	Music	Gene
9:30A	KLZ News	Space	Mary Lee	Newscast	Hi Neighbor	Amole's
9:45A	Robert Lewis	Patrol	Taylor	Band	Hi Neighbor	Corner
10:00A	Theater	101 Ranch	KOA News	Variety	Hi Neighbor	News
10:15A	of Today	Boys	Food League	Time	Hi Neighbor	Gene
10:30A	Stars Over	American	Basket	KIMN	Hi Neighbor	Amole's
10:45A	Hollywood	Farmer	Beauty	Salute	Hi Neighbor	Corner
11:00A	City	News, Music	KOA Home	Our Hi'ways	Hi Neighbor	News
11:15A	Hospital	Echoes	Forum	To be ann'd	Hi Neighbor	Gene
11:30A	Robert Lewis	Music	Western	News	Music	Amole's
11:45A	Garden Gate	Lombardo	Dinner Bell	Serenade	Music	Corner
12:00N	Let's	Festival	KOA News	Man on	Ballroom	News
12:15P	Pretend	Festival	Weather	the Farm	Ballroom	Gene
12:30P	KLZ News	Festival	Farm and	Musical	News, Music	Amole's
12:45P	Gr'n Thumb	Festival	Home Hour	Cavalcade	Ballroom	Corner
1:00P	Campus Call	Festival	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
1:15P	Campus Call	Festival	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
1:30P	Campus Call	Festival	Roadshow	Baseball	News	Scoreboard
1:45P	Derby Prv.	Festival	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
2:00P	Ted Weems	Horse Race	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
2:15P	Ky. Derby	P. Carier	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
2:30P	Ky. Derby	Pan Amer.	Roadshow	Baseball	News	Scoreboard
2:45P	Symphonette	Union	Roadshow	Baseball	Ballroom	Scoreboard
3:00P	Movies and	Tea and	Roadshow	Baseball	Music	News
3:15P	Music	Crumpets	Roadshow	Baseball	Music	Record Shop
3:30P	Saturday at	Pop Concert	Roadshow	Baseball	News	Record Shop
3:45P	the Chase	Pop Concert	Roadshow	News, Music	Juke Box	Record Shop
4:00P	News	Women	Parade of	News	Juke Box	News
4:15P	U.N. Record	Orchestra	Bands	Dance	News, 4:25	Record Shop
4:30P	Sports	Finnegan's	People	Parade	Music	Record Shop
4:45P	Guest Star	Report	In the News	Fwd. March	Music	Record Shop
5:00P	KLZ News	Show Time	Call of the	Buddy	Music at	News
5:15P	Colo. Speaks	Road Info.	Rockies	Morrow	Sundown	Sports: Leo
5:30P	Johnny	Music	Kaltenborn	B'hind Bears	Music at	'E'nd Town
5:45P	Mercer	Navy Band	KOA News	Brickhouse	Sundown	Album
6:00P	Gunsmoke:	News, Music	Denver	Author Meets	Music	Parade of
6:15P	Western	Lombardo	Calling	Critics	U. N. Today	Hits
6:30P	Gangbusters	Music	Denver	Dinner	Music at	Parade of
6:45P	Gangbusters	Music P'rade	Calling	Date	Sundown	Hits
7:00P	Herb Shriner	Dinner at	Western Hit	Band Music	Signoff	Parade of
7:15P	Quiz	Green Room	Parade	Salute to		Hits
7:30P	Crime	Treasure	Grand Ole	KIMN		Parade of
7:45P	Classics	Show	Opry	News		Hits
8:00P	Country	Lone	Tune Parade	Bears	Local and network programs of KLZ and KOA are duplicated in whole or in part on Frequency Modulation: KLZ-FM, 94.1; KOA-FM, 85.7 megacycles.	
8:15P	Style	Ranger	Jamboree	Bears		News
8:30P	Symington	Speech, Haas	Stampede	Bears		Parade of
8:45P	Boy Blue	L. Week	Stampede	Bears		Hits
9:00P	Boy Blue	Army	Stampede	Bears		
9:15P	Boy Blue	News	Stampede	Bears		News
9:30P	Boy Blue	News, Music	Tex Williams	Bears		Parade of
9:45P	Boy Blue	Musicale	Show	Bears		Hits
10:00P	Newscast	ABC News	KOA News	Bears		
10:15P	Orchestra	Music	John Henry	Kilocycle		News
10:30P	Orchestra	Dance	Pee Wee	Club With		Talk
10:45P	Orchestra	Orchestra	King	Russ Cole		of the Town
11:00P	CBS News	Dance Time	KOA News	Newscast		News
11:15P	Bandstand	Dance Time	To Vets	Kilocycle		Talk
11:30P	Bandstand	Dance Time	Concert Till	Club With		of the
11:45P	Bandstand	Dance Time	Midnight	Russ Cole		Town
12:00	Off, 12:10	Signoff	On All Night	KFEL 1 a.m. Signoff		On All Night

KGMC, 1220 Kc. (Independent)
SATURDAY
3:00 p. m.—Four J's
5:20 p. m.—Denver Bears
5:25 p. m.—Four J's (cont.)
6:20 p. m.—Greatest Moments
6:30 p. m.—Signoff
3:00 p. m.—This Is the Hour
4:00 p. m.—Turntable Tunes
5:00 p. m.—Henry Jerome Show
5:15 p. m.—Rhythm Rendezvous
5:30 p. m.—News and Sports
5:45 p. m.—Blue Barron Presents
6:00 p. m.—Music You Want
6:30 p. m.—Signoff

KLIR, 990 Kc. (Independent)
SATURDAY
6:00 a. m.—Cook's Colorado Roundup
7:40 a. m.—News: Grady Franklin Maples
8:00 a. m.—Arapahoe Rhythm
9:00 a. m.—Top Twenty: Pops
12:15 p. m.—News: Grady Franklin Maples
12:30 p. m.—Top Twenty: Western
5:55 a. m.—Pastor's Good Morning
6:00 a. m.—Morning Call
7:00 a. m.—Youth for Christ
7:30 a. m.—Newscast
7:45 a. m.—Chapel of the Air
8:00 a. m.—Music As You Like It
8:25 a. m.—Lost Pets
8:30 a. m.—Newscast
8:45 a. m.—Cancer Program
9:00 a. m.—Lenny Herman Quintet
9:15 a. m.—Waltz Time
9:30 a. m.—Country Chapel
9:45 a. m.—Voice of China
10:00 a. m.—Concert Hall
11:00 a. m.—Today's Hits
11:30 a. m.—Four Knights
11:45 a. m.—Town and Country
12:00 noon—Luncheon Music
12:30 p. m.—Newscast
12:45 p. m.—Ariane Trio
1:00 p. m.—Perry Como
1:15 p. m.—Dutch Light Music
1:30 p. m.—You and Mental Health
2:00 p. m.—Remember When
2:30 p. m.—Proudly We Hail

Colorado 1953 Income Averaged $1,630 a Person

Total income for Colorado residents was a record $2,375,000,000 in 1953, a per capita average of $1,630, the department of commerce said here Friday.

The national average was $1,700.

As in most parts of the country, farm income in Colorado slumped from the 1952 figure, but other sources boosted the total to the new record. The total Colorado income in 1952 was $2,316,000,000.

Income figures also set new records in New Mexico and Arizona.

The New Mexico total was $1,020,000,000, up 5 pct. over 1952, and in Arizona income totaled $1,380,000,000, an increase of 7 pct.

Clay to Handle Publicity for Denver Library

John T. Eastlick, Denver librarian, announced Friday the appointment of Robert Clay, 31, as director of public relations and displays with the library.

Clay, a graduate of Ohio State University, has been with the library since September as exhibition and display specialist. Clay is married, has one son, and lives at 1757 Kingston St. in Aurora.

At Ohio State he majored in fine arts and history. For a time after graduation he was an artist with the Julian Krupnik advertising agency in Columbus, O., and also with the bureau of education research at Ohio State. Later he was assistant art director of the Ohio State museum.

Navy Mothers Slate Tag Day Event Saturday

Veterans at Fitzsimons Army Hospital and the Veterans Administration Hospital Saturday will benefit from "tag day" sponsored by the Rocky Mountain Navy Mothers of America, Club 462.

Mrs. Florence McKenzie, 1349 Fillmore St., tag day chairman, said about 100 mothers and members of other civic groups will participate. They will exchange tags bearing the mother's slogan, "Recuperation, Rehabilitation and Recreation" for contributions of any size.

Mrs. McKenzie said proceeds from the one-day drive will benefit all veterans.

VIEWING TV

With HAL HUMPHREY

HOLLYWOOD.—I think it's only fair to warn the country's female population that along about next fall a sexy, voluptuous honey blond is going to crash their homes via the TV screen and extend a general invitation to their husbands and boy friends to "C'mon up and see me sometime."

Mae West

Some of you younger gals may try to laugh off this direct approach technique as being obsolete. But I can assure you that when employed by its inventor, Mae West, the results will be every bit as devastating to the male animal today as they were in the Roaring Twenties, when Miss West first began plying her wares.

Right after I heard that she was planning a TV series, I called up to get a confirmation. "Why doncha c'mon up and see me, and we'll talk it over," Mae suggested.

For the life of me, I couldn't think of a single reason why I shouldn't.

"Howja do!" was Mae's greeting, as she led me into her Hollywood apartment. Everything was in pure white and gold-trimmed except Mae. She was wearing a pale pink negligee.

I guess she could see that I was finding it a little difficult to become acclimatized to this dazzling environment.

"You wanted to know about my TV plans?" she asked, in a silky baritone.

"Yup," I said, without hesitation, and with a new respect for Gary Cooper as a brilliant conversationalist.

"Well, it's true. I'm going to begin filming a half-hour TV series with Producer Bill LeBaron right after an engagement at the Sahara hotel in Las Vegas next month.

"Doncha think TV is a perfect medium for me? After all, I've always entertained the masses—all ages and mentality," said Mae, confidently.

I had to agree that her appeal was universal, and certainly had not diminished any, as I could plainly see while watching her pace across the room with that famous strut, which is sort of a cross between a walk and a roll. Mae had a copyright on this "look-me-over-kid" glide before Marilyn Monroe had graduated from all fours.

"What about the censors?" I asked. "Do you think they'll give you any trouble?"

"I don't see why!" she exclaimed, fluttering her heavy lashes innocently. "If they don't censor some of the things I see on my TV set now, then why me?

"I have never resorted to nudity, but things have changed. Why, I see these ballet things on TV, and lots of them are regular orgies.

"My show will be just a little of this and that—entertainment for the whole family. We'll have some comedy, and in one part I'll portray famous women of history, like Cleopatra maybe. Then I'll do some modern songs."

It was an ungentlemanly thing to do, but I reminded Mae that she once appeared with Charlie McCarthy in a Garden of Eden scene on radio that created more havoc than Orson Welles' famous "Martian Invasion" broadcast.

"I was a victim of circumstances that time," she replied. "I didn't want to do that show, but they offered me $5,000 which was unheard of in those days (circa 1939). Anyway, all I said was "C'mon up some time, and I'll let you play in my woodpile.

"Since Charlie is a wooden dummy, I thought that was a funny line. I think some people just got excited because it was on a Sunday."

* * *

With that, Mae strolled over to her white-and-gold baby grand piano, sat down, and began beating out a boogie-woogie tune she'd written herself.

After she had finished it, I reluctantly decided to leave.

"I don't think my public would want me to change, even for TV, do you?"

"No, I'm sure they wouldn't," I said.

"Goodbye, and c'mon up again, wontcha," Mae called.

I'm tellin' you gals, you'd better get the ol' man to turn in that TV set on a nice radio before it's too late.

'54 Upturn Predicted By Banker

An upturn in the national economy that will bring the last quarter of 1954 up to the record level of 1953 was predicted Friday by David Rockefeller, senior vice president of the Chase National bank of New York, on a Denver visit.

Rockefeller said in an interview that the decline in the gross national production this year has so far amounted to only 3½ pct. from 1953. The difference, he said, can primarily be accounted for by the fact that inventories rose steadily in 1953—so that this year dealers bought less from the manufacturers.

By July, he estimated, most jobbers will have reduced their inventories to the point where they must begin re-ordering to keep up with sales.

FAVORABLE FACTORS

Favorable factors in the economy "far outweigh" the negative signs, Rockefeller said. Among the favorable signs he listed:

Housing construction, which in terms of new starts is "better than expected."

Construction of major public works, roads and schools by city and state governments.

Continuing high demand for services and for rental housing.

The reduction in income taxes, which will free money for buying more consumer goods.

ON THE OTHER HAND

Against these promising signs for a growing economy Rockefeller said the slump in textiles and in consumer durables (automobiles, television sets, etc.) must be balanced.

Rockefeller said he believed the Eisenhower administration has "taken the necessary steps" to bolster the economy against effects of the drop in post-Korean defense spending.

The government moved "positively and effectively," he said, in reversing the "tight money" policy, and in liberalizing credit through lowered federal reserve interest rates, lower reserve requirements to banks, and open market bond purchases.

Six Rio Grande Railroaders Retired

Six more Denver & Rio Grande Western railroad employes have been granted annuities under provisions of the Railroad Retirement Act, it was announced Friday.

They are: Ernest R. Wall, 950 S. Josephine St.; Harvey W. Carey, 643 Osceola St.; Loreto De Julio, 4557 Bryant St

'STRANGE SILENCE' FROM NBC ON McCARTHY IMBROGLIO RILES CBS

The CBS high command feels that NBC has backed away from the McCarthy vs. networks controversy and has left Columbia pretty much to shift for itself in carrying on the battle. It's known that Ed Murrow and the CBS high level are more than a little miffed over the "strange silence" from the NBC camp in its tv treatment —or lack of it—in carrying the anti-McCarthy torch.

What particularly distresses CBS is the fear of a "divide and conquer" McCarthy technique which could well bring defeat to the cause of "free" broadcasting. The web realizes all too well the need for a united stand in the issue. As one exec put it: "Certainly NBC should know that if McCarthy licks CBS he'll ride herd on all the networks and all of broadcasting so fast that they won't know what hit them."

While CBS gave extended coverage to Chi Catholic Bishop Sheil's scrathing attack on McCarthy last week, it was more than mildly chagrined over the virtual tv brushoff given the pickup by NBC. Whether Murrow's dining last week with NBC-RCA board chairman David Sarnoff turned on this subject or was related to recurring reports that Gen. Sarnoff continues the drive to swing the commentator over to his network, is still being kicked around by those in the trade who are cognizant of the behind-scenes activities.

Carl Byoir Issue

What brings the CBS "versus" NBC topic to the fore in a rather odd way is Carl Byoir (& Associates), the veteran public relations consultant who coincidentally is adviser to NBC. His name and those of Hollywood producer Louis B. Mayer and Hearst columnist George Sokolsky, as well as several advertising agencies, had figured as aides in last week's film of the McCarthy "answer" to Murrow on "See It Now." Byoir denied that he had advised the Senator, saying that the latter had merely asked him to furnish material relating to the 1917 Russian revolution for incorporation into "See It Now." Byoir is also understood to have repudiated widely distributed reports that he was given a fee for his work. Nevertheless, what struck home was Byoir's official link with NBC and that

(Continued on page 32)

Murrow-McC Score

As of the latest CBS compilation, Edward R. Murrow was running ahead of Senator McCarthy by better than 2½ to 1. Exact count is 15,443 for the commentator via phone calls, wires and mail, and 6,018 for McCarthy. New York tally on calls is 5,749 for Murrow, 3,918 for the Senator; Chicago, 1,621 and 288; Los Angeles, 3,391 and 558; Philly, 458 and 175. On wires, Murrow drew 2,043 in his favor, against McCarthy's 657; mail, 2,181 for the CBS'er, 422 for McCarthy.

Meantime, Mutual commentator Fulton Lewis Jr. accused CBS of "rigging" the mail in Murrow's favor via a form postcard returnable to the web at N. Y. headquarters and mailed from Boston and environs. Web said it knows nothing of the one-way postcard campaign, has not included the returns (about 70) in the Murrow column, and would gladly tally them for McCarthy should he need the "extra points."

Weekend Ratings

Liberace, guestarring on the Jimmie Durante "Comedy Hour" Sunday (11) over NBC-TV, drew a 31.2 Trendex against 24.2 for Ed Sullivan's "Toast of the Town" on CBS. ABC-TV's "The Mask" hit 5.1.

Eddie Mayehoff, preeming with "That's My Boy" on CBS Saturday at 10 p. m., rated a 19.4, considered a substantial score against last segment of NBC "Show of Shows," which rang up 29.2.

Directors Still In Chi Deadlock

Chicago, April 13.

Although the Radio-Television Directors Guild has come to terms with the networks in New York on a new two-year pact which will formally be signed when local negotiations are completed here and at other production centres, Chi RTDG bargainers and ABC, NBC and CBS are still deadlocked over wage scales.

Chief stumbling block besides the wrangling over weekly wage minimums in the Guild's attempt to install a fee schedule for local commercial shows. RTDG pact has a fee setup for network shows.

Seven Chi NBC radio directors who two years ankled the Guild to tie up with National Assn. of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians (CIO) are doing a switch and returning to the RTDG fold.

Status of News Writers in TV?

Washington, April 13.

Dispute between Television Writers of America and Authors League of America over inclusion of news writers in the same unit with script writers at ABC, CBS and NBC radio and tv networks will be settled by elections directed last week by the National Labor Relations Board.

Ballots will be taken to determine whether news and script writers at ABC and CBS desire representation by TWA or ALA and its affiliated Radio Writers Guild. Writers at NBC will vote for TWA, ALA and RWG or ALA and Screen Writers Guild.

Board excluded reporters in the public affairs department at CBS from the news and script writers' units. These reporters, it found, obtain tape recordings of interviews for various shows and are listed on the talent payroll.

Army Screens NBC-TV Guatemala Red Rule News Documentary

Army Air Force held a screening yesterday (Tues.) with another skedded tomorrow (Thurs.) on "Guatemala—Red Rule On Our Doorstep," NBC news documentary covering Communist infiltration of the Guatemalan government. HQ Squadron Section of the First Air Force at Mitchell Air Base, N. Y., is employing the 30-minuter, telecast originally on NBC-TV Feb. 14, as part of its information and education program.

Vidpix traces the economic and political factors which swung Guatemala over to the Commie camp. Marshall F. Bannell, web's correspondent there who was expelled with the N. Y. Times' Sydney Gruson, is the narrator and NBC's Joseph C. Harsch the commentator. Pic has been shown to employees by a number of corporations doing business in Latin America.

Another of the net's documentaries, "Berlin, Window on Fear," was supplied to U. S. Army HQ in the German city for orientation of GI's.

Also on the military front is the Army's pacting of Tele-Q Corp.'s prompting system for training films to be made at Camp Gordon, Ga., for Signal Corps use. First to be instructed on its operation for training was Cpl. Robert Jones, who underwent a period of orientation. Tele-Q gives filmakers an on-camera cuer enabling announcer or instructor to look directly into the lens while reading from the device.

Murrow and NBC

Continued from page 24

web wasn't making any statements on the subject.

McCarthy's "reply" last Tuesday was a combination Commie-linked attack on the man (Murrow) who furnished the time as offered on the original Murrow telecast of March 9 and an unrelated pitch on the Red-hot question, including an allegation that there had been an 18-month "deliberate delay" by the U. S. in the development of the H-bomb. This quickly took the play away from McCarthy vs. Murrow as such and got into the realm of Administration and global affairs, with bigwigs from President Eisenhower down, and major newspapers across the country, giving the lie to the "delay" statement.

Murrow's reply to the Senator was ready at 11 p.m. Tuesday and was put on the air immediately after the Badger legislator's denunciation of the analyst. Said Murrow in a seven-page statement: "Senator McCarthy's reckless and unfounded attempt to impugn my loyalty is just one more example of his typical tactic of attempting to tie up to Communism anyone who disagrees with him." H said that he now joins the "distinguished list" (of bigleague newspapers and General George C. Marshall) under McCarthy's attack. He then answered the Senator point by point, including Murrow's alleged membership in the IWW, which he denied, and the favorable appearance of his name in books and the leftwing press (especially the Daily Worker).

Murrow concluded: "With his massive research on me the Senator could not even get my relationship with CBS straight. He repeadedly referred to me as the Educational Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a position I have not held for 17 years."

CBS itself issued a 200-word statement making no reference to McCarthy and championing its No. 1 commentator merely by citing the record of his achievements. "CBS subscribes fully to the integrity and responsibility of Mr. Murrow as a broadcaster and as a loyal American," it declared.

Murrow had only one answer above all others: "I went into this thing consciously."

HOUSE IN WESTCHEST
FOR SALE BY
It's about two miles from Pound Ri
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Price $35,000.

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For the Record

Edward R. Murrow is about to "taint" cadets of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, with the Government's consent. On April 25 he'll lecture at the Academy as the fourth and final talk in a series on national security sponsored by the Cadet Forum and Lecture Committee. Other speakers in the series were Bernard M. Baruch (Nov. 22), former Ambassador Chester Bowles (April 11) and coming up is Gen. Lucius Clay (April 24). Not exploited in the announcement is that April 25 is the CBS commentator's birthday—his 46th.

Before his historic March "See It Now" versus Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Murrow had received five honorary degrees: LL.D., Washington State College, U. of North Carolina, and Muhlenberg; Doctor of Humanities, Rollins College and Temple U. Alfred I. DuPont Award—twice.

Before his anti-McCarthy stand, Murrow was recipient of the Overseas Press Club Award five times and the George Foster Peabody citation four times. Overseas Press made it six after March 9 and Peabody made it five today (Wed.). There were a number of other awards before last month, including Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize, announced Feb. 24 and ritualized March 31, for his Lt. Milo J. Radulovich and Indianapolis "stories" on "See It Now."

The post-"See It" accolades for Murrow:

Russwurm Award for "outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles and in tribute for upholding those highest traditions considered as the ideals of the American way of life" (American Newspaper Publishers Assn.).

National Award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission: "His penetrating and objective reports on the universal human quest for security with dignity and freedom inspire countless people to work for social justice, with a quickened hope of achieving it in their time. Who upholds America's traditions of full and impartial investigation, fair play and innocence until proved guilty; and courageously presents controversial issues without fomenting personal animosities, without confusing evil with evil-doers. Who articulates the prayers of faithful Americans that in this insecure world we shall hold fast to the ideals of human dignity, equality and freedom by which America has grown to greatness."

Newspaper Guild: A second award, this time the highest in the field of public affairs, for "distinguished contributions to the adult and responsible use of broadcasting as a major medium of information and enlightenment for the American people." (Also includes "Person to Person.")

Tau Kappa Alpha, national college honor society in speech: "Speaker of the Year."

N.Y. State Speech Assn: "Outstanding excellence in the preparation and oral presentation of news events and special features through the media of radio and television during the year 1953."

Announced just before the "See" telecast; Doctor of Humane Letters from Hamilton College: "For the intelligence, honesty and clarity with which he has been broadcasting the news since 1938 and for the programs with which he has made history a living and personal thing" (to be awarded June 6).

Advertising Club of N.Y. (April 21).

Federation of Jewish Philanthropies: Special award for "splendid achievement in radio and television during 1953."

Student Council Award of College of the City of N.Y. (next month).

Current citations from publications: Radio-TV Mirror; TV Guide —to "See It Now," one of three Gold Medal Awards; TV-Radio Life—for "This Is Berlin" on "See It."

Honorary membership (with David Sarnoff and Andrew White) in Tau Alpha Sigma, frat of tv arts and sciences.

ABC YANKS 4 STRIPS, SUBS JACK GREGSON

In an allout effort to get its weekly 8-9 p.m. strip out of the sustaining doldrums, ABC Radio is junking its entire schedule of four quarter-hour strips and is substituting a musical variety show, featuring Jack Gregson for the hour-long five-a-week period. Switch takes place May 3.

Involved in the revamp are "Three-City Byline," "Sammy Kaye," Hollywood Starway and "Mike Malloy," with Kaye the only show ever hitting the black column via a shortterm sponsorship by Bur lington Mills some time back: AB charted the quarter-hour setup las fall with hopes of bringing i smaller advertisers and as a co tiguous rate attraction, but nothin came of it.

New program, "The Jack Gre son Show," has Peggy Ann Ellis a femme vocalist and a combo hea ed by Bobby Hackett. Show wil use other ABC staffers for specia features. Same show was on th web in the afternoons last fall a the "warmup" segment for Marti Block before he moved over fro WNEW, N. Y. Gregson also ha dles an early morning deejay sho on WABC, the web's N. Y. flag.

WABD's 'Flurry In A Hurry' Via Five

A flurry of springtime activity has clutched WABD, N. Y. tele station. The DuMont o&o got two new shows launched last week and three others on Monday (12). New stanzas include a brace of kiddie shows, a sports series, an afternoon strip for the hausfrau starring pianist-conductor Ted Straeter and

NBC Pacts Hub Symph

NBC this week officialized a pa with the Boston Symphony Orche tra under Charles Munch to ta over next season's Saturday nig airings in the retirement of Artur Toscanini as maestro of the NB symph orch.

Broadcasts will originate fro the Hub's Symph Hall next Octob with arrangements by the web an Boston Symph manager Georg Judd giving NBC the rights to th Boston "Pops," Esplanade Concert and Berkshire Festival at Tangl wood as well. NBC Symph ge scrapped in the process. Guest co ductors for 1954-55 will inclu Pierre Monteux and Guido Ca telli, and among soloists on t agenda are Claudio Arrau, Jose Szigeti, Robert Casadesus, Is Stern, Margaret Harshaw and Ir gard Seefried.

Ed: A word from the dominant paper of Guilford -- for a native.

j. derr

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS

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THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1954

McCarthy's Logic

The junior senator from Wisconsin was in his usual form Tuesday night in his reply to CBS Broadcaster Edward R. Murrow. Mr. Murrow had charged that Senator McCarthy's actions had "given considerable comfort to the enemy."

Mr. McCarthy did not discuss those actions which included his attacks on the State Department, the U. S. Army and our allies, but he came back with an offensive-defense, accusing Mr. Murrow of following the Communist line by attacking McCarthy. Since Mr. McCarthy did not make this discovery until after Mr. Murrow had criticized him, it appears that the McCarthy thesis is that since the Communists attack him, anybody who dares speak critically of him must be a Communist or a Communist sympathizer.

The McCarthy logic as revealed in his speech runs in a short, clear line from an incontestible premise to an absurd conclusion, as follows:

(1) Communism is a bad and dangerous thing; (2) it has made its greatest gains by infiltrating other governments; (3) it has infiltrated the U. S. government, and this infiltration has caused us to lose China, delay preparations to manufacture the H-bomb and brought on our heads the grave difficulties in which we find ourselves, that is to say, treason at home rather than aggression abroad is responsible for our present, painful situation; (4) one man has stood up manfully against this treason and his name is Joseph McCarthy; (5) he has, while saving the nation, been attacked by Communist organs; (6) therefore anybody who criticizes the savior of their country is either a Communist or is playing the Communist game, and (7) this includes Edward R. Murrow.

The lapse in this logic is not difficult to discern. Because McCarthy is anti-Communist, it does not follow that anyone who attacks him is pro-Communist. A great many people in the United States believe that McCarthy by his irresponsible and indiscriminate attacks on patriotic personages is doing more harm than good, and they are critical of him for it, but that does not make them pro-Communist.

Senator McCarthy's logic is reminiscent of the brand used by Mussolini and Hitler to ward off attacks on themselves in their rise to power. It is its own *reductio ad absurdum*. If most of the people in the country are critical of the junior senator from Wisconsin, as the polls indicate, then the majority of the American people must be in favor of Communism. If this logic applies to newspapers and politicians, then what must be said of the Washington Post, the New York Times, Secretary of State Dulles, Vice President Nixon and President Eisenhower? Both parties and almost everybody must be tainted with treason. Such is the absurd end of the McCarthy logic.

To quite a few Americans McCarthy looks more and more like a watchdog which has gotten so he can't tell a burglar from a member of the family, and so goes around biting everybody who happens to get in his way.

Secretary of Defense Wilson says the H-bomb is "unbelievable." But somebody in *Alice in Wonderland* said you could believe anything if you only practiced believing a few minutes a day.

Reiterated Welcome

It is good news that plans for P. Lorillard Co.'s multimillion dollar plant in Greensboro have assumed definite shape, that actual construction work will be started within a relatively few weeks and that it will likely be in operation within 18 months.

It develops too that the facility will cost more than originally revealed. As we recall original estimate was for $7,000,000. But figures given by Board Chairman Herbert A. Kent at his company's annual stockholders' meeting in New York raised that figure to $10,000,000 with $3,000,000 more to be spent on equipment.

This new total emphasized the size, efficiency, modernness and meaning of the new plant to Greensboro and surrounding territory. Obviously it will give employment to hundreds of persons, feed a large pay roll into our business and economic stream and add to Greensboro's undergirding of diversified industry. Primary results, needless to say, will be to make this city a real tobacco center and to have an immediate influence upon the Greensboro tobacco market.

The Daily News, highly pleased over the outlook, merely wishes again to tell Lorillard officials how happy the community is over its selection for their expansion activities and to assure them that they are particularly gratified over the prospect of greeting them in the very near future as friends, neighbors and fellow Greensboroughers.

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TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1954

'Dirty Politics'

Senatorial Candidate W. Kerr Scott spoke some words here the other night that we would like to call to the attention of citizens who profess a low opinion of politics or who are indifferent about voting.

The former Governor was talking to the Hamilton Lakes Civitan Club. Before he got into what was called a "price and alarm" campaign speech, he had some words about "dirty politics technique." The part of Scott's reported remarks which interested us most dealt, not with "dirty politics," but with what the people can do about it.

Contrary to what some may think, to use Scott's own quoted words, "politics in itself is not dirty." The fault is not with politics as an abstract proposition but with those who practice it on a low, rather than high, level. We have dirty politics when individuals get away with an attitude that any means justify the end. And the more complacement the citizenship is about such practices, the easier it is for such politicians to get away with it. By the same token, the extent of "dirty politics" is in direct proportion to the active interest of citizens generally in political affairs.

All too many citizens, we fear, share the attitude reflected by a frequently expressed opinion. It goes something like this: Politics is a dirty business and, therefore, I'll have nothing to do with it. Such an attitude ignores the fact that "dirty politics" thrives on the apathy and indifference of informed and intelligent citizens. It gives the green light to questionable, as well as unscrupulous, political activity.

Politics is defined as the science and art of government. Whether it is good or bad depends in the final analysis upon the interest and participation of citizens. Let's remember that when we talk about "dirty politics."

★ ★ ★

Civilization's Gain

The reader may be surprised to know that imports of castor oil into the United States are running at record high levels, despite the fact that only a few sticklers for the remedies of the past take the stuff any more.

Penicillin and the other wonder drugs notwithstanding, the Department of Agriculture reports 63,569 tons of castor oil, about 205,248,000 teaspoonful (ugh!), imported in 1953, or 14 per cent more than was imported in 1952. Comparatively little of the stuff nowadays is used medicinally, however. Most of it goes for lubricating machinery and for other industrial uses.

As between castor oil and penicillin to cure what ails you, we find it hard to choose. The former, true enough, blends all the evil tastes of this world into one horrible concentrate. But the latter, in its method of being administered, always reminds one of the time he sat down on a bumble bee.

Taking everything into consideration, however, we're glad castor oil is not the cure-all today that it was when we were growing up. Certainly the abandonment of castor oil as the sure fire remedy for whatever ills of the flesh overtook folks must go down as one of the great advances of civilization. And if you don't think so, you must never have had to take the stuff.

★ ★ ★

A Letter To Joe

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator:

We are pleased to see in the newspapers that Roman Catholic Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago spoke out very strongly against you in a speech at the international education conference of the United Auto Workers Union, and we wonder what you are going to do about it.

May we suggest that you not forget that consistency is a virtue. And inasmuch as it is your practice to "prove" that anyone who doesn't like you or your methods is a Communist, as you sought to do in your recent hassle with Edward R. Murrow, you should be true to your tactics and start digging up the dirt on the bishop.

After all, the bishop used some pretty strong words when he said that you are "undermining" American freedoms, that you are playing a "shell game" with the American people and that "although the church takes no position, and will not, on such matters of public controversy, the church does take a position in lies, calumny, the absence of charity and calculated deceit."

Moreover, that was a thrust hard to ignore when the bishop said: "If someone were to tell me that the masters of the Kremlin inspired this burlesque to distract us from our real dangers and keep us from taking effective anti-Communist measures, I'd have half a mind to believe him."

So there's your challenge, senator. In deciding what to do about it, you are up against a problem of sizable proportions.

On the one hand you must consider the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, your own church, is absolutely uncompromising in its opposition to communism, and that the bishop, although he was not speaking for the church but as an individual, must have been reflecting something of the church's own attitude because his whole outlook is necessarily influenced by the ecclesiastical atmosphere in which he has been trained and in which he lives.

On the other hand, you must consider your own basic premise that (1) McCarthy opposes communism; (2) Therefore, anyone who opposes McCarthy is a Communist.

Naturally, we don't know what you'll do about it, but on second thought may we suggest that perhaps the best thing to do would be for you to remain absolutely quiet about it in the hope that people will forget what a predicament it puts you in? To hasten their forgetfulness, you might start a new investigation to divert their attention, such as "proving" that the Boy Scouts, for instance, are really young Commies in disguise.

Sincerely,

The Greensboro Record.

Voice Of The People

Case For The Officers

Editor, The Record:

Reading The Record of April 5, I find the article headed: "Matter for Investigation." I wonder if this Greensboro citizen who was provoked by the stopping of a teen-age speeder has ever been a witness to the overtaking and apprehension of a car that is being driven at a very high rate of speed in a reckless and careless manner.

To overtake a car that is being driven at the admitted rate of 75 miles per hour, the pursuing officers would have to drive their car closer to 100 miles an hour than 75 m.p.h., I understand this was stated in said article "A Merry Chase," of which lasted for quite a few miles. In driving this fast rate of speed plus the time element involved, without a doubt these officers were in a very highly nervous state of mind when the person in question was finally overtaken and apprehended.

These men that work day and night in all kinds of weather, under all kinds of conditions, that we call law enforcement officers have a life to lose and a family to make fatherless just the same as any other person does. We as citizens are so quick to criticize when, and if, one of them make a so-called mistake.

But we never give these men a slap on the back and thank them for the wonderful things they all do for each of us. It seems that the father of this boy and the proper officials should be the proper ones to settle this issue. If there is an issue involved.

So often we as people should keep our personal thoughts to ourselves instead of trying to make a public issue of something that does not concern us in the least.

This article also states that publicity given the trial reported that Judge James B. Wolfe made no comment about the officers' conduct. I think that Judge Wolfe did exactly right. Wouldn't you think after hearing the evidence given in this case, that if these officers had not been justified in this act the judge would have had some comment?

As to the silence of the officials concerned so far as the community itself is concerned That too is as it should be. Why, may I ask should Chief Jeter Williamson make publi any statement concerning this matter? The things should be handled by the proper of cials and surely not by the general public

The article also states—and I quote, "L enforcement officers are expected to exer restraint regardless of provocation; and t have the responsibility to use only such f as is necessary."

It seems that according to the evid given, that is exactly what they did.

After an admitted rate of 75 mile hour, running through a road-block, and several miles of careless and reckless d he was finally stopped.

Then after making a gesture of th up his arms, he was slapped. How, ask, did this officer know whether he was about to be struck down; bodily harm inflicted upon him.

I say a good job has been done. They should be thanked for appr such a speed law violator.

So I say, Mr. Provoked Citizen these officers of the law on a few they make in the line of duty. Se self the kind of people they ha with, the dangers they encounte or night they are on duty.

If you will, I don't think yo easily provoked after you yo these dangers.

ROBER

1101 Elwell Avenue.

Dissenting Opini

Editor, The Record:

In an editorial, titled "See you tell of "what might b education wrinkle" to be a way safety program; the are to take "moom pictur tors red-handed and in th

Dwelling more on the of the films than on the dence before juries yo will be achieved throu actual incidents of la driving practices."

What are we reall words say we are tr while the proposed styled apostle of sa incidents of law viol combat sin by tea man be helped to being shown pictu tices? The pictur not likely to be t

You aptly cite clever Chinese ten thousand w ference to you make a differ of law complic might have driver learn any?

For many called safet opinion th infantile ject for t it possibl wrong w good or see no thing.

That indica

Journal American
NEW YORK
TRUTH, JUSTICE PUBLIC SERVICE
TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1954

A Stitch in Time

By Rube Goldberg

Pro-Communist Study:

'Seminar' in Russia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

HERE lie two brochures issued by or for the Soviet Government to drum up student trade for the Communist "American Summer School in Moscow" in 1933, 1934 and 1935.

One pamphlet advertises the 1933 session. The other is devoted to the 1935 Seminar. In both years, Edward R. Murrow—Columbia Broadcasting System's anti-McCarthyite—is officially listed as a member of an American "Advisory" group. More will be heard of this, as the McCarthy Committee has original and authentic copies of the documents, and Mr. Murrow himself has compelled the Committee to make proper use of them.

Seminar's Goals

These booklets—to which Mr. Murrow obviously gave his personal sponsorship—contain some interesting texts. The 1933 issue, titled "The First Russian Seminar," has a passage headed "Seminar Aims." It says:

"The Russian Revolution has brought on one of the greatest social upheavals of all times. Socialism has been given microscopic trials before, but never on such a Gargantuan scale. Now, in our own times and under our own eyes, the world's most important experiment in Communism is taking place. The inspirational opportunities for study and observation are unlimited.

"Would you like to have been an observer during the French Revolution? The present opportunity in Russia is of equal significance. The First Russian Seminar will take advantage of this opportunity. . . .

"To the thoughtful American citizen, anxious to learn the utmost possible about the ways and means of improving our present civic-economic organization, the First Russian Seminar will make a strong appeal.

"The itinerary is comprehensive."

That ballyhoo contained a little lie along with the big ones.

The "comprehensive" itinerary in Russia was only a few side-trips under the leadership of Intourist, the official Soviet travel agency, to some tourist show-off places.

And what would Americans have learned about improving our "civic-economic organization"?

Would they have learned how "brainwashing" is done and purges are executed? Would they have learned how to starve five million farmers and how to condemn fifteen million political opponents to hard labor and slow death in slave camps?

If not that, what would American students and educators have learned at Mr. Murrow's First Russian Seminar?

Advisory Committee

In any event, the American dupes had American as well as Russian guidance. The 1933 brochure said:

"Leaders chosen for the most part from the Advisory Committee . . . will accompany the Seminar and supplement the general sight-seeing programs with special lectures, talks and informal discussions."

Following are the names of the American "Advisory Committee" in 1933:

Stuart Chase, New York City; Kenneth Conant, Associate Professor of Architecture, Harvard University; Samuel H. Cross, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature, Harvard University; Henry W. L. Dana, Cambridge; George M. Day, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Occidental College; Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions, The University of Chicago; Henry I. Harriman, President, United States Chamber of Commerce; Bruce C. Hopper, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University; Walter W. Hyde, Professor of Greek and Ancient History, University of Pennsylvana; Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, Inc., New York City Frank Nowak, Professor of Slavic History Boston University; Grove Patterson, Editor of the Toledo Blade, Toledo; D. C. Poole School of Public and International Affairs Princeton University; Geroid T. Robinson, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University; Tredwill Smith, New York City; Whiting Williams, Cleveland.

Congress Due to Pass Anti-Communist Law

By GEORGE ROTHWELL BROWN

WASHINGTON: The enactment of legislation outlawing Communism in the United States, before the mid-Summer adjournment of Congress, will knock from under the New Deal one of the main campaign issues on which it has been depending to divide the Republican Party in the Congressional elections.

With Communism made a statutory crime the 20-year bi-partisan battle to expose the menace of Red Fascism in this country will automatically pass from the realm of raucous controversy into the calm field of official law-enforcement by the Federal Government.

From the date of the enactment of a statute putting any form of totalitarianism preaching the overthrow of the American form of government outside the protection of American law, the political issue of "McCarthyism," as the left-wingers and parlor pinks call it—meaning the provocative personality of the Wisconsin Senator—will vanish into thin air.

Time for Legislation

So far as the Communist conspiracy is concerned, the period of Congressional investigation is clearly nearing an end. The case against it has been proved up to the hilt. The period of constructive legislation is at hand.

The American people are thoroughly convinced of the existence of the Communist conspiracy. The question with them is no longer "McCarthyism," but effective legal measures to deal with that conspiracy.

The great political issue of the coming campaign for Congress will then become President Eisenhower's foreign and domestic policies to protect the United States from Communism at home and abroad, and safeguard the economic welfare of the people in the transition period that began with the end of the Korean war.

Psychiatric Study: Addled Week in an Addled Congress, Pages 2 and 3

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. 2, NUMBER 12 APRIL 12, 1954 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Did Dulles Tell The Truth On Indo-China?

The drift toward war is taking on momentum. The straw at which the hopeful grasp is the President's statement that we will not go it alone. But only a few weeks ago he was saying that we would not intervene altogether. The Secretary of State and not Mr. Eisenhower seems to be at the helm, and Mr. Dulles is building up support for unilateral intervention if necessary. His statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee was inflammatory and may have been unreliable. Our authority for casting doubt on his word is the curious and little noticed contradiction between what he said on Monday and what Senator Kennedy (D., Mass.) next day told the Senate. The difference between their versions of what is happening in Indo-China is crucial.

Mr. Dulles said the Chinese "are coming awfully close" to active intervention in China. He claimed to have an intelligence report which said that Chinese officers were advising the Viet Minh attackers at Dien Bien Phu and Chinese soldiers manning the radar and anti-aircraft guns. It would be interesting to know whether the Pentagon considers this report reliable, and whether the source is our own intelligence or Chiang Kai-shek's. Obviously Kennedy, who is remarkably well informed on Indo-China, does not believe this because he told the Senate next day, "I think the Senate should know whether the call by the United States for united action is due to the fact that the Vietminh forces are perhaps now stronger than the Vietnam forces, or whether it is due to the extent of the Chinese assistance to the Vietminh."

Kennedy Disagrees With Dulles

If Secretary Dulles is to be believed, the strength of the Vietminh is due to greater Chinese assistance. Senator Kennedy disagreed. "I believe," he told the Senate, "it is the former. I believe it is because the forces of the Vietminh have become so powerful that they are pressing hard on the French, *and therefore it is to assist in a civil war that the call for united action has been made.*" This power, as was noted in the Senate debate, is a power of spirit and not of numbers. Senator Mansfield (D., Ohio), who also knows Indo-China at first hand, pointed out that the rebels are winning though outnumbered almost two to one; they have 291,000 men, as against the 591,000 men marshalled by the French.

Senator Kennedy's reply to this was a grave warning few if any papers reported. These were his words. "If the United States intervenes," he said, "in order to save the present situation, prior to a massive intervention by the Chinese from the North—and it appears that such intervention may be necessary on the present basis because the Vietminh seem to be winning—the Chinese will send in additional manpower, and our intervention would be useless."

The choice would then be between another bloody repetition of the Korean struggle or "massive retaliation" against China, the open door to World War III. Yet aside from Stennis (D., Miss.) and Dirksen (R., Ill.) there were no voices raised against intervention. The Democrats are if anything more ready to line up for it than the Republicans, except for Knowland (R., Cal.) and the other China Lobby Senators. The only newspaper of importance which has spoken up against intervention is the *Chicago Tribune.*

Bi-Partisanship for Repression, Too

The gravity of the international situation is matched by that of the domestic. No one who heard the President speak last Monday night and the McCarthy answer to Murrow Wednesday night could fail to be struck by the contrast between the well-meaning but intellectually feeble weakling who is President and the evil genius who is struggling to wrest from him control of the party and the country. The synthetic soft-soap of Mr. Eisenhower's well-drilled recitation is a poor substitute for leadership. While he somewhat disparaged talk of a Red menace at home his Attorney General was preparing a quite different sort of speech and is rushing through Congress a program of repressive legislation which must endanger every citizen who has ever been active in social protest or reform. The celerity with which the House moved toward passage of the wire-tap bill is indicative. The Republicans are out to make a record of "anti-Communist" legislation and the Democratic leadership is as anxious to be "bipartisan" for repression as for war.

The developing atmosphere is conducive to the panic and paranoia on which McCarthy fattens. Had it not been for a question by Miss May Craig of the Guy Gannett newspapers and the quick reaction of the Boston press, his own adherent, Sears, might have been chosen to investigate his row with the Army. A reactionary lawyer from Tennessee has been substituted, but McCarthy himself is off to fresh fields and pastures new, as in his extraordinarily mendacious charge of an 18-month delay on the H bomb. This seems to be a lie made up out of whole cloth, like his assertion that Murrow was once a Wobbly; its audacity is breath-taking. This ill-shaven man with the veiled eyes is on his way to fresh triumphs; the possibility of his some day coming to power must be taken very seriously; the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, as indicated by Cardinal Spellman's approving presence at his address to the New York police Holy Name Society, is more openly lining up behind this unscrupulous adventurer. Besprinkled with a little holy water, he may be an American Franco, another devoted son of the Church, ready to make America unsafe for heretics.

. . . An Addled Week In Our Addled Congress

was considerably annoyed when Mr. McCormack slipped into a stump speech on the evils of Communism before a single Republican could say Karl Marx. Mr. McCormack testified that he had been trying to outlaw Communists as far back as 1934. "As you remember," Mr. McCormack reminisced, "the activities of a gentleman named Hitler were very prominent in those years. Hiding behind them were the activities of atheistic communism." In a passage which would have delighted Cotton Mather, Mr. McCormack warned of the Communists, "We are not dealing with ordinary human beings." It was a little disappointing that he did not bring with him any stereopticon slides showing Elizabeth Gurley Flynn flying over Foley Square on a broomstick during the last full moon.

A SUBVERSIVE NAMED NORMAN THOMAS appearing on behalf of the notorious Americain Civil Liberties Union followed Mr. McCormack on the witness stand and tried hard, but without success, to confuse the committee. Mr. Thomas said he had been fighting Communism long before that became fashionable, but urged the committee not to outlaw the Communist party. He said that while the Communist movement is "indeed conspiratorial," outlawry would merely eliminate "that part of the communist movement which holds conventions, adopts platforms, nominates or endorses candidates, is engaged in a legitimate and essential feature of our democratic way of life." Thomas said that in the Fort Monmouth inquiry one scientific worker had been suspended because he had been a member of the Young People's Socialist League between 1936 and 1939. "In view of such circumstances as these," Thomas declared, with a flash of his old-time fire, "I should expect our reactionaries and neo-fascists to do their utmost to stretch a bill outlawing the Communist party into the outlawry of any party which might believe that waterpower belongs to the nation and should not be turned over to private utility companies."

The committee members sat there with the furrowed brows of men confronting a profound problem. But they could not understand how the witness could brand the Communist party as bad and yet plead for its right to live. It was obvious from their questions that Jefferson has been dead a long time. If a man was a burglar, one committee member suggested, should he not be outlawed? Thomas objected to "oversimplified analogies in dealing with complex problems." If a man committed burglary, he countered, arrest him for burglary, but do not pass a law forbidding him to be good to his mother. This was another reference to the legitimate activities of the Communist party, but some committee members seemed startled at the thought that a man could be a Communist and still be good to his mother. Thomas had objected in the course of his testimony to those ads which show Communism and Socialism as two twins, but by the time he had finished it was clear that most committee members felt that Thomas was just like that with the Kremlin.

ONE BIT OF THAT TESTIMONY should have disturbed them. Communism's oldest political antagonist in this country said that he could testify "from my own personal contacts that within recent months there is not more but less understanding of the real evils of communism in the United States, not less but more sympathy with it." Thomas predicted, "The outlawry of the party will strengthen this movement of sympathy among thousands of persons who doubtless will not voice it openly, but whose secret sympathy would, nonetheless, be hurtful to the growth of sound understanding of communism and its threat to freedom."

To most committee members this probably made it seem all the more urgent to pass a law punishing Communism; intellectually the Congress of the United States seems to be full of Romanoffs. The bills would make that task easy; they would enable the government to send people to jail not only for mere ideas but on suspicion that they had the wrong ones. In a time when charges of communism are made as loosely as they are today, the dangers should be obvious.

One bill would make it a crime to collaborate with an "adherent" of a foreign nation to "weaken" the government of the United States and Thomas wanted to know what happened if he had a talk with the French Ambassador and then made a statement opposing EDC. Would he be guilty of a crime? Had there been a roll call, there would have been a majority for conviction.

IT WAS A BAD WEEK FOR HAROLD LASKI. Tuesday morning there was a tantalizing item on the ticker. The Jenner committee (of which Mr. Thomas' colleagues on the ACLU executive think so highly) was about to interrogate Jonathan Mitchell, once on the New Republic and New York World, about Harry Dexter White and Henry Morgenthau. It looked like hot stuff coming up. What came up was this: In 1939 Mitchell wrote some speeches for Morgenthau on the need for venture capital. The speeches were not delivered. In 1944 Mitchell went to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton where he stayed for four years. There he heard that White had undue influence over Morgenthau and began to suspect that maybe White's influence had blocked those speeches. In 1945 he arranged to have lunch with White. The speeches were not discussed, but Laski's *Faith, Reason and Civilization* was. Mitchell said White became overwrought and tried to hit him when Mitchell spoke disparagingly of the book. Charles Grimes, the Jenner committee's new Deweyite counsel, depicted the Laski book in cross-examination as a work which held that capitalism and Christianity were dying faiths, to be replaced by Bolshevism (a jazzed up version which would make Laski turn over in his grave). Mitchell was led on to the question: Had not White by his attitude toward the book shown 100 percent acceptance of communism? The witness said the word communism had never figured in the conversation. This was a disappointing denouement to this inquiry ten years later into one dead man's remarks about another dead man's books.

Thereupon while Mitchell sat there looking more and more uncomfortable the committee's research director, Benjamin Mandel, once business manager of the *Daily Worker*, read a collection of thrice used "documents" into the record. There were selections from Hull's memoirs saying that White had been "emotionally upset" by Hitler's persecution of the Jews and had authored the Morgenthau plan to cripple Germany. The Jenner committee was back on a favorite theme: to rewrite the history of World War II. The outlines of an American Hitler myth were visible. Laski, a Jew, wrote that Christianity and capitalism were finished; White, another Jew, admired him and tried to ruin our main bulwark against Bolshevism. Der Fuehrer was the victim of a plot. The committee seemed to have contacted Goebbels on its ouija board. One document, a translation from an article in *War and the Working Class* in Moscow showed that at Bretton Woods White was passionate about beating the Russians at volley ball!

THAT SAME NIGHT on the Ed Murrow program, Laski came up again when McCarthy "revealed" that Laski dedicated one of his books to Murrow. If Laski were not dead, there would be a demand for his extradition. This is the mood of our Mad Hatter Congress.

I. F. Stone Speaks on the Witch Hunt

In Los Angeles, at Embassy Auditorium, Ninth and Grand, April 22, 8:15 p.m.

In San Francisco, at California Hall, Polk and Turk Streets, April 23, 8 p.m.

P Cheverton

between Register Sources

Editorial

Better Go Easy, Joe!

We have delayed deliberately any comment on the Murrow-McCarthy feud until our emotional reaction had been supplanted by a logical, realistic point of view. The charges by Senator McCarthy that Edward R. Murrow was a tool of the Communists and tended to bring aid and comfort to the (enemy) Russians seemed absurd and ridiculous on the face of it. Notwithstanding McCarthy's convincing arguments which seemed to be supported by facts or half-truths, the immediate reaction of many of us was that McCarthy now is assailing everyone who disagrees with him, by calling him a Communist.

Let us not be too quick in assuming that McCarthy's arguments will fall under their own dead weight, and that Murrow will receive a quick acquittal in the eyes of all Americans. The junior senator from the Badger state is shrewd, wily and often seems to know where he is going. Too often he comes out on top as the result of the sheer confusion he creates. There are millions, maybe, who are ready to believe him because he has set himself up as the anti-Red Crusader, self-styled leader of the cause. Those who attack him become vulnerable at once, because the attack can be interpreted as easing pressure on the Communists. President Eisenhower as well as the Columbia Broadcasting system, naturally, have come out in full support of Murrow. Probably the commentator's position can be distorted and twisted by the fact that he has been recognized to some extent in Communist publications. Why? Because he has followed his policy, consistently, to treat all news impartially and impersonally. And he has criticized McCarthy, who of course is one of the Red's chief targets. McCarthy is becoming increasingly dangerous, because it seems he is starting to utilize the theory of "the big lie" supported by "the half truth."

Edward R. Murrow

The more his political enemies criticize him, no matter how honestly, the more he becomes martyrized in the eyes of millions who tend to argue with the things he is trying to do.

There are McCarthy's in most every government. The best way to handle them, as a rule, is to give them all the rope they can use. Intoxicated with partial success and lots of publicity, Joe probably will go farther and farther until public opinion falls away completely. Meanwhile, because of his so-called crusade, those who have tended to pooh-pooh the communist threat from within may have been stirred into action BECAUSE of McCarthy's bitter fight. Certainly he has "gone off the deep end" with regard to Murrow and many others he has attacked, but certainly he is more than half-right in his opinion that there still are entirely too many Communists in high places. And they're harder to remove than ulcers, something, incidentally, that surely will start bothering Joe if he keeps getting into hot water.

Three Top Commentators

Edward R. Murrow, who conducts a th outstanding radio commentary in "See It N over CBS, fully deserves the honor that has b given him by the Philadelphia Fellowship C mission. Almost everyone who has heard Morrow's recent discussions of McCarthyism the responsibility of both officials and rank-a file citizens for that malady will surely agree t he has produced "penetrating and objective ports on the universal quest for security w dignity and freedom."

Not long ago Elmer Davis, who broadca over the ABC network, was given the seco annual Lauterbach award by the Authors Gu of America. The award said of Mr. Davis:

He was fearless in his treatment of news He risked the hysteria and passion of the day by speaking on the unpopular side o important public issues. He took his stand in the tradition of Elijah Lovejoy and would not bend to any wind, no matter how strong In a dark day of intolerance he spoke for the bright conscience of America and helped keep alive the American idea of equal jus tice for all irrespective of race, creed or political ideology.

Still another courageous radio newsman a commentator who has held up to highest stan ards is John W. Vandercook, heard over A under auspices of the CIO. Radio and televisi have their ranters and ravers who would r know the country's best interests in bright daylight, but it also has men who recognize fu their responsibility for helping produce an formed public opinion. Edward Murrow, Elm Davis and John Vandercook are three who sta out.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch 3/26/54

import of cheese from Europe. This has been for the real benefit of only a few hundred cheese processors, and to the disadvantage of hundreds of thousands of farmers. Other special protective devices have been set up for many small fragmentary producer groups at the expense of the major part of our farm population.

Tariff barriers are not purely a one-sided affair. Many other countries within our normal circle of customers are among the grave offenders. There can be no universal reduction, however, unless we take affirmative leadership in pushing for reduction through effective use of programs like the reciprocal trade agreements.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will come up for extension again in this session of Congress. The extension, without crippling amendments, can be made only with a hard fight. Unless farmers take the lead in arousing congressional opinion, they are likely to receive another blow in the pocketbook. Any single concession of Congress to the protectionist idea will, in the long run, prove costly to agriculture.

The trade issue is, however, bigger by far than a matter of economic benefits to the American farmer. It must be resolved successfully if our overall foreign trade policy is to succeed in the effort to keep the free world mobilized and unified against Communist aggression. Soviet rulers have made it clear that one of the basic tenets of Soviet policy will be to stir up dissension in the free world through trade rivalry. The Communists have already made great progress along that line.

The current disputes over trade with Communist countries are proof. The issue will become even more acute as countries like Japan attempt to establish a self-sufficient economy without American subsidy. The Japanese have traditionally had a large export market in Asia. American policy today is to deny this market where it benefits Communist China or other areas dominated by Soviet Russia. If we deny this traditional trade to Japan, we must either offer them the opportunity for American markets or pay for the difference out of our pockets.

The situation in Japan is typical of that of many other countries that we are working to keep outside the Soviet orbit. Only if these nations are able to earn their own way through competitive business under a free enterprise market can we expect to reduce the cost of American security. Until that reduction in cost comes, the American people can expect to be faced with high military expenditures, high taxes, and unbalanced budgets.

The crucial decision as to whether effective American leadership will be provided in the battle to eliminate world trade barriers must actually be made by the Congress this year. President Eisenhower's Commission to study the trade issue has made its report. The southern farmer who has more at stake in this fight than any citizen from any other American group should make his position clear.

A Poison in Our Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 8, 1954

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial entitled "A Poison in Our Affairs," which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 8, 1954, speaks volumes:

A POISON IN OUR AFFAIRS

Many who heard and saw Senator McCarthy's reply to Edward R. Murrow on their TV sets Tuesday evening felt themselves almost physically in the presence of something so hostile to our normal freedoms of thought and debate as to constitute a far greater peril than any from which McCarthy's efforts have ever in fact preserved us.

The Senator did not attempt to reply to the Murrow criticisms; instead, he turned to crush the man who had criticized and disagreed with him under an insinuation that the critic is a Communist, has acted from pro-Communist motives, and in the service of Communist conspiracy, is the "leader of the jackal pack." But it is not the charge alone which was appalling. It was the fact that it was delivered without any substantiation whatever; it was built up by a skillful process of outrageous insinuation, emotional juxtapositions, frequently obvious misrepresentations, and what, in some cases, would seem to have been simple fabrication, as in the unsupported statement that the H-bomb was held up for 18 months, which is something of which no one, not even the President of the United States, had ever heard before.

The entire effort was a demonstration of why McCarthyism has seemed to so many so dangerous a poison in our affairs. These are the means whereby the Senator has terrorized men in high places and low, including the now frightened and fumbling Senators and their committees; these are the means whereby he "proves" his reckless charges and tramples over the rights and dignity of everyone, whether Communist or not, whose victimization will serve his interests. These are the concepts of reason, fairness, and justice which he has introduced into the sufficiently difficult problem of dealing with the real (as opposed to the imaginary) dangers of domestic communism. After that vivid demonstration it was not surprising that the President should declare without hesitation that Mr. Murrow was his friend.

Congressman Doyle Urges Colleagues To Encourage Citizens To Exercise Voting Privilege and Responsibility in Coming Elections

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1954

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I make these few extemporaneous remarks about the privilege and duty of participation in American voting processes, and the danger to our beloved Nation if the majority of American citizens do not perform that duty. We as Congressmen can render a fine service in this regard.

Just so long as the majority of the American adulthood become informed and stay well informed, about the affairs of our Nation and in their respective local communities "from the grassroots up," just that long, will our great Nation be strengthening its sinews from day to day. Mr. Speaker, only so long as an increasing majority of the American people participate in shaping their own destiny and the destiny of this Nation by exercising their choice of men and measures at the ballot box, only that long will our constitutional form of government endure. For, it appears as clear as crystal to me that the secret of strength to our American way of life and living is that the clear thinking, patriotic, humble folks of our beloved Nation shall participate individually in making our democracy work at the grassroots of American citizenship.

It is self-evident, therefore, that the voting habits of Americans must be conscientiously shaped by Americans so as to assume the responsibilities of American citizenship. And this very American citizenship assumes the obligation to register for voting and then to actually vote in local, State, and National elections. We Americans must stop being careless in this regard. We must stop being slothful about this voting business. We must systematically work to destroy the citizen apathy toward our election processes which apathy, if extended very much more, will permanently weaken the very foundations of our American constitutional way of life. Truly a minority of the American people must never be charged with the responsibility of determining the destiny of America.

So, I vigorously urge that you and I as United States Congressmen, do our dead-level best to systematically and very determinedly urge every possible qualified person to register to vote—and then to vote at primary elections in their respective States and then later at the November general election.

Looking back at the 1952 elections the record indicates that only 1 out of 2 persons of voting age took time to cast a ballot for President of the United States, while in 1940 nearly 2 voters out of every 3 voted in said election.

I do not now have the time to give statistics. In fact, that is not the purpose of these informal comments. If there is a higher privilege in our American citizenship than the right to vote in a free election, what is it? And, where is there a higher obligation of American citizenship than to vote in our free elections? Is it not a fact that upon our American right to vote at free elections the very foundation of our system of self-government exists?

Mr. Speaker, in these few words I again urge every Member of this great legislative body to be more diligent than ever, in encouraging and informing our electorate, regardless of political party, of the privilege and duty of the American free vote.

In closing, I incorporate a letter, dated March 26, 1954, from the Library of Congress on this subect. Some day later I hope to make further comment, including the matter of making sure that Americans abroad in the military or civilian service also vote. All States should make it so they can do so. There is need of fundamental correction of some of our State election laws in this connection.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
A European Edition is Published Daily in Paris

PEnnsylvania 6-4000 230 West 41st Street, New York 36

April 13, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It occurred to me that you might want to see the coverage of the Institute of International Education on the Herald Tribune education page as of last Sunday.

With best personal wishes, I am

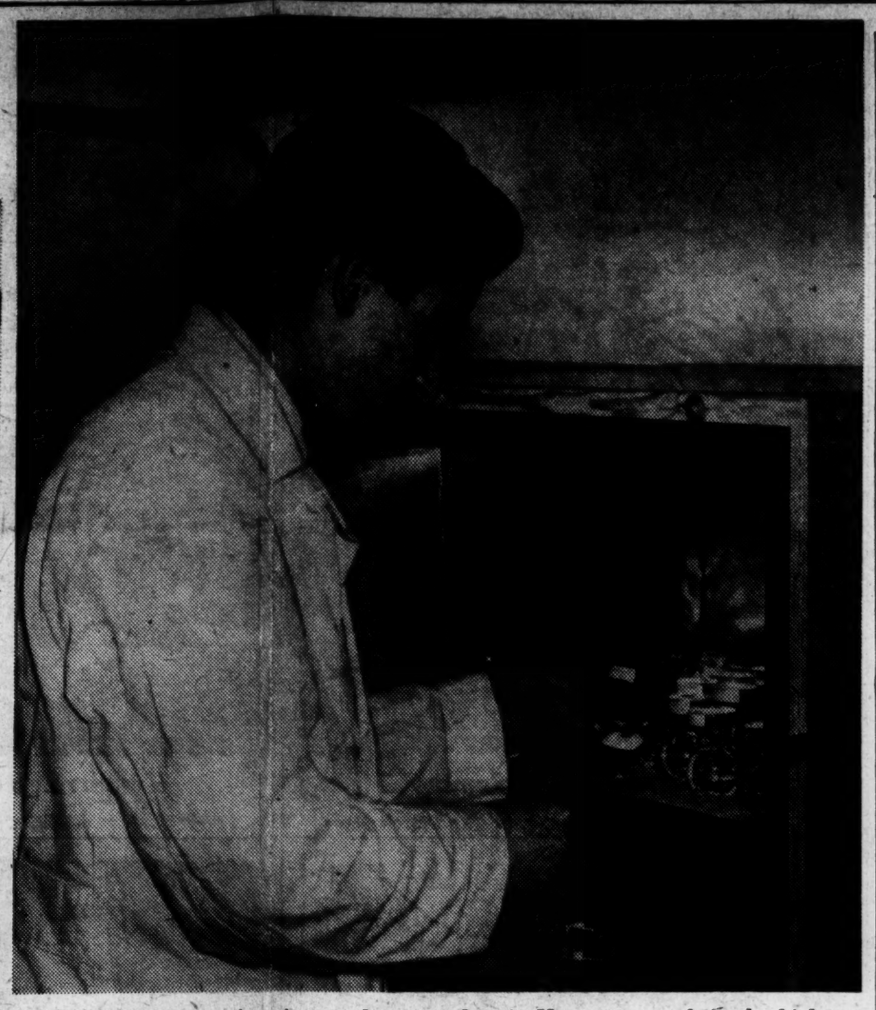
Sincerely,

Fred M. Hechinger
Education Editor

FMH:MD
Enc.

A Timely Look at 35 Years Of Student-Exchange Plan

At a party given by Institute of International Education to aid Asian students, a guest from Burma shows shrimp curry secrets of his home country to an American scholar.



Ralph Neil Ferrara, American exchange student in Norway, at work in the biology laboratory at Blindern, University of Oslo. Institute has sent many thousands abroad.

Miss Ann Middleton and Glen Bowersox, of I. I. E. staff, serve tea to guest students from (left to right) Uganda, Nigeria and Tanganyika at an informal reception.

Tributes of U. S. Leaders Testify to Value Of Institute of International Education

By Fred M. Hechinger

The Institute of International Education this year is celebrating its thirty-fifth birthday. When Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy last week, in passing, tried to apply his brush to the I. I. E., some sinister images may have been conjured up. The truth is that the institute's record points to thirty-five years of constant and invaluable work in international education. This is a good time to review that record and the institute's achievements in the service of the country and the world.

Founded in 1919, with the late Nicholas Murray Butler, then president of Columbia University, as one of its main godfathers, the institute's stated purposes were:

To further international understanding through the two-way exchange of students, technicians, professors and specialists between the United States and "any country of the world wishing to co-operate"; (Quotation is from the official "blueprint.")

To include all fields of study and all areas of the world in such exchanges;

To get scholarships for students who might otherwise not be able to study abroad.

A Good Neighbor

In accordance with its original charter, the institute cannot "create or finance courses, scholarships or educational opportunities." It acts as a clearing house. But, by its very presence, it draws out opportunities and encourages those who can provide the funds. Among its "co-operating contractors" through the years were such government agencies as the Department of State, the Department of the Army and the Marshall Plan administration as well as such corporations as Pan American World Airways, Standard Oil Co. (N. J.), Anaconda Copper, Shell Chemical, General Electric and International Business Machines. Among the messages that acknowledged a job well done are those from Gov. Dewey, Gen. Eisenhower, philosopher Arnold Toynbee and Harry S. Truman.

The I. I. E. record includes many "firsts." Without waiting for governments to act, the institute brought Latin-American students to the United States ahead of the official "Good Neighbor Policy."

Meeting of Minds

Knowing that students are often short of funds, the institute helped establish low fares on ships. Later this led to the now popular "tourist class."

The institute published the first comprehensive list of scholarship opportunities for foreign students in the United States and for Americans abroad.

After the war, the institute co-operated with the Department of the Army to bring to the United States the first large groups of students from Germany, Japan, Austria and the Ryukus, and since the passage of the Fulbright act it has helped in selecting students eligible for those grants.

By 1923 the institute was assisting American colleges to fill teaching vacancies with qualified scholars from abroad; it was the first institution to arrange for debating teams from British universities to meet American teams; as early as 1922 it helped change the immigration rules so that students could enter the country on special visas, outside the regular quotas.

Without Approval

Those who believe that the meeting of men leads to the meeting of minds considered these vital achievements. Sharing this view were such advisers as Henry L. Stimson, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Charles Evans Hughes and John Foster Dulles. Among present board members, under the chairmanship of Arthur A. Houghton jr., president of Steuben Glass, Inc., are such distinguished Americans as Edward R. Murrow, of the Columbia Broadcasting System; Arthur S. Adams, president of the American Council of Education; Juan Trippe, president of Pan American World Airways; Ralph J. Bunche, director of the department of trusteeship, United Nations; Mrs. Millicent C. McIntosh, president of Barnard College.

The institute need not defend any of its past actions in international exchange. Sponsorship of academic and cultural co-operation with any country did not at any time constitute political approval of that country's policy. If co-operation with the summer session at Moscow University in 1934 can now be construed as pro-Communism, then the I. I. E. must at the same time have been pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist, for that year it also exchanged students with Germany and Italy. (Exchanges with Italy and Germany continued until 1941.)

That the Soviets did not consider the summer school a useful instrument of propaganda seemed clear when they unilaterally canceled the 1935 summer course after the students had arrived, giving as their reason that teaching staffs had more important work to do and could not be spared. As a result, according to its 1935 annual report, the institute "severed its connections with the Moscow summer school."

Rapid Growth

In 1930, the institute helped 191 Americans to study abroad in exchange for 170 students from other countries who were placed in American colleges. This year the institute has made similar arrangements for 4,373 persons—3,000 from abroad, the rest Americans going overseas, largely through the good offices of the Fulbright and the Smith-Mundt acts.

In 1928 the I. I. E. began to train foreign students and experts in American business and industrial practices and, by 1929, more than 200 trainees from seven European countries were here under that plan. In 1950 the Army, with I. I. E. help, brought over Japanese leaders and specialists. The State Department was aided in a program for British engineers.

Success Story

In addition to exchange programs, the institute's Information and Counseling Division answers more than 100,000 requests a year, issues pamphlets about education in other countries and circulates its "News Bulletin" magazine to 8,500 subscribers. Regional I. I. E. offices are in Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston and Chicago.

Last year the institute agreed to assist in the development of the new Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship program, a plan set up by private sponsors in honor of the President. A new program to bring Spanish students and specialists to the United States is also under way. Altogether the I. I. E. now works with eighty-one countries. All over the world the institute has more than 20,000 "alumni." The Secretary of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community is a Dutch alumnus of 1939. A Greek alumnus has written a dramatization of American independence for the Greek National Radio, and the program was successfully produced.

The list could be continued. In thirty-five years of service to the cause of education and international understanding, the I. I. E. has strenghtened America's prestige and helped Americans to understand the world around them. This is patriotic service at its best.

Way to Medical School

Graduates of 4 City Colleges Achieve High Acceptance Rate

By Judith Crist

In the midst of the educational "application" season—when high school students are applying to colleges and college students are applying to graduate schools—New York City's Board of Higher Education was able to issue a cheerful report about a usually cheerless subject—applications to medical schools.

Graduates of the four city colleges, the board reported last week, are achieving a higher rate of acceptance into leading medical schools than are applicants throughout the country and an even higher rate in the Northeast, where competition is stiff.

The Reasons

The success of the city's pre-medical students, the board believes, must be attributed to a system of professional guidance and counseling instituted in the colleges about ten years ago. The pre-medical advisers themselves, who work with students in City, Hunter, Brooklyn and Queens Colleges, credit the high placement rate to several factors. Chief among them is "the co-operation of the medical schools with the efforts the colleges make to send them properly prepared young men and women and to appraise honestly their personal qualifications for the profession."

They also point, perhaps with modesty, to the country-wide decline in the number of medical school applicants since 1949, mainly because of the end of the veterans' rush to professional schools. In the fall of 1949 there were 24,500 applicants for 6,500 places in medical schools. Three years later there were 16,800 applicants and re-applicants for 7,425 openings.

Encouraging Picture

In 1952, 50 per cent of those applying for the first time throughout the country were accepted. In the Northeast, out of 2,704 applicants, a little more than a third, 988 were admitted.

In spite of this national—and regional—ratio, Prof. Leonard G. Worley, head of the pre-medical counseling staff at Brooklyn College, reported, in 1953, out of thirty pre-medical seniors at that college and six graduates or graduate students recommended by the counselors, thirty—or 83 per cent—were accepted by medical schools. In addition, six students applied on their own and were accepted.

This record is particularly encouraging, Prof. Worley noted, because "it is a well known fact that the greater the number of applicants from a given institution, the smaller is the percentage of those who are successful in gaining admission to professional schools."

City College students also refute this "well known fact," for of sixty-five indorsed by the pre-medical advisers, fifty-one, including two young women, were accepted, giving City a rating of 78 per cent. A number of students were accepted at more than one medical school, including several who gained admission to Harvard, Yale, Cornell and Albany but chose to attend schools closer to home.

Honesty Pays

At Queens College, where eighteen or 72 per cent of twenty-five students recommended by the Committee on Relation to Medical Schools were accepted, Prof. Donald E. Lancefield, chairman, attributed success to the committee's frank appraisal of students. "We believe that the policy of complete honesty pays dividends in the long run in getting our recommendations for the better students taken seriously by the professional schools," he said. The committee "attemps to give a true picture of the applicant as regards his ability, character, personality and our best judgment as to the type of physician the applicant will probably be."

The traditional difficulty for women to gain admission to medical schools is, of course, reflected in Hunter College's report. From 1940 through 1952, Dean Marie K. Gallagher, of the Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance, reported an average of ten Hunter girls a year gained admission to one or more medical schools, with the annual figures ranging from three in one year to twenty-three another, a fluctuation which, she said, "we are unable to explain."

Related Fields

Over a three-year period, of eighty-eight Hunter girls for whom recommendations were written by the college's Committee on Medical School Recommendations, thirty-five, or 40 per cent, were accepted.

In 1935 twelve Hunter graduates were admitted to medical schools and during that year there were Hunter alumni at seventeen medical schools in all parts of the country.

A major outgrowth of the pre-medical counseling system, the advisers believe, has been a greatly improved service to those students who fail to gain admission to medical schools or who, because of motivation or scholastic record, are advised against applying. Many of these students, they report, have been successfully placed in such related fields as public health, biochemical research and pharmaceutical research.

Figures on Admission to Medical Schools: City Colleges Versus the National Average

	Applicants	Acceptances	Percent.
Nationally—1952	16,800	7,425	50*
Northeast—1952	2,704	988	36.5
Students, recommended by Pre-Medical Advisers at:			
Brooklyn College—1953	36	30	83
City College—1953	65	51	78
Queens College—1953	25	18	72
Hunter College—over three-year period	88	35	40

*The total applicants represented re-applicants as well; 50 per cent of the first-time applicants were accepted.

News Around the Nation's Campuses

Marginal Notes

Consciousness of the world beyond the United States borders is evident on practically every campus. (The exchange aspect of the matter is covered in the report on the Institute of International Education on this page.) Some of that consciousness comes to the surface in aid drives by students for universities abroad, such as in the "Across the Sea" report below. But there are other indications, and here are a few random samples: **Hunter College** expects over 600 student delegates to the annual conferexce of the **Association of International Relations Clubs.** A six-day conference, starting April 19, on "Why the United Nations?" The conference will spend its last day at the **United States Military Academy,** West Point, N. Y. **Columbia University** will start an extensive program of East European studies next fall. It's imperative to have American experts on the "Iron Curtain" countries, Columbia says. **The University of Rochester** is going to launch a new "World Look" program for a better understanding of "the realities" of Asia, the Middle East and Africa—"great regions of the world which have been largely ignored by the American undergraduate curriculum," says Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, **Rochester's** president. **Springfield College,** Springfield, Mass., is giving a new course called "Developing International Understanding." It's especially for teachers, on the premise that world understanding can and should start in the public schools. **The Association for Childhood Education International** agrees: it has put out a forty-eight-page book, "Songs Children Like—Folk Songs from Many Lands," for ages five to twelve. (Price: $1; address: 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5.) **New York University** confirms a trend, saying the Modern Language Association of America finds interest in languages rising. Of all accredited liberal arts colleges 85 per cent demand some foreign language knowledge for the B. A. degree: 30 per cent have a foreign language entrance requirement. Since World War II the **American Association of University Women** has given awards to over 400 women from other countries to study in America. Last week twenty Danish women replied with a "gratitude award" to an American girl to tour Scandinavia and to study in Denmark. And in London the **Marshall Aid Commemoration Commission** approved awards to the first twelve "Marshall Scholars"—American students who are to get study grants at British Universities in British gratitude for Marshall Plan aid.

Another timely note: **Hofstra College,** in Hempstead, N. Y., begins "Academic Freedom Week" today. It's to be the beginning of recurring discussions on that theme. The idea came from the **National Student Association.**

Recently Phi Lambda Theta, women's honorary education society at Teachers College, Columbia University, held a conference. The theme: "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof . . . Without Discrimination as to Sex." Luncheon was served in the Men's Faculty Club. Which seems to score a point. F. M. H.

Across the Sea

Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., announces that its students are conducting a book drive in up-state New York for the benefit of students at **Athens College,** Greece. Earlier this term the Hamilton College Choir broadcast a musical salute to the college in Greece over the facilities of the Voice of America.

Guidance Meeting

The National Vocational Guidance Association, a division of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, today begins its annual convention at the Hotel Statler in Buffalo to last through Thursday. Theme of the meetings: "Community Teamwork in Guidance."

Another Supporter

Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, announces that Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Business Machines Corp., has joined the group of American leaders sponsoring the college's ninety-fifth anniversary fund drive for $100,000.

Grants Offered

Pace College is offering ten new full-tuition liberal arts scholarships to majors in English and the social sciences entering the college in fall. The new grants have been established because of growing demand by business and industry for men and women with broad educational background in executive training and development programs. Examinations will be given on April 24. Applications are to be made through high school principals or guidance counselors.

New Degree

Pratt Institute, in Brooklyn, will offer a program leading to the degree of Master of Science in Art Teacher Education, beginning next September.

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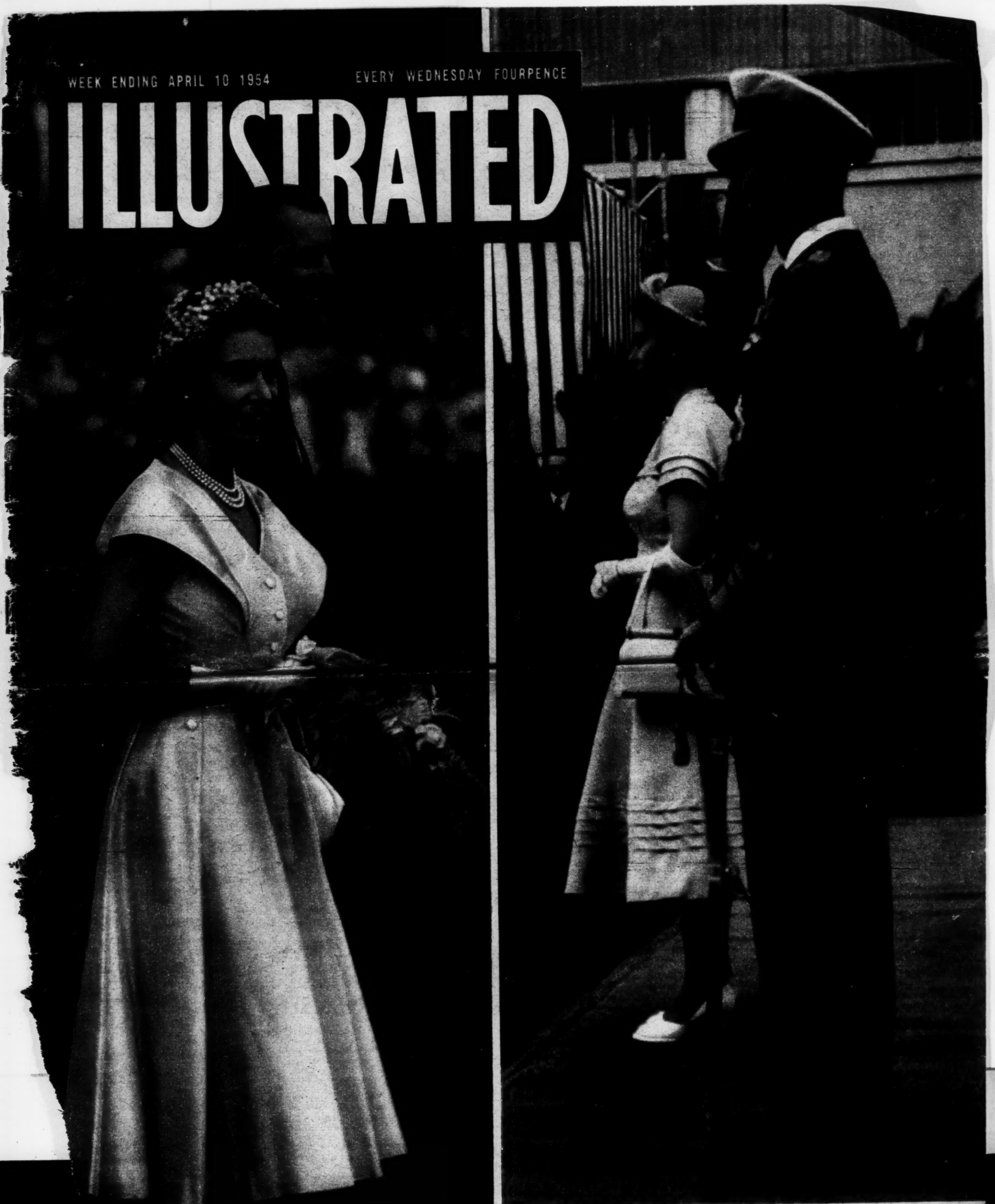

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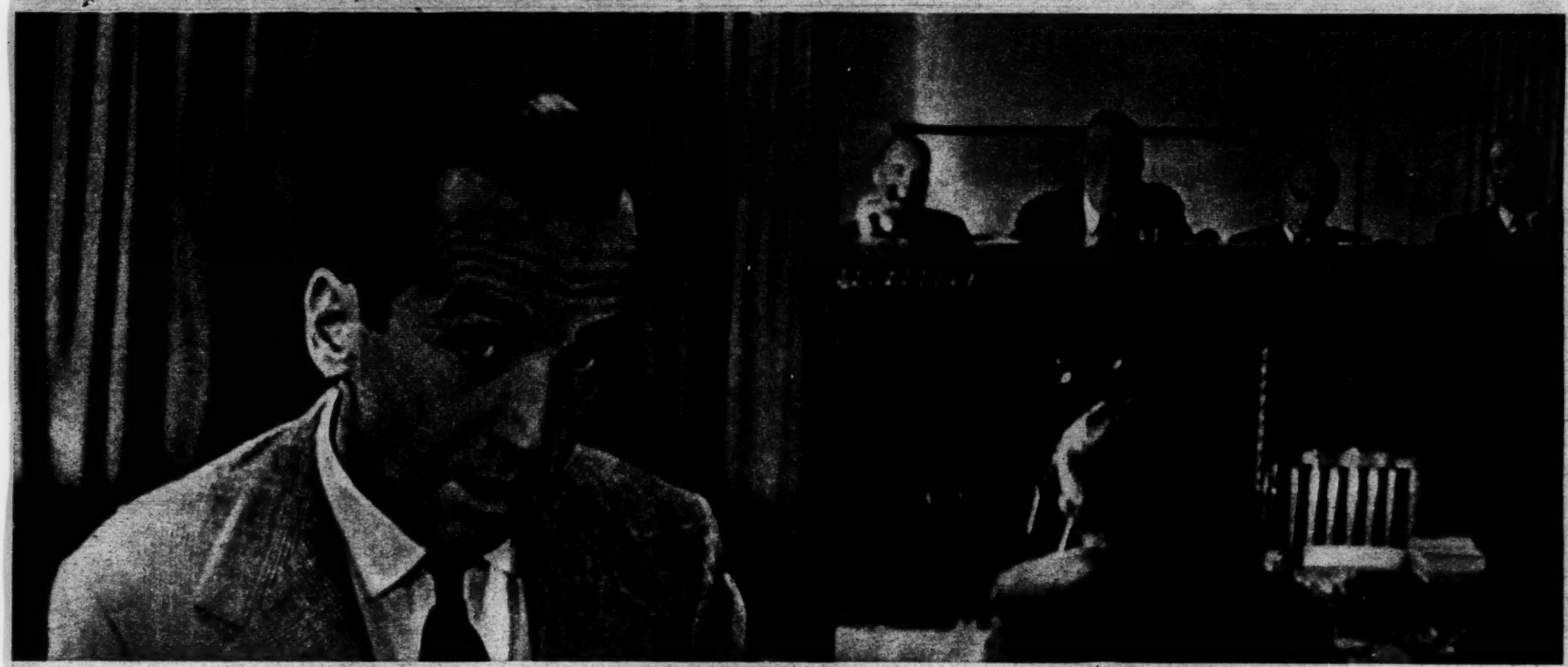


On the left, American broadcaster Ed Murrow. On the right, Senator McCarthy's Senate Investigating Committee. For once, it is McCarthy (second on left), who is under attack, as Murrow exposes his methods in investigating a former State Department official, Reed Harris. Murrow tells viewers: "Senator McCarthy proved only that Harris once wrote a bad book, which Americans proved by not buying it twenty-two years ago. That's what happens eventually to all bad ideas"

HALF AN HOUR THAT ROCKED McCARTHY

Newspaper in hand, Murrow analyses the case made by McCarthy (right) against General Zwicker for not prosecuting an alleged army Communist. After a "rebuke" by President Eisenhower, he says, "Senator McCarthy claimed that only the Left-wing press criticized him on the Zwicker case." Murrow quotes the *Milwaukee Journal*: "The line must be drawn and defended or McCarthy will become the government." The press is three to one against the senator, claims Murrow

McCarthy (left) is accused by Murrow of using methods that he knows may destroy the Republic. Murrow quotes with approval McCarthy's: "If this fight against Communism is made a fight between the two great political parties, one will be destroyed, and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one-party system." A few months later McCarthy was declaring: "The issue between Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn . . . twenty years of treason"

THESE pictures tell the story of the thirty-minute television broadcast that called the bluff of the American Communist-hunter Senator Joseph McCarthy. ILLUSTRATED presents them exclusively from the film of the broadcast. Their central figure is a deceptively nonchalant, mild-mannered reporter named Edward Roscoe Murrow.

When Murrow sat before the television cameras of the Columbia Broadcasting System in New York and flayed the Wisconsin senator whose witch-hunting methods in his Senate Investigating Committee are said by many to have dragged down American liberty, he did a brave thing. He sparked off a rebellion. Within twenty-four hours, it was clear that many Americans had had enough of Senator McCarthy's methods. Murrow had raised the flag. Soon it was clear that he was leading an army.

Murrow spoke to an estimated audience of forty million Americans at ten thirty in the evening. With great deliberation, after explaining that he was reading from a script because of the serious issues involved, he scourged McCarthy in words and pictures. No one in America had had the courage to speak out so forthrightly and effectively before.

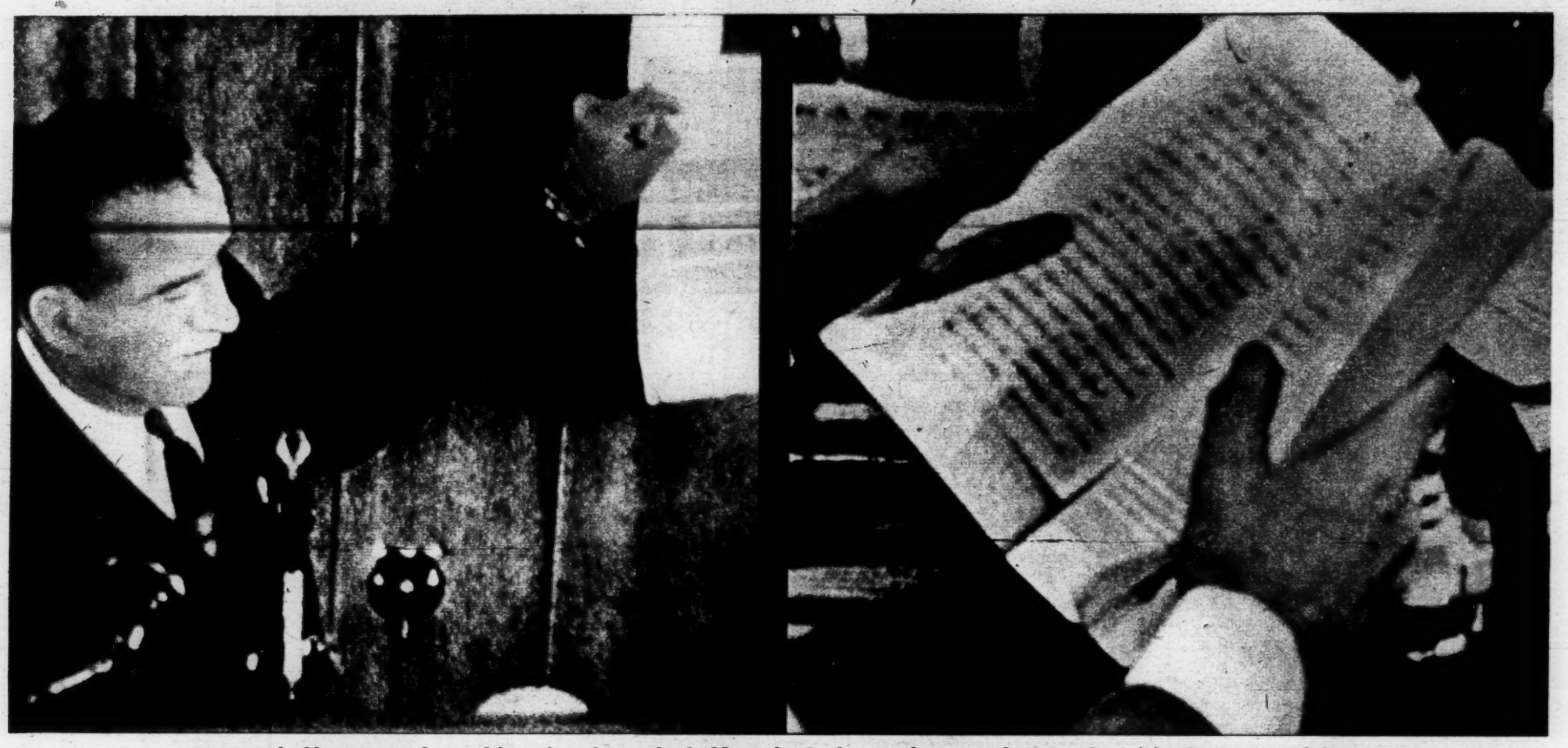
The first telegrams and calls came in while he was still on his way home. All the next day the avalanche continued and before it stopped thirty thousand letters and twelve thousand calls and telegrams had been counted. They were found to be overwhelmingly in favour of Murrow. This flood of support was regarded by Columbia as quite phenomenal in view of the well-known McCarthy tactic of "packing the post" when key issues are at stake.

Why did Murrow undertake his crusade? Because, he said, McCarthy had repeatedly overstepped the line between investigation and persecution. He had obliterated the distinction between the internal and the external threat of Communism. He used half-truths.

Once before in his life, Murrow undertook a crusade—on Britain's behalf. When Hitler's bombs were raining down on London, he believed in Britain. His on-the-spot broadcasts called "This is London" became a feature of American life. Yet Murrow, the farm boy from North Carolina, now forty-six and the father of

The McCarthy story is brought up to date by a film which Murrow includes in his TV programme. It shows McCarthy with his colleague Roy Cohn, who has been accused of threatening the army authorities. Smoothly insistent, Murrow recalls a senator's charge against McCarthy of perjury and hoaxing the Senate. McCarthy sued, but has now dropped the case, claiming that no one believed the story. Murrow says people do believe it

In his television attack on McCarthyism, Ed Murrow shows the senator with pictures of a dilapidated red barn in Massachusetts. He accuses McCarthy of an attempt to smear the Democrat leader, Adlai Stevenson, by reading into a document found in the barn an association between Stevenson and the traitor Alger Hiss. Murrow says the smear is based on a half-truth. Stevenson's association with the red barn is not closer than that of other leading Americans



Murrow's film presses home his point about the half-truth. It shows pictures of McCarthy with photostats of the red barn document. McCarthy called it a "document which was never supposed to see the light of day." He said it showed that Hiss and another Communist recommended Stevenson for a conference on foreign policy in Asia. Murrow says viewers were not permitted to hear the whole paragraph in question. Then he reads it

a son born in the London Clinic in 1945, came to broadcasting by accident. Columbia sent him to Britain in the late 'thirties as an administrator with the job of arranging background effects for other broadcasts. One day a cable was sent to London requesting at short notice a commentary on an important session of the House of Commons and, as nobody else could be found, Murrow did the job himself. His quiet, controlled baritone voice brought in so many inquiries that he was booked for more and more broadcasts.

"The odd thing about Ed is that his voice is naturally so loud," says one of his friends. "If you go to his home and catch him unawares, you hear his words reverberating round the house."

In private, Murrow is a sad man, although on the air he exudes authority and optimism. Early in 1948, he was at lunch in Rome with a group of colleagues and politicians. The world situation was cloudy and Murrow knew that stockpiles of atom bombs were being built up in Britain, America and Russia. When he had finished talking, one of the women in the party was in tears. "You can't mean that a third world war is round the corner, Ed?" she said

"That is exactly what I do think." rejoined Murrow. And he is one of the few "reporters"—which is how he describes himself although he is a vice-president of Columbia—to admit now that he was wrong.

But he was not wrong about McCarthy, and he has not often been wrong about other things. In the early postwar years, he was so often right that the legend grew, among his great following, that Murrow was becoming swollen-headed. Somebody tried to organize a "Murrow Ain't God" group. But the idea received its death-blow when a small, compact man approached the secretary and inquired whether he could join. "Anybody's welcome," said the secretary. "What did you say the name was?" "Ed Murrow," came the reply.

McCarthy's first reaction to Murrow's attack was to try to ignore it. Strictly, according to the laws under which Columbia operates, political commentaries must be impartial, and Murrow was out of line in attacking McCarthy. To safeguard himself he offered McCarthy the same spot in his television programme.

At first McCarthy refused, but Murrow's stand had paid off and liberal-minded Americans, taking courage from his example, were beginning to fight the senator and all that he stood for in the open. McCarthy had second thoughts and agreed to reply to the attack on television this week.

ROBERT JACKSON

ago I did not realize that I was attempting a defense of book culture against the new media. I can now see that I was trying to bring some of the critical awareness fostered by literary training to bear on the new media of sight and sound. My strategy was wrong, because my obsession with literary values blinded me to much that was actually happening for good and ill. What we have to defend today is not the values developed in any particular culture or by any one mode of communication. Modern technology presumes to attempt a total transformation of man and his environment. This calls in turn for an inspection and defense of all human values. And so far as merely human aid goes, the citadel of this defense must be located in analytical awareness of the nature of the creative process involved in human cognition. For it is in this citadel that science and technology have already established themselves in their manipulation of the new media.

THE PROBLEM OF PARTISANSHIP

News on the Networks

WILLIAM PFAFF

WHEN Samuel F. B. Morse discovered that electric current could be made to actuate a signaling device over long-distance wires, the history of our experiment in democracy was more deeply involved than he could ever have conceived. Communications were revolutionized, and with them, the character of democratic government. Now we can no longer live in contemplative isolation; it is as if we all were on an enormous spider web: when a corner of it is touched, the tension brings all of us poking out of our dens.

A most important trend of our times, produced by the revolution in communications, is a discernible movement away from the constitutional processes of the past. The impact of decisions has moved outward from Congress and the Executive; at the same time the weight of responsibility moves inward as the complexity of issues lessens the number of people qualified to judge them. The President's recent decision to emphasize atomic bombardment in our military strategy was necessarily a decision whose merits could *fully* be judged only by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council, and a limited number of Congressional Committee members and Executive and military planners. But the circle of people whose fate is involved in this decision is so enormous that there was an almost irresistible temptation for responsible officials to placate public concern with a public-relations campaign. The issue seemed too secret, too complex. The temptation is gently to coerce the public. This is no new temptation (Walter Lippmann analyzed it thirty years ago in *Public Opinion*), yet the developments in communications and public relations techniques make it a more persuasive one.

But government officials cannot make modern crises any less complex than they actually are; they may attempt to turn a logarithmic equation into a slogan, but in reality it remains a logarithmic equation. So the responsibility falls on the news reporter. He has become the public eye without which there is darkness.

The latest media of the news, radio and television reporting, have several special characteristics which include immediacy (the newspaper "extra" has all but disappeared) and impermanency. The consequences are that radio and television news tends to be simple, frequently superficial; it must be interesting, and often, for the sake of firing interest, is emotional, alloyed with entertainment. Radio and television have the advantage that they cannot very well be listened to selectively: a reader indifferent to foreign news can skip the foreign reports in his newspaper but hardly can avoid hearing those items in a newscast.

There are a limited number of radio frequencies and television channels. Allocated to a private corporation, each frequency or channel provides the opportunity for large profit and larger public influence. The power inherent in the ownership of a station is obvious; the government tries to avoid its misuse by requiring that the station be non-partisan in political matters. These inherent and regulatory characteristics have posed a challenge to newsmen which radio has inadequately met, and television has only begun to deal with.

THE great majority of radio newscasts carry nothing but headlines, with interpolated entertainment—"the lighter side of the news." While a minority of newscasts—the summaries from the networks and larger stations, and the correspondents' round-ups—frequently furnish a more balanced report of *events* than most newspapers, the trouble at the smaller stations is the same trouble as at the smaller newspapers (and

THE COMMONWEAL

some which are not so small): inadequate editing. Editors do not know (or care about) their subjects well enough to discriminate between the trivial and the significant, to look for the details which together form the important story, to pay attention to the continuity of a developing story. They publish the most important wire-service reports, handle foreign news cursorily with little attention to the development of stories over several days, and stuff the remainder of the paper or broadcast with features. They hardly attempt to perform the most serious function of the press, which is to interpret and explain the news without permitting partisanship to move from the editorial to the news columns. (And I am speaking here in terms of national and international news; the influence of the press and radio on local news is a different, if not necessarily a happier, story.)

The need for interpretation is responsible for the success of the newsmagazines, which by virtue of their disadvantage in timeliness, deal heavily (and ambiguously) in the commodity of interpretation. The newsmagazines and the network news programs are the chief national media of serious news reporting on national and international news; frequently they are the only media available to the person who lives outside the areas of the limited number of good newspapers.

No radio or television newscast can, of course, attempt to provide the service done by the small minority of newspapers which might be described as the professional tools of people involved in the making of international policy in government and business. The New York *Times* and *Herald-Tribune,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the Washington *Post,* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* and a few others continue to hold that responsibility. The responsibility of broadcasting is that of considered popularization and the wide distribution of the news.

And this brings us back to the problem of interpretation. Headlines alone, lead paragraphs off the news wire standing alone, are the tools of demagogues. News makes sense only when it is understood in terms of what preceded and what is likely to follow the headline.

Radio and television's answer to this problem of interpretation has taken three forms, two of them distinctively successful: the panel and the documentary. The former is unique to radio and television and possesses the inherent excitement of any argument; the latter is a wedding of drama and news which does things which cannot so well be done in writing. The third form is the news commentary.

IN commentary, the line was drawn during World War II between two policies, one adopted by the American Broadcasting Company (formerly the Blue Network), and the other by the Columbia Broadcasting System. The Mutual Network has followed the same policy as that of ABC. The National Broadcasting Company, harassed by a lack of consistent internal leadership, has since the war been a negligible force in radio news comment, with a few exceptions such as the brilliant Chicago analyst, Clifton Utley.

The ABC-Mutual policy is to permit a commentator to say what he pleases (within the limits of the laws of libel and obscenity; not always, as it has worked out, within the limits of good taste). He may favor candidates, advocate specific courses of action, and attack public figures. The networks make sure that they have commentators of different points of view, representing the major blocs of opinion, who presumably balance out to network impartiality. The theory might be described as an algebraic one of plus and minus canceling out to network zero.

ABC and Mutual offer a variety of commentators, from Fulton Lewis, Jr., and George Sokolsky to Martin Agronski, Frank Edwards and John W. Vandercook. Broadcasts range from sheer opinion, as with Fulton Lewis (who has such violent convictions that he occasionally becomes incoherent), to news with interpolated opinion, as with Elmer Davis. Prejudices aside, the usefulness of these commentators would seem to hinge largely on how seriously they attempt to avoid bias in reporting the actual facts, and on how willing they may be to report and consider the news which does not fit their particular points of view. In each case the commentator has a partisan viewpoint from which he sees the news. And his audience usually consists of the partisans whose views he reinforces, plus the few who hate his guts but listen out of a compulsive masochism.

The value of these men to the formation of an informed public is real but limited. No one except the telephone company's line-monitor listens to the nicely balanced total of a network's commentators. And by listening to one's favorites only, as a person almost inevitably does, it is possible to live out one's life without hearing a broadcast word which does not prove how right one is.

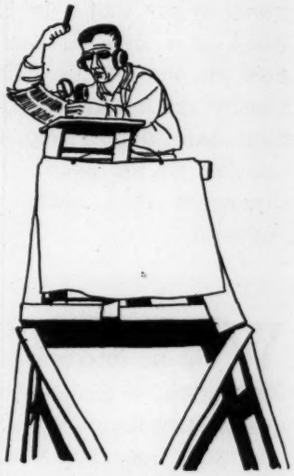
The second policy on commentary is that of the Columbia Broadcasting System. With a distinctive character and the largest staff in network news, the CBS News organization has been highly successful both in terms of listener popularity and professional achievement. Its history is instructive.

IN the mid-thirties, when radio reporting hardly existed, two men decided that radio news broadcasting had a future. One was William S. Paley, network board chairman, and the other was Edward Klauber, a former editor of the New York *Times,* then a CBS vice president. Paley initiated a policy of present-

ing the news, pausing, and then presenting an "analysis" (and the network prefers to call its interpretive broadcasters "analysts" rather than "commentators").

The duty of the analyst was stated by the network in 1939:

> . . . What news analysts are entitled to do and should do is to elucidate and illuminate the news out of common knowledge, or special knowledge possessed by them or made available to them by this organization through its news sources. They should point out the facts on both sides, show contradictions with the known record, and so on. They should bear in mind that in a democracy it is important that people not only should know but should understand, and it is the analyst's function to help the listener to understand, to weigh, and to judge, but not to do the judging for him.
>
> It is impossible, within any reasonable limits, to define completely this last-mentioned aspect of news analysis. Fairness and temperateness are of its essence.



This policy was summarized by Paul White, CBS' ex-news chief, the most distinguished editor radio news has produced and a principal figure in the development of the network's service. He said of the omniscient brand of commentator, "No one knows *that* much."

The news was to be illuminated, but there were to be no crusades or polemics. In several disputes, notably that during the war which led to the resignation of correspondent and analyst Cecil Brown, White maintained the principle that no arbitrary judgments or opinions were to be broadcast without at least some such qualification as, "it is the conclusion of this reporter that," or "one opinion is that. . . ." CBS' Edward R. Murrow has remarked, "I sometimes wish for a whistle or bell which I could sound during my program—something which would indicate to the listener: 'you have just heard what is ascertainable fact about today's events; you are about to hear one fallible man's opinion of what those facts mean.' I try to do it without the bell."

Murrow is undoubtedly the best-known of CBS' news broadcasters. The CBS network's European news chief during the war, he returned to the United States to become a vice president of the network. Dissatisfied with administrative work, he resigned his post to become once again an active broadcaster. He still is, however, a member of CBS' board of directors. A featured member of the group of newsmen organized under the title of "CBS News," he prepares his broadcasts with the help of a separate staff. On his nightly radio program he frequently takes very specific stands on national issues, and on his televised documentary, "See It Now," he has made some strong personal judgments, the most celebrated one on the character of Senator McCarthy. The judgments are voiced in tones which have been compared with those which might be expected of the Deity, but they usually have the human disclaimer, "it would seem to this reporter that. . . ."

He has said, "I think it provable that there is no such thing as a wholly objective reporter. Every man sees things through the glass of his own education and experience." This is a considerable understatement, and projects the question of whether the ideal of unbiased news reporting is attainable. The CBS policy statement quoted above lays down a principle, but it is a principle difficult to apply in the highly personal medium of the news broadcast. Larry Lesueur, CBS United Nations correspondent, told this writer: "There is no exact formula which determines what I may or may not say in my broadcasts. An editor reads my script, but I have never been questioned on anything other than slips of fact." (And even if there were strict censorship of scripts, a speaker's emphasis could altogether alter the meaning of a statement. Elmer Davis is a commentator with a notable, and frequently funny, command of the powers of emphasis.)

THE ideal of objectivity would seem to depend on the intent of reporters and analysts. In this, CBS has a good tradition. Beginning with Paley, Klauber and White, through Murrow and current network president Frank Stanton, CBS News has been marked by responsibility and what might be called a humility before the fact. Lesueur went to the heart of the matter when he remarked, "We are newsmen, not pitchmen." Murrow echoed him in speaking of the occasions when he and his wartime colleagues get together: "Down towards the bottom of the bottle, the talk always turns serious." A *New Yorker* profile of Murrow says that during the war CBS executives were sometimes irked because the newsmen he was hiring in Europe were poor broadcasters. He always replied, "I'm hiring reporters, not announcers."*

*There is one exception to this rule on CBS: Lowell Thomas. Thomas is an old-fashioned practitioner of the resonant vacuity. A featured newscaster, like Murrow, he works separately from the news organization itself. He broadcasts from home, rarely is seen at CBS, and in the eyes of many other CBS newsmen is "an entertainer." The other staff members are reporters or political specialists (such as Alexander Kendrick, Vienna correspondent, an expert on Soviet satellite affairs, or Howard K. Smith, European chief, who is one of the most thoughtful and serious political writers in the news profession). Some, like Eric Sevareid and Edward P. Morgan, are essayists of real distinction who write as entertainingly on the narcissistic delusions of journalism, or Central Park in the spring, as they do informatively on political affairs.

The independence of the news staff has brought pressure to CBS to drop analysts who have offended certain groups. Howard Smith has come in for criticism for his association with *The Nation*. Kendrick has been listed by *Red Channels*, the publication which reports the allegedly Communist or Communist-front associations of people in the radio and entertainment industries. As a whole, the CBS News staff can certainly be called "liberal" or "internationalist"; Murrow, who hired most of the correspondents, acknowledges that they are in general agreement on political affairs. He says that he made no effort to select people who shared his own views, and adds: "I think there is this much to be said. All of our correspondents went through much the same experience during the war. We have all worked abroad. These things have influenced us in similar ways."

There certainly are examples to sustain the thesis that the nature of modern news reporting seems inevitably to lead to bias. Witness the "one-party press" of the last Presidential campaign and the change of *Time* and *Life* from newsmagazines to opinion magazines. Other publications, such as the New York *Times* and *Newsweek*, are experimenting with techniques which will enable them to continue "objective" reporting and at the same time deal with lies in the news. *Time* has a different approach. Inserting definitely partisan judgments into many domestic news stories, it justifies its policy by an appeal to the theories of "interpretive reporting." In times as disturbed and invective-laden as these, the problem clearly is not confined to broadcasting.

CBS has almost always managed to maintain its pause between news and analysis. But in recent years the analyses have come to include more and more judgments. CBS analysts have in past weeks made judgments on the Bricker Amendment and military aid to Pakistan, among other issues. They have gravely, if soberly and implicitly, criticized Senator McCarthy. These things may be challenged, but chiefly on the grounds that they violate the traditional policy of the network itself. What is serious is that CBS has also permitted judgments to enter into straight news reports. Don Hollenbeck's WCBS-TV news broadcast which followed the famous McCarthy edition of "See It Now" rightly characterized itself as a supplementary report to the Murrow show, and an anti-McCarthy tone has been evident in other CBS News broadcasts.

This encroachment of opinion into news reports appears to be due, ironically enough, to the special position held by Edward Murrow which has done so much to make CBS News the extraordinarily good agency it is. As the dominant personality in the news operation, and a network executive too ("you might say that Ed is [Board Chairman] Paley's conscience," a CBS man has remarked), he has been pace-setter for the news agency. "We know that we can weep on Ed's shoulder, that we can ignore pressures as long as he is here. You could call him the newsman's representative in the publisher's office, and the publisher's representative in the newsroom," a CBS analyst says. Murrow himself remarked about unfriendly mail and pressure campaigns, "I never worry about that stuff." Since before the war, he, more than any other individual, has set the tone of CBS News.

Now, the corrosive crisis of suspicion and intolerance has forced Murrow himself to become (perhaps a bit to his own surprise) a crusader, a leader of those who feel that Senator McCarthy represents a threat to traditional American values. Prominent in this group are the liberals, and Murrow has already begun to receive the swarming embraces which in the past have been visited upon Adlai Stevenson and Elmer Davis. (Perhaps there soon will be a special issue of the *New Republic* dedicated to this newest of the heroes.) Once Murrow is considered a liberal leader, his public position will be fundamentally altered. It may not be too much to say that then Edward Murrow would be finished as a non-partisan analyst. In any event, from now on, the liberals will automatically praise, the McCarthy supporters will damn. Murrow may thus, perhaps quite deliberately, have made a greater personal sacrifice to the cause of civil liberties and honorable discussion than almost any other public figure in America.

WHATEVER the effect on Murrow's career, it will be interesting to see what happens to CBS News itself. If it should become thought of as partisan in reporting the news, even though the cause is a wholly admirable one, then a genuine ideal will have died and a giant will have fallen.

If CBS does not lose its reputation for impartial and responsible reporting, it will not be due so much to the fine policy statements of the past as to the caliber of the reporters themselves. "We are newsmen," Lesueur said. The profession of the newsman is perhaps harder to practice today than at any other time in American history. There are these problems of complexity and secrecy; of the public figure who lies and of the public agency which merchandizes its information; of the psychological warrior and the press agent. There is the historically unique status of diplomacy, inevitably interrelated with public opinion and the press, now deathfilled in its responsibility, a hydrogen bomb the penalty of failure. In these layers of information and misinformation, of ideology and of malice, is hidden that logarithmic equation. In considering how the press reorganizes and rethinks its mission, a certain reassurance may be drawn from the circumstance that fact, like mathematics, has always been known to give men a kind of pure joy.

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APRIL 8, 1954 VOLUME 2—NUMBER 1

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

All communications for use in this column *MUST* carry the complete name and street address of the writer, though pen names will be permitted at the discretion of the Editor. To be acceptable letters must be legible and written on one side of the paper. The Agawam News assumes no responsibility for opinions expressed in this column.

Unsigned letters will not be published.

Because of the interest in the prevailing controversity between Senator McCarthy, Cohn, Schine and the Army we feel that the letter received by this paper is of more interest than an editorial.

This letter is the sentiments of the sender and not necessarily the opinion or stand of this paper.

Dear Editor:

Since when does a TV columnist turn editorialist all in one breath, and since when, if Bert Shephard is an authentic editorial writer, is such an obviously slanted "critical analysis" allowed to hide behind the misnomer, TV Views?

His column of March 25 is the most childishly absurd attempt at exploitation I have ever read. Like all anti-McCarthy propagandists, he seizes the opportunity to abuse the purpose of his medium, and when he should be presenting objective opinion, he fills his column space with trivia, exaggerated beyond reasonable bounds and distorts the significance of what are really accidentals. Look out, Mr. Shephard, your prejudice is showing!

Take the matter of Roy Cohn's age. Shepard stated that Cohn is "a boy in a man's position" and that he, Shepard, was "let down considerably" upon discovering this. Tsk, tsk, little man, take your chin out of the cat's milk and face facts for a change.

Admittedly Roy Cohn is young, but what is more important he is acknowledged by both friend and foe as an eminently able brilliant and qualified investigator. His record as Assistant United States Attorney in New York bears this out (have you checked it, Mr. Shepard?) and his work and performance in almost every major case involving the trial and conviction of Communists has been approved and applauded the length and breadth of this country. The Rosenberg fiasco is a case in point. Pressure politics and a planned anti-capital punishment campaign organized by the Communist party at that time did not deter Mr. Cohn in the slightest, and it is no wonder now that he and his colleagues are under furious and unremitting attack.

For a mere "boy", Mr. Cohn did an excellent job of keeping his place on the Award Winning Program, Meet the Press. True to his usual pattern, Mr. Cohn maintained integrity by refusing to divulge confidential committee matters although he was at the time under a barrage of some of the most vulgar, insulting and insinuating type of questioning. For such a babe in the woods, Mr. Cohn admirably preserved his dignity and poise despite the bold faced effrontery of the May Craigs of the newspaper world hinting at collusion, suggesting mysterious "holds" by McCarthy on his staff and vice versa, and openly attempting to manipulate public opinion through unprincipled and unethical interrogations which deserved a far more scathing rejoinder than Mr. Cohn's polite reminder that he was a self-respecting man. For this he was congratulated and acclaimed by outstanding commentators all over the country via radio and TV, and for this Bert Shepard labels him a "second rate junior executive."

But of course, hitting Cohn is not enough for Shepard. Notwithstanding the fact that he was appears before a Congressional Investigating Committee unless there is sworn testimony of their subversive connections, and notwithstanding the fact that the two investigating committees of our government were overwhelmingly endorsed by the representatives of the American people (85 to 1 in the House and 362 to 1 in Congress), he can't resist the opportunity to question McCarthy's effectiveness and add fuel to the fire of Communist instigated doubt.

Well, don't worry, Mr. Shepard, McCarthy is too effective, that's his big trouble; he's hitting them right where it hurts the most. Perhaps like Martin Dies, Robert Stripling, J. Parnell Thomas, Dr. J. B. Matthews, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Scott McLeod and the great educator William A. Wirt, McCarthy and his aides will eventually be silenced; certainly the humiliation and unjust criticism coming his way falls into the same pattern as that suffered by the aforementioned anti-Reds who were successively hounded out of public life, made objects of ridicule and notoriety, ruined career-wise and in one case driven to death; but before that happens to him the American people will have something to say. Most of them know that the announced Communist Party Platform for 1954 is a campaign of hate against McCarthy, that this is also the avowed purpose of the communist infiltrated press and the tried and true formula for parlor conversation of the pinkos, pseudo-intellectuals, self-styled liberals and just plain bigoted, confused and blinded people.

Do you, Mr. Shepard call it violating the rights of the innocent, when question after question after question is met by evasion, duplicity, insults and shrieks and outright refusal to answer, to then answer back, to a certain extent in kind? Is it abusing the rights of the innocent to become impatient at the ducking behind the Fifth Amendment and claiming all its privileges by the very traitors who have never bothered to defend our Constitution, but rather done all within their power to undermine it. Is it an abuse of the innocent to come to death grips with conspiracy minus the kid gloved diplomacy and lack of force that no Communist understands, but which, in their cowardice they have come to rely on? What naivete! A weak sister as an investigator would be a laughing stock, both to America and its enemies.

Mr. Shepard, you have a positive gift for concentrating on the WRONG issues. That's a major fault of the American people. As a result of it, the Kremlin has been made happy - overjoyed - especially in this last tangle between McCarthy and Secretary Stevens. Did it ever occur to you Mr. Shepard that the combined efforts of the communist press, the so-called "liberals" and people like you have succeeded in obscuring the real issue: WHO PROMOTED MAJOR PERESS, graduate of a communist leadership school, communist cell organizer at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey and recipient of Army Benevolence (no overseas duty because his wife was visting a psychiatrist whose name even the major could not remember), and Fifth Amendment Communist? Not only is the Kremilin happy, but also the Major is very much relieved, since all eyes now are turned on - or should I say against - McCarthy, and as far as he is concerned, the "heat" is temporarily off.

It makes life a lot easier to prefer the sensational rather than the fundamental, and the fundamental here is our battle against communism. The skillful lying, the rabble rousing, the lifting sentences out of context, the distortion of the issues is the triumph of the Communist Party. And just between us, Mr. Shepard, easily influenced people like you who jump at any opportunity to sound off on their favorite hates are helping us to lose this ball game. Exaggerating accidentals like the age of Roy Cohn for the purpose of holding him up to ridicule is just one more foul ball. If more columnists would concentrate on the important things, the real facts and figures, and the unpalatable, dirty, sometimes harrowing circumstances McCarthy is forced to work under and give him credit where it is due, (and its all in the record, Mr. Shepard), then perhaps the average citizen would not fall for half-baked, second-rate borrowed opinions of the would-be provocative columnist lacking responsibility enough to offer documented evidence or the truth.

If the grass roots are any indication, McCarthy has, by an overwhelmingy majority, won out. Perhaps, Mr. Shepard, this escaped your notice, but the independent polls of the different states last week, proved that the American people on the whole are well aware of the job McCarthy and Cohn are doing, and what's more they refuse to be bulldozed by a ranting, raving party line. What is more, the next few weeks will undoubtedly provide complete justification for McCarthy's stand throughout.

In my opinion, bleeding hearts have no right to be columnists. If they are columnists, they should stick to the specific area in which they work. If more of these egg heads would, if they feel it necessary to delve into politics, personalities or chronological age, use their talents towards fighting Communism, and standing by courageous, red-blooded Americans who will not be intimidated or manipulated by this countries' enemies, perhaps we would have real freedom of the press and less confusion in this country.

G'wan, Mr. Shepard. If McCarthy and Cohn are a feared team, they are feared by men who are spineless, traitorous and guilty. Quit the labeling, (a Daily Worker trick) and quit the irrelevant mud slinging, if you have any sense of reporting ethics, or confine yourself, please, to TV.

Sincerely
ANTI-RIDICULUM

Tabulation editorial opinion fifty leading circ. papers Apr. 7-8-9

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL pro murrow - anti mccarthy

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

DES MOINES REGISTER

WASHINGTON EST * TIMES HERALD

NEW YORK POST

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

LOS ANGELES HERALD AND EXPRESS pro mccarthy - anti murrow
(in editorial prior Pres. pr. conf.)

NEW YORK TIMES anti mccarthy h bomb

PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN

WASHINGTON EVENING STAR

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

TOLEDO BLADE

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

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the remainder ignored this specific issue but most had various anti-mccarthy editorials on other questions for these same dates.

NORTHEASTERN OHIO—Cloudy, windy and colder today and this evening. High yesterday 81, low 54. See Page 22.

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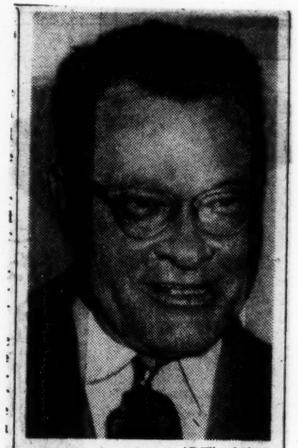
M'CARTHY PROBERS PICK COUNSEL



AP Wirephoto

CHOSEN COUNSEL. The Senate investigations subcommittee yesterday appointed Ray H. Jenkins, 57, of Knoxville, Tenn., as special counsel for its inquiry into the McCarthy-Army row. Jenkins is a Republican.

M'CARTHY PROBE COUNSEL PICKED

Ray Jenkins, Knoxville Lawyer, Gets Post

(Continued From First Page)

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He is 57, a lifelong "middle-of-the-road Republican," Tennessee manager for Wendell Willkie in 1940 and a Taft man before the 1952 presidential convention. He told reporters he had not been active in politics in recent years.

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The judge, Dirksen said, replied that Jenkins was the best trial lawyer in the state.

UNBIASED, KNOXVILLE MAN SAYS

Ray H. Jenkins, Noted Dixie

Ye have not chosen but I have chosen you...that you should go and bring forth fruit.

—St. John, XV, 16a.

(Text by Rev. C. E. Bloodgood, S. Bushwick Ref. Ch., Brooklyn.)

THESE DAYS:

TV, Press Coverage Of the Hearings

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

THERE are five television chains in the United States, National Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting System, American Broadcasting Company, Mutual Broadcasting System, and Du Mont Television Network. Of them N.B.C. and C.B.S. are the largest and have the greatest volume of business. A.B.C. and Du Mont are carrying the whole of the McCarthy-Stevens hearings, approximately six hours a day, although financially they are not as strong as N.B.C. and C.B.S.

It is to be noted that whereas there are some 1,700 daily newspapers in the United States, the bulk of them are individually and locally owned. The television outlets are limited to five and a very large part of the programs which appear on any of these stations throughout the United States is limited to what is generally dished out of New York, with some occasional addendum from Washington and Hollywood.

It is true that some newspapers are owned by chains, but there is no chain that owns more than 25 newspapers. It is also true that numerous syndicates sell matter of all sorts to newspapers, but these are carefully read and edited locally and even omitted if an editor believes it is not in good taste or in the general interest to publish the particular item.

Television Is Different

On television, it is different. Because of advertising contracts, no local responsibility or editing is possible. Furthermore, the local outlet does not generally see a live "show" any sooner than the audience. Its management may complain after the deed is done, but it has no way of knowing that it might not wish to exhibit a particular feature.

I am interested in news and political discussion and particularly in the televising of such hearings as the McCarthy-Stevens. Only A.B.C. and Du Mont have given this story with absolute accuracy, because only these two companies have given it all in unedited, verbatim form. Other systems produce condensations, highlights, edited versions, late at night, when the programs sponsored by advertising are out of the way. It is in the nature of the media that only one item can appear on one channel at a time, whereas a newspaper publishes hundreds of items simultaneously. If then in a condensation on television, distortion, slanting or even untruth are resorted to, the other side has no chance of simultaneous reproduction and corrections cannot be made with any effectiveness at all until the particular program is again scheduled.

Newspapers, when these hearings are over, will take a very sober view of the handling of news in competition with a full, verbatim television show of a particular story. No newspaper can possibly print six hours of testimony on any subject. No newspaper, to my knowledge, has printed these reports in their entirety for every day of these hearings. It is physically impossible to do that without sacrificing equally important news. Condensation of any story is not the same as a verbatim report, but how many readers want to plow through the repetitious question and answer type of thing that can be more of a bore when read than on the screen?

Viewer Makes Own Decision

On the other hand, each viewer of the television show has a different picture and lays emphasis on different points. When he reads in the newspapers an emphasis different from his own, he regards the news as slanted. When millions of words have to be condensed into small space and when hundreds of interrogations have to be translated into a readable narrative, large gobs of testimony have to be omitted, emphasis has to be determined and the whole thing fitted into limited space.

The newspaper story differs from the television highlights in that editorial and columnist comment runs simultaneously with the publication of the news story. Some newspapers take more than one wire service and sometimes they publish more than one account in the same issue. Television cannot do that technically.

Each medium has its limitations and its advantages. However, the point needs to be made that had the two smaller television networks not produced the six-hour-a-day verbatim testimony, the condensed highlight show late at night could have been employed to do propaganda work for either side.

Television has grown so swiftly that little attention has been paid to it as a force in molding public opinion. The handling of these hearings offers an excellent opportunity for that purpose.

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UNBIASED, KNOXVILLE MAN SAYS

Ray H. Jenkins, Noted Dixie Trial Lawyer, to Help Air Feud With Army

BY PHIL G. GOULDING
Plain Dealer Bureau

WASHINGTON, April 7—They filled the open seat for the army - McCarthy game today with a rough - and - tough looking Tennessee trial lawyer.

The permanent investigating subcommittee of the Senate voted unanimously to appoint Ray H. Jenkins of Knoxville special counsel for the probe.

Public hearings will begin April 21. Television and radio broadcasts will be permitted, but not under commercial sponsorship.

Jenkins, said by committee members to be the "best trial attorney in Tennessee," has never met Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Wisconsin Republican was not consulted before the selection.

Mind Completely Open

"I have no record, publicly or otherwise, in respect to Senator McCarthy or what has been termed 'McCarthyism'," the new counsel told newsmen.

"I have no preconceived notions of the merits of the controversy, no prejudices or bias and my mind is completely [illegible]

[illegible] popped into the mind of Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) while Dirksen was planting shrubbery at the home of his son-in-law in Huntsville, Tenn., Sunday.

Saw Chance for Service

The senator telephoned the lawyer and asked for an airport meeting that evening. Jenkins' first answer was no. Then he thought it over.

"I saw in this service the possibility of rendering a definite public service to my country, and so I came to Washington for a conference," the six-foot-three Tennessean told reporters.

"The committee interrogated me from an hour and a half to two hours this morning. I insisted that no further action be taken until they made a rather complete investigation of me."

The investigation was made by telephone. Subcommittee members called some 10 state and federal judges in Tennessee, talked to both Knoxville newspapers for background and consulted several other persons.

Jenkins, red - faced, sandy - haired and 195 pounds, said there had been no discussion of what his pay would be.

(Continued on Page 4, Column 4)

N. C.'s Famous, Fighting Sons

A PEABODY AWARD is, to a radio or TV personality, what a Pulitzer award is to a writer, or what a Medal of Honor is to a soldier. The Peabody awards recognize disinterested and meritorious public service. This week they were presented to two individuals, both of them native sons of North Carolina.

Ed Murrow received his third Peabody award. Gerald Johnson, who unlike Mr. Murrow grew to adulthood in North Carolina and worked on newspapers and taught in the state before going north, was also honored, for his TV newcasts.

It was less than a year ago that three other Tar Heels, weekly editors Willard Cole and W. Horace Carter, and Vermont Royster, now of the WALL STREET JOURNAL, received Pulitzer prizes, of which only about a dozen are awarded each year. It was only two weeks ago that Mr. Johnson received the Sidney Hillman Award, presented annually for an outstanding contribution to civil liberties, race relations and associated issues. And last year this award went to editors Cale and Carter.

North Carolina can be particularly proud of these native sons because of the adversaries they chose. Cole and Carter fought the Ku Klux Klan, when it was dangerous to do so. Johnson's big target was hysteria and intolerance. Murrow supplemented his uncommonly good radio reporting with equally good telecasts, including the memorable one on Sen. McCarthy, another on the young reserve officer, Lt. Radulovitch, who had been termed a security risk because of the leftist ties of some of his relatives. Royster regularly delivers his readers a thought-provoking and delightful combination of incisive editorials.

Every one of these distinguished Tar Heels fits the phrase the Peabody Award Committee applied to Murrow: "Fair-minded and a fighter for justice." There is no finer compliment.

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DUEL MAC CARTHY-Edward MURROW à la télévision américaine

210

LE sénateur Mac Carthy, lors d'une intervention mardi soir, au cours d'un programme télévisé, a répondu aux attaques dirigées contre lui le 9 mars dernier par le célèbre commentateur Edward Murrow, qui avait affirmé que le sénateur avait franchi la limite entre l'enquête et la persécution, le sénateur a accusé le commentateur, qui lui avait cédé son propre programme de télévision, d'être un propagandiste du communisme depuis 20 ans.

Dans une déclaration publiée immédiatement après le programme, le commentateur Edward Murrow a rejeté les accusations lancées contre lui par le sénateur Mac Carthy, en déclarant que celui-ci cherche invariablement à taxer de communisme tous ceux qui s'opposent à ses visées.

La Direction de la Columbia Broadcasting Systeme, réseau de radio et de télévision auquel appartient Edward Murrow, a publié de son côté un communiqué rendant hommage à son commentateur dont elle souligne « l'attachement » aux principes fondamentaux des Etats-Unis » et son « hostilité à tous ceux qui aussi bien à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur cherchent à saper ces principes ».

Le programme avait été enregistré la semaine dernière à New-York avant le départ du sénateur pour l'Arizona où il se repose actuellement.

A la suite de cette émission, de nombreux téléspectateurs ont fait connaître leur opinion à la Direction de la C.B.S.

A New-York, dans les deux heures qui ont suivi le programme, la « Columbia Broadcasting Systeme » avait reçu 2.989 communications téléphoniques dont 2.012 en faveur de M. Murrow et 977 en faveur du sénateur. A Los Angelès, le bilan après deux heures et quart était de 949 en faveur de M. Murrow et de 144 en faveur du sénateur Mac Carthy, et à Chicago, après 70 minutes, de 454 pour M. Murrow et de 147 pour M. Mac Carthy.

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TO: Mr. John Horn

The attached clipping is one your boss might not get.

Best wishes.

F.H.S

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F.H.S.

Business Week

Railroad Engineer's Son Shows Up 'Joe'

Murrow Sees Fakery In Senator's Drive

One of the most telling blows sustained by Senator "Jumping Joe" McCarthy during the past week was delivered by the son of a veteran railroad engineer—that is, by Edward R. Murrow, noted radio-television commentator.

Murrow's father, now retired, was first a brakeman and fireman, then an engineer on a private logging camp railroad near Blanchard, Wash. As a youth, Ed himself worked as a fireman on a donkey engine in that camp.

Ed, now famous for his "See It Now" television programs, devoted one of them to documenting McCarthy's tactics. He showed how "Jumping Joe" played fast and loose with the facts; how he used congressional immunity to persecute individuals who are not Reds; how he utilized "half truths" to confuse the public.

Murrow's broadcast drew the wrath of McCarthy, but it also brought many thousands of congratulatory phone calls, wires and letters. The deluge ran almost 20 to 1 pro-Murrow.

On the program, Joe was pictured in news films making various statements. Then Murrow demonstrated from the record the falsity of the statements.

"We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty," Murrow pointed out. "We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law.

"It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one, and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly."

Murrow invited McCarthy—who in

ED MURROW

the past has praised the fairness of Murrow's programs—to make a reply on "See It Now." Instead, "Joe" went on another radio program in an effort to smear Murrow as a "Red."

He did this by raking up a story that in 1935 Murrow had been a member of an American advisory council for a summer school at Moscow University.

Murrow replied, however, that the Russians had cancelled the summer school, so it never took place. He explained, too, that the proposed school was part of a student and professor exchange program sponsored by the Institute of International Education—of which John Foster Dulles, now Secretary of State, and Thomas Lamont, Wall Street banker, were trustees.

The proposed summer school, Murrow added, would have allowed American teachers and graduate students to probe Russian life—which is apparently why the Soviets

Noted Editor Asks: 'Is McCarthy a Red?'

cancelled it. Meantime, Murrow renewed his invitation to McCarthy personally to answer the previous "See It Now" program.

McCarthy finally agreed, in a telegram charging Murrow had "consciously served the Communist cause." Murrow retorted that "the record when it is finished will show who has served the Communist cause, you or I."

This suggestion that McCarthy is in fact serving the Communist cause was documented recently by James Kearney, editor and publisher of the Trenton (N. J.) Times. Kearney is also a prominent Catholic layman.

In a widely-reprinted editorial, Kearney pointed out that McCarthy has "undermined the people who work in our embassies abroad," has "convinced public opinion in Europe that there is little if any freedom left in the U. S.," has "spread doubts through American public life," has undermined Army morale and has "sidetracked" and "undermined the effectiveness of the FBI."

All these results, Kearney emphasized, are precisely the aims of the Communist party.

Moreover, Kearney continued, "Senator McCarthy, for all of his charges, has yet to uncover a Communist in a high or important place. Isn't it a desire of the Communists to spread confusion without endangering the really important members of the Communist party?

Kearney charged that "Senator McCarthy has been doing the work of the Communist party," and concluded: "Isn't it proper now to ask, Is Senator McCarthy really a Communist?"

LABOR SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1954.

TELEVISION

Man from Wisconsin

AFTER his interrogation by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy a few weeks ago, General Ralph Zwicker, the commandant of Camp Kilmer, turned to his aides, according to the papers, and remarked, "Boys, now you've had an education." I felt the same way the other night after watching Edward R. Murrow's half-hour report on the Senator, over his weekly "See It Now" program, sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America (C.B.S., 10:30-11 P.M. on Tuesdays). Mr. Murrow brought off an extraordinary feat of journalism by the simple expedient of compiling a pictorial history of the Senator, complete with sound track, that showed him as he has performed in a variety of places and under a variety of circumstances during the past few years. Mr. Murrow let the Senator do most, but not all, of the work. We saw McCarthy speaking in Milwaukee, we saw him speaking in Philadelphia, we watched him conduct an investigation of the Voice of America, we heard a tape recording of a speech he delivered in Charleston, West Virginia, and we watched some of his operations during the 1952 Presidential campaign. We also got a pretty good look at the fellow—the best that I, for one, have ever got. To begin with, he's a big man, with big hands and a large head. Most of the time, he has a petulant, droop-jaw expression, as though, at the very instant he was all set to challenge everybody in the place to step outside, he was convinced that everybody in the place was about to jump him. He has a soft, almost silky, droning voice, which he tries somewhat too obviously to control. His laugh is frightening. He uses his hands a great deal for emphasis. While interrogating a witness, he gives the impression that all light, all truth, and all honesty belong at the moment to him alone, but then destroys the impression by appearing, curiously and unexpectedly, to be uncertain of his next move.

Mr. Murrow's intent was to pick the Senator up in a series of contradictions. He quoted the Senator as having declared in Milwaukee seventeen months ago, "If this fight against Communism is made a fight between America's two great political parties, the American peo-

BLENDED SCOTS WHISKY. 86.8 PRO

ple know that one of those parties will be destroyed, and the Republic cannot endure very long as a one-party system." He then let us hear the remarks of the Senator in Charleston on February 4th of this year: "The issue between the Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of twenty years of treason. The hard fact is that those who wear the label 'Democrat' wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal." We saw the Senator in many moods—arrogant, aroused, fierce, and humble. To depict this last mood, Murrow threw a shot on the screen of a political dinner somewhere. An elderly gentleman at the speaker's table who was introducing the Senator became almost overwhelmed with emotion. He said he could not express what was in his heart, and he reached across the table and plucked some flowers from a floral arrangement, remarking:

"Ah, 'tis but a dainty flower I bring you,
Yes, 'tis but a violet, glistening with dew,
But still in its heart there lie beauties concealed.
So in our heart our love for you lies unrevealed."

McCarthy arose, gulping, and said, "You know, I used to pride myself on the idea that I was a bit tough, especially over the past eighteen or nineteen months, when we have been kicked around and bull-whipped and damned. I didn't think that I could be touched very deeply. But tonight, frankly, my cup and my heart are so full I can't talk to you." And he turned away, almost in tears.

Throughout the program, Mr. Murrow quietly added comments of his own. He made no attempt to hide his strong feelings of distaste and shock at the methods and language of the Senator. Murrow is, of course, a master of pictorial presentation and rarely forgets that television is designed for the eye as well as the ear. His most effective use of pictorial technique, it seemed to me, came in his discussion of the Senator's charge that "extreme Left-Wing elements of press and radio" were attacking his committee over the Zwicker affair. Mr. Murrow had before him two stacks of newspapers, and, pointing to one, he said, "Of the fifty large-circulation newspapers in the country, these are the Left Wing papers that criticized." Then, pointing to the other, he said, "These are the ones that supported him. The ratio is about three to one against the Senator. Now let us look at some of these Left Wing papers that criticized the Senator." Thereupon he

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read editorial excerpts from the Chicago *Tribune*, the New York *Times*, the Washington *Times-Herald*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Washington *Star*, the Milwaukee *Journal*, the *World-Telegram & Sun*, and others.

Just before the conclusion of his program, Mr. Murrow fixed the audience with an almost glassy stare and read, solemnly and deliberately, an editorial he had composed for the occasion. I thought that he was especially impressive when he remarked, "This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent, or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history, but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities. . . . The actions of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his; he didn't create this situation of fear, he merely exploited it, and rather successfully. Cassius was right: 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves. . . .' Good night, and good luck." —PHILIP HAMBURGER

•

Raylea Gail Sacker, 10-year-old daughter of A. A. Sacker, Hartford, Conn., agent, packed most of the main points of fire prevention in the home into the following brief essay, written in connection with Fire Prevention Week:

"Fire Prevention Week is here. In order to keep my house safe from fire, I remind Dad not to throw cigarettes in the waste paper basket. I clean all papers out of the attic and cellar. I don't leave oil cans and rags hanging around. I tell Mom not to leave the iron going while she's talking on the 'phone. I don't leave the fire on when we go out, and I throw all papers out that accumulate around the house.

"Most important, *I don't let my little sister play with matches.* I tell Dad to watch out when he's burning trash or leaves. In case of a fire, I call the Fire Department immediately. All these things will make Fire Prevention Week a happy one for my family."—*The Standard, New England's Insurance Weekly.*

How did that fire start that you had to call the Department for?

•

WORDS OF ONE SYLLABLE DEPT.

[*From the Lincoln (Neb.) High School Advocate*]

The Orpheons were entertained at their Feb. 17 meeting by an accordion solo by Mary Jane Phelps. Roma Leichner played a piano solo and Gloria McKim sang a solo.

The members decided to have outside entertainment.

EVERYBODY'S WEEKLY
3/27/54

MCC HYISM INVESTIGATED BY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL

McCARTHYISM is often denounced as 'A witch hunt.' It is doubtful if even Senator McCarthy himself has ever been guilty of so misleading or inept a comparison. The witch hunts of the Middle Ages have been treated with scorn by succeeding generations, which were certain that there have never been any witches. The phrase 'witch hunting' plainly implies hunting for something which does not exist.

We who live in the age of Fuchs and Nunn May, of Rosenberg and Pontecorvo, of Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss, of Burgess and Maclean, cannot deny that there are Communists in the Western world, or that such people have been eager to betray their country's most precious secrets to the Kremlin.

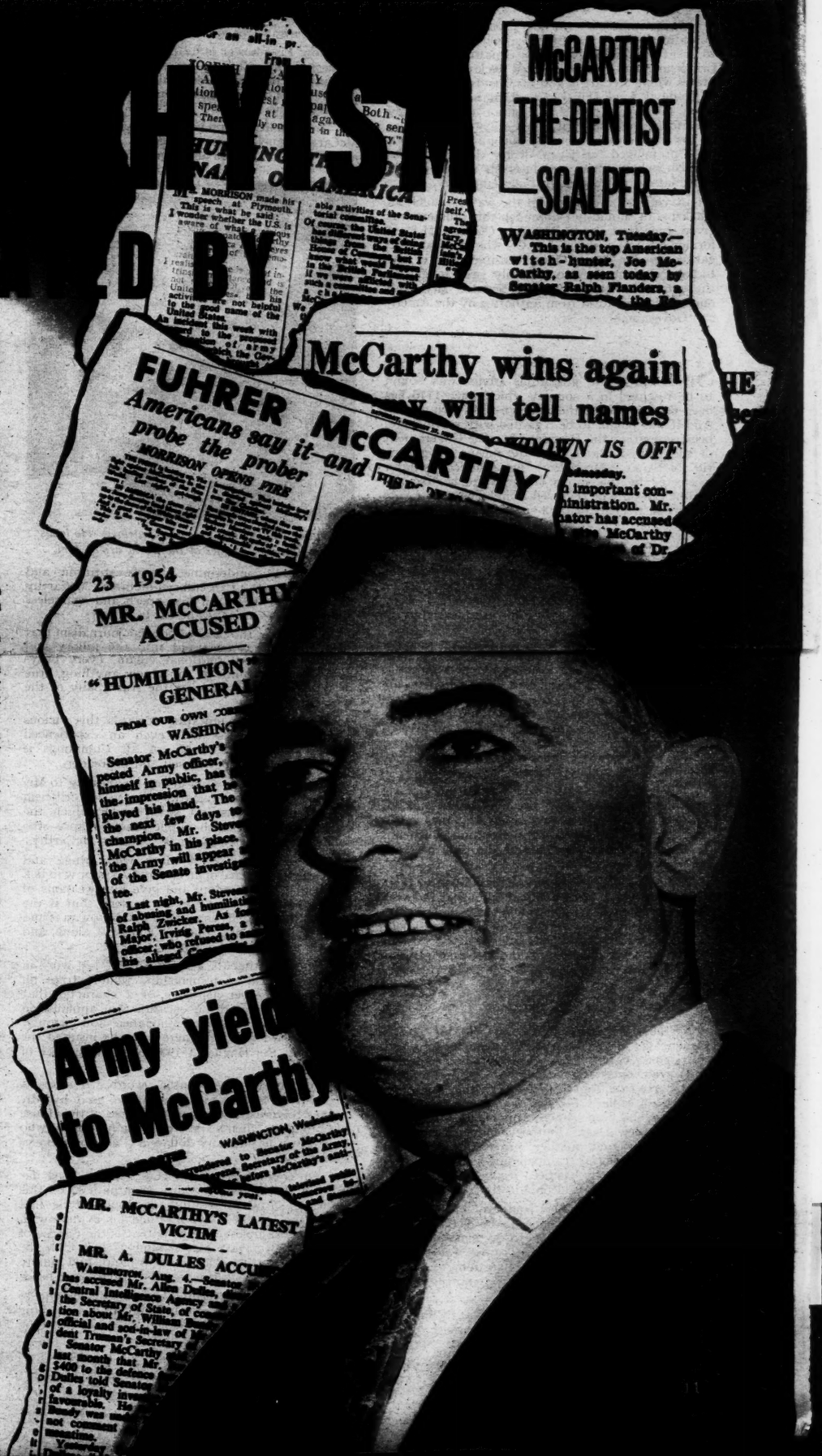
It is quite true that Senator McCarthy has never tracked down a single Communist highly placed in the Government of the United States. But the F.B.I. have been a good deal more successful, and have prosecuted a number of dangerous Communists who have subsequently been condemned and sentenced by due process of law.

Why should anyone in England be seriously disturbed because an American Senator, not for the first time in American history, is subjecting a number of his fellow citizens to tedious investigations and interrogatories?

It is largely because of the Aunt Sallyism of the Left. There are unfortunately a great number of people in Britain today who are anxious to find an excuse for quarrelling with the United States. Some of them are Communists, some are fellow travellers; others are pacifists; others again are merely looking for any excuse, however insincere, which would allow Britain to shirk her responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations.

They hope that by toadying to Moscow they may find some easy way out of the conflict which has been joined between the evil forces of Communism and the worried peoples of the free world. These publicists, by exaggerating the importance and influence of McCarthy, seek to establish this proposition: *If so many Americans are as horrible as McCarthy then no decent self-respecting Englishman can be the ally of the United States and the Americans had better 'go it alone.'*

Commonsense, no less than good manners, requires that people who write about foreign politicians should exercise more restraint than they would in criticising their own fellow-countrymen. For attacks from the outside upon an individual



invariably have the effect of rallying support for the person attacked.

These practical considerations ought to be borne in mind by any European who feels inclined to vent his spleen against Senator McCarthy. Criticisms made here are cabled back to the United States where McCarthy and his friends exploit them to be-devil Anglo-American relations still further. They point out how the Senator (whom many Americans think has only been doing his duty) has in the service of his country encountered ignorant and prejudiced criticism from the ungrateful English, whose views and interests may therefore legitimately be treated with contempt.

A very good example of the way in which an Englishman should not approach this problem was given some time ago by Mr. Tom O'Brien, M.P., a former chairman of the T.U.C., who is usually regarded as one of the most sensible men in the Labour movement. He suddenly gave tongue to the grotesque utterance that Senator McCarthy ought to be removed from authority by the American Government.

SUCH crude and gratuitous advice was bound to be resented in a country which since 1776 has been responsible for the conduct of its own affairs. And it was bound to be regarded with scorn there, because neither the President nor the Government of the United States have the means of 'getting rid' of Senator McCarthy. An American senator is elected by the voters of the State he lives in, and he can only be removed from office by the vote of his constituents or by a successful impeachment in the Senate.

To many English people, Joseph McCarthy appears to be a sinister and ominous jack-in-the-box who has popped up from nowhere and has grown so large on the American horizon that he completely obscures the Statue of Liberty. They picture him as a man with immense power but no office.

It is a completely false impression. Senator McCarthy is now in the middle of his second term in the Senate. He is a member of the Appropriations Committee, Chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and head of the Senate's Permanent Investigating Sub-committee. These positions make it his duty to scrutinise and investigate every individual and institution in any part of the world who by some means receives money from the U.S. taxpayer.

Of course, McCarthy now has far more power and influence than any previous holders of his offices. This is due to two things: his own talent and courage, and the political situation which was so favourable to his policies at the time he stood for election.

Most people have been so conditioned to think of McCarthy as a cruel political bully that the word 'courage' seems to them ridiculously paradoxical. But McCarthy does not only browbeat timid liberal TV comperes and inefficient Embassy coding clerks. He has challenged and defeated some of the toughest public men in the United States.

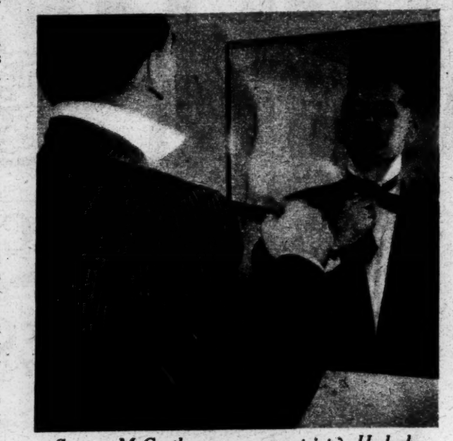
IN 1951 McCarthy drove off the air one of America's most influential commentators, the ultra-conservative Drew Pearson whom Franklin Roosevelt once stigmatised as "an unmitigated liar." He engineered the defeat of the Senator for Maryland, Millard Tydings, a Conservative Democrat who had been a lifelong opponent of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Neither victim was weak or unprotected, yet neither proved a match for McCarthy's skilful campaigning. In all, it is claimed, McCarthy has been responsible for getting ten of his supporters elected to the Senate.

Perhaps the greatest source of his power lies in the fact that the President needs McCarthy more than McCarthy needs the President. The two stigmas which attached to Truman's administration during the Presidential election, and which could not be explained away, were corruption and Communism.

In the public mind, McCarthy was the man who had convicted the Democrats of these crimes. Apart from Eisenhower and Senator Taft, McCarthy was the only Republican with a national appeal and audience. He seemed the only one who provided a simple black and white answer to the frustrations and confusions produced by the Korean war and Russian intransigence.

Now Eisenhower is head of the State; Taft is dead; and McCarthy can carry on appealing to the unthinking passions of his millions of supporters without ever being obliged to provide any concrete administrative actions.

There is little support for any attempt to have McCarthy expelled from the Senate. Conservatives and liberals in America alike agree that such a move



Senator McCarthy: poseur or patriot? He looks confident. The eyes of the world are on him.

would fatally undermine the Constitution and smooth the path of an embryo dictator. McCarthy has built his career on his superb and shameless ability to have his cake and eat it.

It is one of the vices of popular journalism that once anyone has been put into the pillory and branded as an international villain, every busybody seems to think he can throw anything, true or false, idiotic or wise, at the Aunt Sally of the moment.

Such is the temptation towards this vicious and escapist process that even an experienced Liberal journalist like Mr. A. J. Cummings is capable of misleading himself and his readers

Mr. Cummings, after giving his blessing to Mr. O'Brien's ill-judged remark, selected for criticism —as if it were the last straw under which the patience of the British public must collapse—the following statement made by Senator McCarthy:

"We do not want allies who cringe and surrender in the face of an enemy tyrant or who lick the boots of the enemy and give him weapons of war. We do not want to go it alone, but if the United States is left, as we may well be, on an island in a Communist sea, then we will go it alone, and so help us God we will win."

These sentiments, though not the last word in enduring world statesmanship, would strike an objective observer as being of a character that might unfortunately on occasion win applause in any country. We can remember how popular Philip Snowden became here when he insulted the French at the Hague in 1930 over the matter of reparations.

In any case, the Senator's words strike one as markedly less offensive than those used by Mr. Sidney Silverman, a Socialist member of the House of Commons, when he described the Americans who have given us so many dollars as "shabby money-lenders."

Of course, Senator McCarthy has used far sillier and more odious words than he used on this occasion. And Mr. Cummings could, if he had taken the trouble, have scarified his readers with apposite examples. But so potent is the disease of Aunt Sallyism that Mr. Cummings just took the first press cutting that came to hand, and simply went for the Senator's distant and hardened head.

None of the foregoing should lead anyone to suppose that McCarthy or his methods are anything but a menace to the freedom, and a stain on the civilisation, of the United States.

Perhaps the most tragic result of McCarthy's campaign in the United States has been the transformation of his enemies from sober controversialists into wild libellers like himself. It is impossible for anyone in England who has followed the course of any one of McCarthy's charges to take him seriously.

His famous list of Communists in the American State Department was originally supposed to contain 205 names. Later it dropped to 57, rose again to 81, expanded to 108. 'Communists' were then toned down into 'dangerous men,' the list dwindled to one, and finally it disappeared altogether.

His opponents have now caught the disease they are supposed to be fighting. Until recently it was a painful experience to read some of the countless articles exposing McCarthy from the pens of American newspapermen and politicians. They rely almost entirely on innuendo and gossip as worthless as any produced by McCarthy. The mud he has thrown at a hundred transitory targets has been hurled back at him with an equal recklessness and lack of discrimination.

IT may be the contemplation of this squalidly conducted altercation which has inclined many distinguished Americans who are ashamed of McCarthy's methods to hold themselves aloof from the controversy.

Some Americans, notably Mr. Henry Luce, proprietor of *Time, Life* and *Fortune*, used to suggest to their English friends that if people would stop fussing about McCarthyism the Senator would end by boring the American public.

Mr. Alastair Forbes wittily commented on this, that he thought Mr. Luce might have exaggerated the capacity of one American to bore another.

Be this as it may, Englishmen have a right and a duty to impress upon their American friends the harm that is being done to America's position in the world; not so much by the antics of Senator McCarthy, as by the failure of so many important American statesmen and newspapers to mobilise public opinion in an adult-minded and effective way against this vexatious eyesore in the land of the free.

What would Americans have thought of Britain's war-time Prime Minister if he had failed to hit back at men like Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Emanuel Shinwell? One is almost tempted at times to think there are Americans, "free, white and twenty-one," rich and powerful, who are personally afraid of the inconvenience in which Senator McCarthy might involve them with his investigation committee and his droll henchmen, Cohn and Schine, if they were to oppose him.

TO an outside observer it sometimes looks as if there were a maladjustment of the American political system which puts the elected representatives of the people in a position to harass the lives of the ordinary American citizen. It may also be that the technique of mass advertising through radio, press and television, which has been adopted in so unlovely a fashion in the great Republic and largely borrowed for the purpose of politics, has given to unscrupulous and irresponsible individuals a power which can scarcely have been intended by the grave men who drew up the American Constitution.

These, however, are matters which must be settled by the Americans themselves, without raucous and rancorous advice from this side of the Atlantic.

And all the latest news from the other side of the Atlantic suggests that forces capable of cutting Senator McCarthy down to normal dimensions are now taking the field. Mr. Luce's powerful papers, *Time* and *Life*, have just recently published objective but highly damaging analyses of the nature of McCarthyism and the senator's true antecedents. Mr. Edward R. Murrow has effectively dramatised the whole issue on TV and there now seem reasonable grounds for hoping that five years from now McCarthy will have joined the late Senator Bilbo and the late Governor Huey Long as nothing worse than historical nightmares.

CBS Commentator Wins Fellowship Commission Awar

National award of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission is presented to Edward R. Murrow (second from left), Columbia Broadcasting System radio and television newscaster, by Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr. (right). Others at the ceremony, during a dinner in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, are Joseph A. Daroff (left), chairman of the commission's enrollment program, and Clarence E. Pickett, president of the Fellowship Commission.

Murrow Predicts Extended Power Struggle With Russia

Edward R. Murrow, CBS radio and television commentator, said here last night that the power struggle with Russia may last longer than the life span of any living Americans.

Murrow received the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission's national award at a dinner at the Bellevue-Stratford.

In a wide-ranging speech, Murrow said the harsh fact Americans must accept is that this country is involved in a power stalemate with Russia. "The two sides are chest to chest," he said.

He said that Russia's program for future expansion was outlined in October, 1952, at the All-Party Congress in Moscow. This program is more specific than the program Hitler outlined in his book, "Mein Kampf." Murrow that is to admit that our faith is inferior to that of the enemy.

"We have the power. And if we don't depart from the habits of our heritage, there will be some glory, too."

Mayor Clark presented the award to Murrow. In a short speech, the mayor said, "We meet tonight in an unhappy national climate to honor a distinguished American."

Speaking of Murrow, Clark said, "It takes social courage of a high order for a reporter on the air today to tell the truth to the American people about intolerance and McCarthy."

The Fellowship Commission presented citations to four other men. They went to:

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Battle of Trade, Nerves

It calls for a "battle of trade, a battle of nerves." It's a program he said that may last for decades.

"We are in a position where there is no easy solution," Murrow said. "And maybe there is no solution at all."

And then he turned generally to the subject which has put him in headlines in recent weeks; his now-famous television program about Senator McCarthy (R-Wis).

Although he failed to mention McCarthy by name, he said this:

"Millions of persons all over the world are looking to us for a new faith. They regard us as a sort of test tube. And they regard us with some apprehension."

This apprehension is based, Murrow said, on the confusion by Americans of the difference between the external threat and the internal threat of Communism.

Must Not Be Confused

"We must not confuse the business of dissent with disloyalty. We must protect the right of the individual to dissent, his right even to be wrong.

"Many nations have lost their freedom in their attempts to defend it."

Murrow's celebrated dispute with Senator McCarthy is based on Murrow's belief that the Wisconsin senator, through his investigatory methods, is causing disunion within the United States, and threatening traditional American freedoms.

McCarthy will appear on Murrow's program on WCAU-TV April 6 to answer the commentator's charges.

Diplomatic Recognition

"We must also get our thinking straight," Murrow said, "on the subject of diplomatic recognition." He quoted Sir Winston Churchill's statement that recognition is not the same as conferring a compliment.

"We must not force China more firmly into Russia's orbit," he said, implying that Red China should receive diplomatic recognition. The Eisenhower Administration is opposed to recognition at this time.

Murow noted that this country's role in world affairs has changed in the past 10 years.

"Responsibility never was thrust upon a nation with so little warning," said Murrow. "We came into our full inheritance at a tender age."

And how have we done as the world's most powerful nation? he asked.

Cites Accomplishments

"We saved Greece and Turkey from Communism. We probably saved Western Europe from Communism. We originated and led the first armed coalition fighting for all free nations in Korea. We sustained our economy.

"In the last few years, we lived a life—and not an apology."

He asked, "Who could choose a better time to live? We in the United States are the pivot upon which history will turn. Many nations have lived and died without the opportunity to be decisive. The time for the culmination of our history, our doctrine, our dogma, is now.

"Let us not say that our ideals will not emerge triumphant, for that is to admit that our faith is inferior to that of the enemy.

"We have the power. And if we don't depart from the habits of our heritage, there will be some glory, too."

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Yaroslav J. Chyz, director of the foreign language press division and associate director of the Common Council for American Unity, New York.

John Cogley, executive editor of the Commonweal Magazine, a Catholic publication.

James L. Hicks, New York correspondent and feature writer of the Afro-American newspapers.

Morton Wishengard, writer of radio's "Eternal Light" programs and television's "Frontiers of Faith."

The dinner was attended by 1,130 persons—the largest turnout since the Fellowship Commission was founded 12 years ago.

Joseph A. Daroff, membership enrollment chairman, reported this year's drive is running 20 per cent ahead of last year's. He said anticipated receipts are $125,000.

Screening TV

Emotional Impact of Show Surprises Even Murrow

By LEO MISHKIN

"There was nothing in that show," said the black-browed man in the shirt sleeves, staring moodily out of the window, "there was nothing in that show that I haven't been saying over and over again on the air for a long time past." He swiveled around in his chair and buzzed for a secretary. "I'm all out of cigarets," he murmured when she came in. "See if you can get me a pack, will you?"

He put his feet up on the desk and drew those celebrated eyebrows together again. "Remember that two-hour Ford show last spring?" he went on. "Remember I came on at the end with Oscar Hammerstein, 2d, and said a couple of words or so? Well, what I said then is practically the same thing I said a week ago Tuesday. It's the same thing I've been saying on the news program I do for CBS radio, the same thing other people say on 'This I Believe,' the same thing I've been saying on 'See It Now' with that Radulovich story and the Indianapolis show."

NOT A POLITICAL FIGURE

The secretary brought in a pack of cigarets and he ripped them open almost absent-mindedly. "There is one thing, however, I'd like to get clear," Edward R. Murrow continued. "I do not consider myself a political figure because of it. I am not affiliated with any political party, and I certainly do not want to seek any sort of political office.

"When I did that program a week ago Tuesday I was careful to open it with the statement that this was going to be a controversial program; I ran it strictly according to the CBS ground rules. And last week, when we followed it up with that program on Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, at that hearing in Washington, I was again just reporting the facts."

NOTABLES AT VIEWING

Then he arose. "Look," he said, "I've got to go downstairs and look at a hunk of film with some people. You want to come along?"

The "some people" Murrow referred to turned out to be Samuel Goldwyn, the movie producer; Paul Hoffman, former director of the ECA, and Maurice T. Moore, chairman of the board of Time magazine. And the "hunk of film" run off in the CBS viewing room was the kinescope of this week's "See It Now," showing the interrogation of Mrs. Moss by the Un-American Activities subcommittee.

The kinescope record concluded with the words from the President, and Murrow's customary "Good night . . . And good luck," and the lights came on again. The visitors prepared to leave, congratulating the black-browed man in the shirt sleeves on the job he was doing, slapping him on the back, shaking his hand, telling him what a great service he was performing for the country. He stared at each of them in turn from his deep-set eyes. "Thanks . . . thank you," he kept muttering. "Well, somebody's got to do it."

FRIGHTENED AT THOUGHT

Out in the hallway, waiting for the elevator to take him back to his own office, he drew savagely on another cigaret. "I don't know," he said. "This is something I never experienced before. The emotional impact of that show, the words I used, coming right on top of those film clips—I suppose that's what did it more than anything else. Radio—in radio, I could deal with ideas, with abstract thoughts and concepts. In television—up to now, that is—I've just been reporting the facts. But now . . . now . . ." His voice trailed off, his eyes gazed into space through the swirl of blue smoke. "I don't know," he muttered again. "What frightens me is that somebody might come along and use this thing, television, for evil . . . I don't know."

The elevator door opened and Murrow ground out the cigaret in a receptacle. "Look," he said, sticking out his hand, "I'm sorry things are so hectic these days, but you know how it is. Come back and see me again after a while, will you? We'll talk some more about it." The elevator door closed behind him and he disappeared. Behind, in the hallway, there was still a faint trace of that blue smoke hanging in the air, and through it you would still see those black brows, the deep-set eyes and that organ tone voice saying, "I don't know . . . it frightens me . . ."

Subversive Front:

Vicious Bigot at Work

By HOWARD RUSHMORE

GOVERNMENT officials here and in Washington are receiving a vicious anti-Semitic document, "Zionist Network" by Jack B. Tenney, State Senator of California and candidate for vice-president in 1952 on Gerald L. K. Smith's "Christian" Nationalist party.

Tenney, once chairman of the California State Un-American Activities committee, has gone over completely to the Smith group of bigots. He was solidly trounced by his own party recently when the county Republican organization in Los Angeles refused to endorse him for re-election.

REDS SAY PRESIDENT SUPPORTS M'CARTHY

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MOSCOW, March 10—Pravda, in the longest and most detailed discussion of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy which it has yet published, asserted today that President Eisenhower "on the whole supported McCarthy."

The newspaper christened the Senator the "chief troubadour of American fascism" and said there was nothing new or original about him. "McCarthy hasn't invented anything himself," said Pravda. "He simply has zealously followed in the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini."

Today's article referred to the Wisconsin Senator as "briber, speculator and defrauder."

The reason for Senator McCarthy in Pravda's opinion is that "owners of American monopolies" who guide the Republican party have found in the Senator a most useful weapon with which to assure themselves of power and attack progressive, liberal and trade union elements in the United States.

Pravda credited the American trade union movement with being a "powerful organization" which now unites more than half of all American workers and which has aroused fear on the part of "monopolies." The real reason in Pravda's opinion that President Eisenhower's Cabinet cannot refuse to support Senator McCarthy's activities is that he and other investigators hold leading posts in the "offensive of American reaction against the social achievements of the workers of the country."

was, until the shooting three weeks ago, surely the most dramatic production the House chamber ever staged. With his homecoming we were launched into what we called "The Great Debate," details of which most of us don't now recall. For several weeks it appeared the whole future of Western Civilization might hinge on whether MacArthur was listened to or not.

There were days when typesetters and broadcasters the world over bore the words of MacArthur to a waiting populace.

So much has happened since — so many other great debates — so many new heroes — that seeing MacArthur's name in a news item seemed startling.

Perhaps there is a lesson here for both those who fight so hard for fame and those who worry or applaud about who, for the moment, is the most famous.

Time, indeed, marches on.

The Show Of The Year

Last week, in his television program, Ed Murrow used the senator's own recorded words against him, devastatingly to show Joe McCarthy with his pretenses down. The commentator offered the congressman an equal amount of time for rebuttal. The invitation has been accepted for the evening of April 6.

Assuming it will be a duet rather than a solo, this certainly will be the TV show of the year. The impending joint appearance of two such master showmen, in their respective ways, is something no one within range of a receiving set will want to miss. The audience it will have will leave Milton, Lucy, Jackie, and Ed gnashing their teeth.

The millions who tune in that Tuesday evening, however, probably are doomed to tune off with a feeling of bewilderment and bafflement.

Ed may be depended upon to ask the penetrating questions. Joe may be depended upon even more to avoid the precise answers. He may be depended upon further to start talking so furiously and fast that there will not be time for many queries.

It was deponent's good fortune once to spend several hours in a closed session in which a dozen Ed Murrows were out-doing themselves in endeavoring to obtain some exact information from the senator. However skillfully they swung their hammers, they never were able to nail him down. The only thing the audience found out was that McCarthy has a genius for not being hooked on any public platform.

Southwest Breezes

St. Patrick's day passed and nary a spud did we plant.

Joe McCarthy expresses fear that Secretary Benson will cause the downfall of the Republican party next November. Look who's worrying about wrecking the GOP.

Change in White House

He may be a rough and tough army guy but look at the restraint President Eisenhower used in replying to Democratic attacks on the GOP and their claims about the tax bill. "They are in error," said the president. Turn back two years and think what the then president would have said.

the hydrogen bomb has been adopted and that the United States, with its allies would retaliate with any weapons and in any place of its own choosing.

Did this mean that, if a "little war" broke out in Korea or Indochina or the Near East, the "massive retaliation" would apply? Not at all. Each situation would be dealt with in the circumstances involved. It is not necessarily to be inferred that any atom bombs to be assumed therefore would not be. Admiral Radford says it is desirable to keep the enemy guessing.

Is the armament of the United States adequate to carry on a "little war" and yet maintain enough strength for a big war if the "little war" became a big war? The answer to this question has not been determined by anyone. Out of the uncertainty which it produces has come the debate between the heads of the armed services as to whether they have been given enough money to buy the weapons and to

ican military action makes it unnecessary to ask the consent of both houses of Congress for a declaration of war.

What then did President Eisenhower mean when he told his press conference recently that America wasn't going to become involved in the Indo-China war and that, if we did, he would first ask authorization from Congress? The answer is that Indo-China is not covered by any mutual-defense treaty to which the United States is a party and that the situation is not even like Korea. This means that, if Eisenhower had been President in June 1950, he might have ordered American troops into action as an implied obligation of the United Nations charter but at the same time he would have asked for a formal resolution of ratification by Congress immediately afterward.

All this boils down to the confident belief that a "hot war" is not on the horizon, and may not be for a long time to come provided the United States maintains its armament program and its present policy of non-appeasement and resoluteness.

Drew Pearson

Big Firms Advise On Tax Bill

WASHINGTON — One amazing thing about the current 875-page proposed new tax bill is that Ways and Means committeemen — outside Chairman Dan Reed — have not known who the big business experts were who worked on it. It has not been unusual to have big business experts work on tax bills in the past. Their advice, as well as that of labor and consumer groups, was always welcomed. But the advice was always given in public sessions so that everyone knew about it.

This time it was given secretly, and Democratic members of the Ways and Means committee hitherto have not been able to ascertain who they were.

However they have just now discovered that the Jones-Laughlin Steel company and Westinghouse were on the committee which wrote the corporate reorganization sections of the tax bill. They have also ascertained that Bethlehem Steel and General Foods helped write the pensions section which reinstate the provisions of 12 years ago whereby only top executives of a corporation can have tax-free funds set aside for pensions. Small-scale employees cannot benefit.

Congressmen also learned **Pearson** that Standard Oil of New Jersey helped write the section on consolidated tax returns.

Roy Cohn's family is not unacquainted with the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. His grandfather was mixed up in the Bank of the United States scandal. When Roy joined the New York National Guard a friend asked him why. "To get out of the draft," replied Cohn, who can be very frank. "What makes you think that will get you out?" asked the friend. "I'm going to be in the selective service office of the National Guard," was Roy's reply. . . Cohn took his exam to enter the National Guard in 1950, the year the Korean war started.

While working in Washington, Cohn managed to get a special dispensation from the Washington District of Columbia guard to drill with them. In the past this has almost never been given. . . Juiciest portions of the Army report on Cohn-McCarthy-Schine were omitted. The original report was about twice as long as that the army made public.

Air Secretary Talbott almost spilled his breakfast coffee when he read the recent Washington Merry-Go-Round account of the closed-door dressing-down given him by Reps. Harry Sheppard of California and George Mahon of Texas.

One of their colleagues, Rep. Clair Engle of California, an Air Force reservist, was all set to patch up congressional differences with the temperamental Talbott, but got a phone call from the Pentagon that things were still too hot to smoke the peace pipe.

Sen. John Butler of Maryland is a man who, when he has convictions, has 'em. And not even the White House can budge him. . . Butler felt strongly about the Bricker amendment, resented the expert lobbying job performed by White House minions in persuading various senators to switch their votes. . . So, when the same minions argued with him for 45 minutes not to tie Alaskan statehood to Hawaii, Butler refused to budge. He voted that statehood for both should go hand-in-hand.

Two cabinet officers are squabbling over who should take over the South American rubber program. Foreign-aid boss Harold Stassen has been trying to develop a strategic natural rubber industry in Latin America to prepare for possible loss of Southeast Asia to the Reds. His agency however is now going out of business. . . Secretary of Commerce Weeks thinks the Agriculture Department should take over the rubber program. But Secretary of Agriculture Benson insists its should go to the Commerce department . . . Reason for the after-you-Alphonse attitude is that whoever gets the rubber program will have to dip into his budget to pay for it.

dren, all males, all grown up, all with good jobs who will love their old stepdaddy so much they'll support him as he wants to become accustomed to being supported.

That's sweet, I think.

I know a man who claims he married the gal because she owned a Japanese print and a book he had always wanted to read but had never been able to purchase, it being out of print.

That's tender, too, the man probably didn't have much fun after marriage because his wife was too intellectual.

The fifth man I interviewed in this survey came up with the most comprehensive objective in picking a wife.

Said he:

I want a woman who can cook, will always be well groomed at breakfast, will never hang her undies in the bathroom, will never backseat drive, will never nag, will earn her own living, will mow the lawn weekly and will have no in-laws who might want to borrow money.

Referring back three paragraphs the phrase should not be "comprehensive objective" but should be "impossible objective."

Looking Backward

10 Years Ago In 1944

U. S. military leaders announced the Admiralty Islands clear of Japanese forces — 21 days after the invasion began.

A new record, 98 points for a basketball game, was set by the Lowery Field team in the 10th annual A.A.U. tourney at Denver.

Hutchinson police department members attended F.B.I. schools of instruction in Salina and Wichita.

Classes in tractor repair work were being offered for farm women at Langdon as the farm manpower situation became worse.

25 Years Ago In 1929

Grace hospital board of trustees discussed a proposal to add a new wing to present facilities as they heard a report of many patients being turned away for lack of space.

Business executives and sales forces of retail firms held a sales conference with a Kansas City expert as speaker.

Work on city tennis courts was delayed as the two-ton horsedrawn roller was reported stolen.

Word Of Life

1 THESSALONIANS 4:1-7 . . . "Finally, brethren, we beseech and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that as you learned from us how you ought to live and to please God, just as you are doing, you do so more and more. For you know what instructions we gave you through the Lord Jesus. For this is the will of God, your sanctification: that you abstain from immorality; that each one of you know how to take a wife for himself in holiness and honor, not in the passion of lust like heathen who do not know God; that no man transgress, and wrong his brother in this matter, because the Lord is an avenger in all these things, as we solemnly forewarned you. For God has not called us for uncleanness, but in holiness . . ."

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And AERATORS

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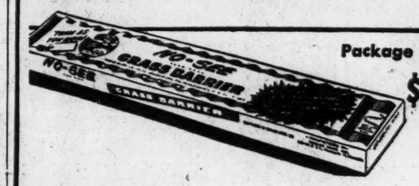
Approximately 15 to Choose From

Which of these home-owners will have time for golf?

Grass won't grow where roots can't go!

NO-SEE GRASS BARRIER ends trimming and edging

Cuts lawn work in half! Install No-See Grass Barrier along fences, hedges, driveways; around flower beds, trees, shrubs. Bars grass from spreading; gives a permanent, neat edge. Mow right over it. Made of corrugated, galvanized steel sections two feet long by four inches deep. Key together in desired length. Easy to install; just drive down to soil level. Bends easily around corners. Gives your lawn that well-kept semi-formal look! Gives *you* more time for summer fun!



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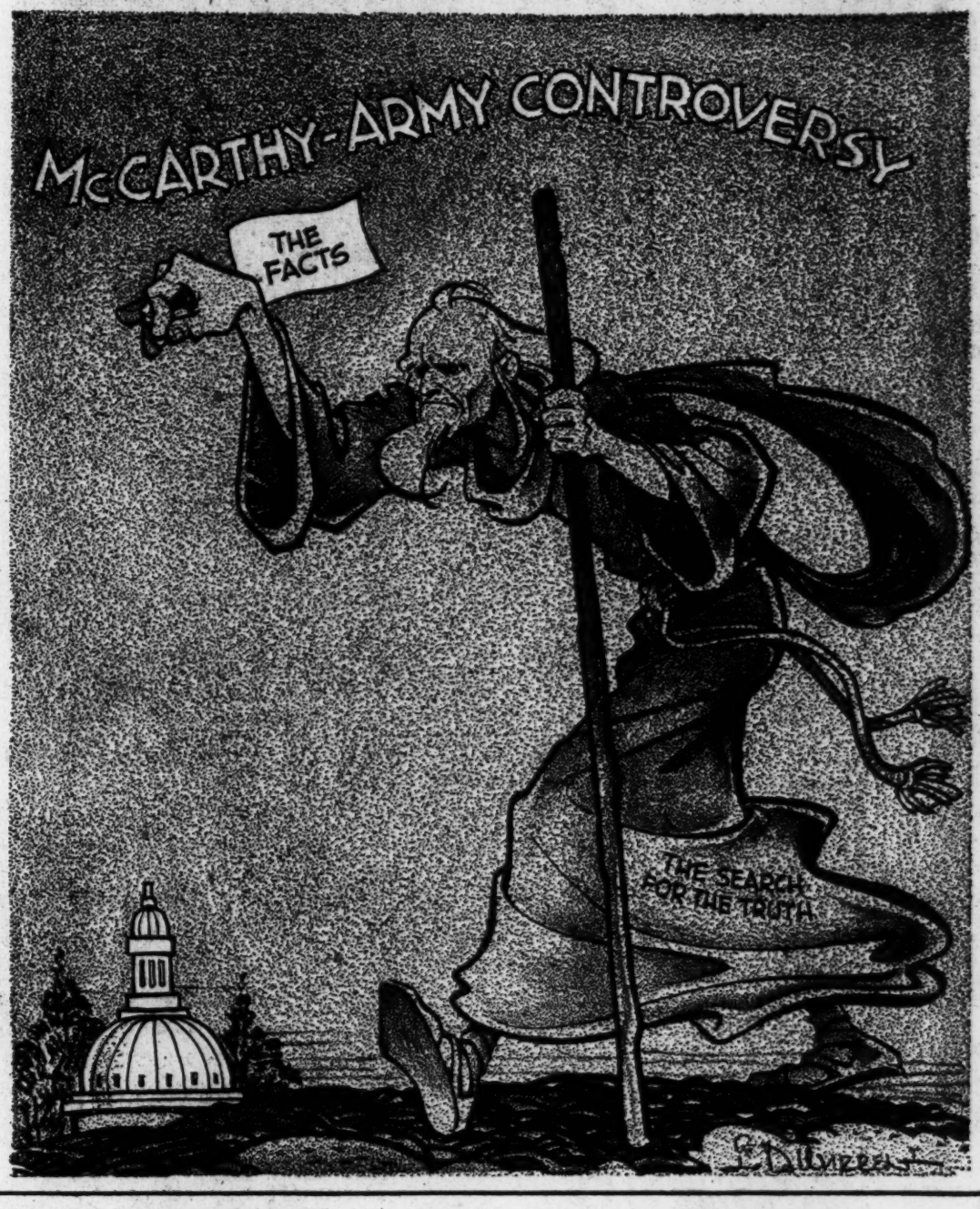
THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1954 ★

Diogenes Needs His Lamp

By Warren



Out of the Past:

Education in Moscow

By E. F. TOMPKINS

SENATOR McCARTHY won a polemical victory by reminding Mr. Edward R. Murrow of that broadcaster's association in the 1930's with the Moscow State University.

Mr. Murrow had to defend himself. In two appearances he talked about [illegible]

teachers, principals, professors, psychologists, social workers, physicians, nurses and artists."

Soviet Russia was gratified. Intourist said "the undeniable success of these ventures" prompted the formation of "an

Out of the Past:

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SENATOR McCARTHY won a polemical victory by reminding Mr. Edward R. Murrow of that broadcaster's association in the 1930's with the Moscow State University.

Mr. Murrow had to defend himself. In his appearances, he talked about himself rather than the Senator. However, after a lapse of 20 years he remembered things imperfectly. This is of consequence, since the Institute of International Education, also involved, now selects the Fulbright scholars who go abroad at the expense of American taxpayers.

The facts may be traced in propaganda prospectuses issued by Intourist, the Soviet travel agency; in "Who's Who in America" (1942-43); and in Reports of the aforesaid Institute. The Moscow pamphlets were overladen with fulsome praise of Russian Communism.

Listed as Adviser

Senator McCarthy remarked that in 1935 Mr. Murrow was listed as an American adviser to a Summer session of the Moscow University, which taught and advocated "the violent overthrow of the existing social order."

Mr. Murrow reported that he was such an adviser in 1935, but that he did not go to Russia, and that the Summer Session was not held.

The facts:

Mr. Murrow was assistant director of the Institute of International Education, and chief of its foreign offices, from 1932 to 1935.

According to Intourist, the Summer Session of the Moscow University operated within that period. Called the "American Summer School in Russia," it was organized and held its first session in 1933 (and Murrow was a sponsor then.) It "originated as the result of an experiment conducted . . . by a group of American educators."

Then began the connection with the Institute of International Education (Dr. Stephen Duggan, director; Edward R. Murrow, assistant director). Intourist said:

"In order to insure close cooperation with American educational institutions, and with students and educators in the United States, an advisory relationship was established in 1933 with the Institute of International Education.

"At the same time, a National Advisory Council of prominent American educators was formed by Prof. Stephen Duggan to assist the Institute of International Education in its advisory capacity."

Member of 1933 Council

Murrow was a member of the 1933 Council; and this was the Council to which Murrow still belonged in 1935, as Senator McCarthy said. Another member was Prof. George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, then controversially famous as the author of a revolutionary pamphlet, "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?" and an adulatory book, "The Soviet Challenge to America."

Intourist recorded that "the second Summer Session" was held in 1934, that 212 students attended, and that—

"Among them were undergraduates, teachers, principals, professors, psychologists, social workers, physicians, nurses and artists."

Soviet Russia was gratified. Intourist said "the undeniable success of these ventures" prompted the formation of "an Anglo-American Section" to carry on with "the full support of the foremost educators and scientists of the Soviet Union."

Meanwhile, American students of 1933-34 complained that every Soviet teacher in every course tiresomely gave them Communist indoctrination. Dr. Duggan fixed that, he informed the Institute of International Education, by having only one course in Communism, compulsory for all students.

The 1935 session was projected accordingly. The Hearst Newspapers exposed the scheme in February (1935) and the Session was not held. But the collaboration was by no means as casual as Mr. Murrow pretends.

Diplomatic Moves Peril Geneva Success

By WILLIAM P. FLYTHE

WASHINGTON.—A series of mysterious diplomatic moves were today piling up to threaten success of the Geneva Far East conference.

They are:

The Republic of (South) Korea has not accepted a formal invitation to attend.

Syngman Rhee, ROK president, has been silent on the matter of coming to Washington himself, or to delegate an envoy, to confer with the American State Department on the agenda.

The exchange of ratification of a mutual security pact between ROK and the U. S. has been indefinitely delayed. The ROK Embassy said it is prepared to sign, but the U. S. has postponed ratification "indefinitely."

Red China is reluctant to attend the Geneva parley unless its foreign minister be considered one of a "Big Five" and seated on equality with the ministers of the U. S., Great Britain, France and Russia.

Red Russia is attempting to delay the conference beyond April 26, the date originally agreed upon.

South Africa Out

The Republic of South Africa, one of the nations fighting on the side of the U. S. in Korea, has notified the U. S. it will have nothing further to do with the Far East problem and will not attend.

Behind the scenes, Secretary of State Dulles is attempting to iron out the differences and have the four power meeting at Geneva as scheduled, with Red China attending as a belligerent on matters concerning Korea and as an interested nation regarding the war in Indochina.

However, the U. S. has to deal with Red China through the American Embassy in Moscow. The Russians are insisting that Red China be seated at the Geneva conference as an equal.

Y JOURNAL MAR 23 1954

Pro-Communist Study:

'Seminar' in Russia

By E. F. TOMPKINS

HERE lie two brochures issued by or for the Soviet Government to drum up student trade for the Communist "American Summer School in Moscow" in 1933, 1934 and 1935.

One pamphlet advertises the 1933 session. The other is devoted to the 1935 Seminar. In both years, Edward R. Murrow—Columbia Broadcasting System's anti-McCarthyite—is officially listed as a member of an American "Advisory" group. More will be heard of this, as the McCarthy Committee has original and authentic copies of the documents, and Mr. Murrow himself has compelled the Committee to make proper use of them.

Seminar's Goals

These booklets—to which Mr. Murrow obviously gave his personal sponsorship—contain some interesting texts. The 1933 issue, titled "The First Russian Seminar," has a passage headed "Seminar Aims." It says:

"The Russian Revolution has brought on one of the greatest social upheavals of all times. Socialism has been given microscopic trials before, but never on such a Gargantuan scale. Now, in our own times and under our own eyes, the world's most important experiment in Communism is taking place. The inspirational opportunities for study and observation are unlimited.

"Would you like to have been an observer during the French Revolution? The present opportunity in Russia is of equal significance. The First Russian Seminar will take advantage of this opportunity. . . .

"To the thoughtful American citizen, anxious to learn the utmost possible about the ways and means of improving our present civic-economic organization, the First Russian Seminar will make a strong appeal.

"The itinerary is comprehensive."

That ballyhoo contained a little lie along with the big ones.

The "comprehensive" itinerary in Russia was only a few side-trips under the leadership of Intourist, the official Soviet travel agency, to some tourist show-off places.

And what would Americans have learned about improving our "civic-economic organization"?

Would they have learned how "brainwashing" is done and purges are executed? Would they have learned how to starve five million farmers and how to condemn fifteen million political opponents to hard labor and slow death in slave camps?

If not that, what would American students and educators have learned at Mr. Murrow's First Russian Seminar?

Advisory Committee

In any event, the American dupes had American as well as Russian guidance. The 1933 brochure said:

"Leaders chosen for the most part from the Advisory Committee . . . will accompany the Seminar and supplement the general sight-seeing programs with special lectures, talks and informal discussions."

Following are the names of the American "Advisory Committee" in 1933:

Stuart Chase, New York City; Kenneth Conant, Associate Professor of Architecture, Harvard University; Samuel H. Cross, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature, Harvard University; Henry W. L. Dana, Cambridge; George M. Day, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Occidental College; Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions, The University of Chicago; Henry I. Harriman, President, United States Chamber of Commerce; Bruce C. Hopper, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University; Walter W. Hyde, Professor of Greek and Ancient History, University of Pennsylvana; Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, Inc., New York City; Frank Nowak, Professor of Slavic History, Boston University; Grove Patterson, Editor of the Toledo Blade, Toledo; D. C. Poole, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University; Geroid T. Robinson, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University; Tredwill Smith, New York City; Whiting Williams, Cleveland.

THE Nation
333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

Mr. Shatte
See page 2

March 16, 1954

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I want to add my congratulations to the thousands you have received for your fine program on the Senator from Wisconsin.

May I offer a suggestion for a somewhat similar program? Why don't you focus sometime on McCarthyism as it manifests itself in a local community, somewhat in the fashion of your fine show on the young reserve officer in Detroit? I have in mind a particular situation, which is at least indicated in the enclosed copy of a news story which appeared in the Trenton Times. It has a background, however, which would require some explanation.

This is one of many similar situations to be found today in scores of American communities from coast to coast, and I think you would be doing another distinguished public service if you would indicate what is really involved in local situations of this kind.

Best wishes,

Carey McWilliams
Editorial Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

TRENTON EVENING TIMES
Trenton, N.J.

March 10, 1954

'INSIDIOUS' FORCES MEETING SHOWS IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

It can happen here.

It did, last night in the auditorium of St. Mary's Cathedral.

Before more than 100 people, a pale young man pulled a German Luger and a P-38 automatic out of a brief case.

"These," he said, "are weapons I brought back from the front lines of Germany."

He dropped the Luger on the speaker's table. Clunk! Except for this clunk, there wasn't a sound in the place.

He slammed down the P-38. Clunk!

He paused, then said, "A bullet in one of these will kill you."

"Holy smokes!" somebody whispered in Row 3.

Then the young man held up a copy of The Nation, a weekly magazine. "This, too," he said, "is a weapon of destructiveness."

And that was how it started -- two hours and 26 minutes of "anti-Communism."

Three men spoke, sometimes to enthusiastic applause, about almost every subject under the sun -- except Communism. The moderator, Frederick H. Grein, brought along the two revolvers and two other speakers, Frederick G. Cartwright and David C. Boswell.

Cartwright of Englewood is a New York investment broker. Grein, of Tenafly, is vice commander of the Catholic War Veterans of New Jersey. Boswell identified himself as an engineer "fighting a one-man battle against Communism, like Herb Philbrick."

The meeting, a panel discussion, was sponsored by the Catholic Young Adult Club of Trenton.

The three men came down from North Jersey to talk about the Communist menace. They did not mention Karl Marx, nor Stalin, nor Malenkov. They never defined the word Communism.

Instead they heaped abuse on President Eisenhower, Senator H. Alexander Smith, Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, former Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, among many others.

When the meeting was over, a priest in the rear of the hall had this to say: "I have never heard such nonsense in all my life."

A public school teacher (who is a Catholic) said, "The frightening thing is that the audience actually applauded what these men said."

The subject was "Insidious Forces Trying to Undermine America."

Here are a few of the statements "which we can prove" made by one or all of the speakers:

At the behest of ex-Governor Driscoll, Communist teachers in New Jersey's public school system were "whitewashed."

It does not matter if you injure the reputation of an innocent person if your aim in reporting that person as a Communist is to fight Communism "because the good outweighs the bad."

The United World Federalist movement is a Communist plot.

No one should ever vote for Senator Smith because he once voted for Dean Acheson.

The American Civil Liberties Union includes the top Reds of America.

Senator Hendrickson is a dangerous man because he is tied up with the World Federalists.

The American Legion has been used, unwittingly, to foster Communist propaganda. So have PTA's and Leagues of Women Voters.

"Since when is America a democracy?" Boswell said at one point. "We're not a democracy, we're a republic."

Very few people were actually called Communist. But many were described by the speakers as "identified Communist" or "suspected subversive" or "tied up with the Reds." The speakers did not say who had done the identifying or the suspecting or the tying up.

Among those painted with the same brush were Edward R. Murrow of TV and radio, and Howard Fast.

As for President Eisenhower, Boswell said: "When Eisenhower was president of Columbia University, I wrote him a letter. I told him to fire every Communist on the Columbia faculty. And, do you know what? Eisenhower never answered my letter!"

A great deal of the criticism was directed at what Boswell called the "700 liberal newspapers of America." After leaving the stage, Boswell identified the Trenton Times as one of these. "As far as I'm concerned," Boswell added, "liberal means un-American."

The major target was the New York Times. "It doesn't hurt you to read the Times," said Boswell, "any more than it hurts to read any subversive paper."

The New York Times, according to Boswell, "has done more to further the Communist cause than any paper in America." He charged that there are 126 card-carrying Communists in that paper's Sunday section alone.

Boswell characterized the New York Herald-Tribune (Republican) as "the Uptown Daily Worker." Other papers labeled pro-Communist or anti-anti-Communist: the Newark News, the Bergen Record, the Englewood Press-Journal.

Grein, the man with the revolvers, at one point held up two textbooks. These were Communist-inspired, he said, and they were being used in "our schools." He did not say Trenton schools.

Other publications linked with the Communists by Grein were: McCall's Magazine; the Compass, defunct newspaper; The Saturday Review of Literature. In the same breath he mentioned The Daily Worker, a Communist publication.

Grein and Cartwright both suggested that The Nation be thrown out of public school libraries in Trenton if it is found there.

They also proposed that an "Americanism committee" be formed in Trenton to do the sort of anti-Communist work the three men were doing.

This committee, they said, should demand that the Legislature form a permanent unit to investigate Communism in New Jersey schools.

The appearance of Grein, Cartwright and Boswell in Trenton was a continuance of an "anti-Communist crusade" they have been waging in New Jersey. In several North Jersey towns Cartwright has provoked stormy sessions -- one described by himself as a "riot" with his speeches.

After making a careful study of Cartwright and some of his associates, the Newark News reported that "almost all the recent 'incidents' have a thread of connection and that thread leads back to a much publicized incident in Englewood eight years ago."

In most cases, Ted Hall of the News reported, the incidents have centered on public schools.

In East Orange a teacher was criticized for using pro-Communist pamphlets as teaching aids in a course intended to show students how to spot propaganda.

In Summit, school authorities were asked to delete from a school pledge a reference toward citizenship.

In Tenafly the school curriculum and some textbooks were attacked as un-American.

According to officials of the Nutley Human Relations Council, Cartwright "all but wrecked" that organization with inflammatory speeches.

Organized League

Cartwright has been a leading figure in the Englewood censorship incidents. To carry his campaign he organized the Englewood Anti-Communist League. Grein joined Cartwright in the Tenafly criticism and on other occasions.

When challenged here last night about their possible connection with Allen A. Zoll, Grein denied any such tie up. So did Cartwright.

But it is a well known fact that Cartwright has publicly endorsed Zoll. And Zoll appeared in Englewood to speak in behalf of Cartwright's Anti-Communist League.

Zoll was for years the head of American Patriots Inc., a group since branded as Fascist by the Attorney General. Zoll has been identified with anti-public school disturbances in Denver, Pasadena, Scarsdale and Port Washington, N.Y. Zoll is an associate and supporter of Merwin K. Hart, a super-patriot who writes for Common Sense, termed an anti-Semitic weekly edited by Conde McGinley in Union City, N. J.

In most of the North Jersey disturbances, Cartwright and associates have used established organizations to promote their ends. In Englewood it was a Catholic War Veterans post. In Montclair the Sons of the American Revolution attempted to censor public library books. In Summit the VFW sought censorship of the school pledge. The local spokesman in Nutley was a newspaper editor.

Hope for Future Meetings

Several oblique and direct attempts were made last night to use the same system here. The speakers hoped there will be future meetings of this kind in Trenton. They offered to help out. They urged formation of "Americanism" committees. They proposed an all-out attack on The Nation magazine.

The idea, they made it clear, was for the Catholic Young Adult Club of Trenton to carry the ball. For anyone interested in such an idea, they said, they would be available even after the question-answer period.

The heated question-answer period produced almost as many extreme charges as the formal talks. This is how it went:

Someone in the audience asked a question about Communism.

Boswell spoke for 11 minutes and 39 seconds in answer, and this is the gist of what he said: Although I am a Mason, one of my two sons married a Catholic girl named Murphy. I have no prejudice against any race or religion. Boswell added that he says his prayers every night.

Another question concerned Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Army.

Boswell's answer: "I believe Senator McCarthy (about General Zwicker) because he usually has the evidence. I know McCarthy personally and he is one of the finest statesmen who ever wore shoe leather in Washington."

Boswell urged those present to get a program of Americanism started. "I urge you to arouse your apathy," he said.

As for criticism of Senator McCarthy, Boswell said: "If you think McCarthy is wrong, don't hesitate. Write and ask him."

Boswell praised Louis Budenz, now an anti-Communist and former editor of the Daily Worker. He also said that the Roman Catholic church is the only organization anywhere fighting Communism.

.....

Ed —
Magnificent!
Here's a sample of our local climate.
Chet

Oust Vice Chief After Malibu Raid

McCARTHY 'BURNS UP' TV GABBLER AS 'LEFTY' AIDE

7¢

LOS ANGELES EVENING
HERALD EXPRESS

International News Service Associated Press United Press Dow-Jones

NIGHT FINAL
2 P.M.
New York Stocks

VOL. LXXXIII Three Sections Section A 1243 Trenton St., 54 MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1954 Ph. RI. 4141 · H NO. 303

Accepts Network Air Time

STRAIGHT-UP AIRPLANE

The Navy today lifted the curtain of secrecy on this fantastic new fighter plane which is able to take off and land vertically. The plane, built by Lockheed, is powered by twin jet turbines. It needs neither runways nor carrier decks to operate. It uses its four-pointed X-shaped tail for a landing gear. Arrow points to pilot. (Story, B-12; other photos, A-10.)

What Price Charity?

Racketeers Fatten On Drives to Aid Children and Needy

This is the first of three articles detailing organized efforts of charity racketeers to fleece the public, their methods of operation, and the safeguards set up to protect reputable charity appeals.

By TOM CATON

Like a horrid cancer in the heart of society, charity racketeering is recognized as a $100,000,000 annual fraud on the people of America.

Los Angeles city for 40 years has been a model for efficient policing of a problem that amounts to a national scandal, has an enviable record for protecting its citizens, but still—

There are many individuals who, despite rigid controls, would make the urban population a happy hunting ground for chiselers anxious to take food from the mouths of babies, medical aid from the aged and infirm, and hope from the hearts of the blind and afflicted.

And right now is the kickoff time for the slippery characters and hypocrites who live high off the generosity of others. They are getting ready for their annual kill, now that Christmas bills are out of the way and there is a spare dollar in the public's pocketbook.

'Boiler Room Boys' Ready

The "boiler room boys" who try a hit-run and high pressure type of fund appeal are on their mark. The "gimmick" artists who want to pan off a little memento in return for a contribution are ready with their carpetbags. The mail order artists are ready with mimeograph and honeyed words.

"Now is harvest time for the charity racketeer," declares Allan Coulston of the Better Business Bureau of Los Angeles. "If he can, he wants to beat respectable charity appeals to the punch."

Los Angeles will find them ready, however. The City Social Service Department, under management of Mrs. Evelyn Spaulding, does nothing but crimp their style. Those fly-by-nights who try to make a quick score are liable to find the teeth of state and municipal statutes clamped tightly around their little plan.

Jail terms and fines await those convicted of making false appeals to line their own pockets.

Some idea of the eternal vigilance required to police the pub-

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

Biscailuz Picks New Vice Chief

In a shake-up, Sheriff Eugene W. Biscailuz today removed Capt. Robert L. Summers as head of the vice squad and put him in charge of the Montrose sub-station.

Sheriff Biscailuz didn't say that the transfer was because Summers' squad had arrested six $100-a-night party girls in a "raid" last Wednesday at Malibu.

But it was recalled that last Friday the sheriff criticized the "bad judgment' 'of the vice detail for using Deputy Sheriff Lockwood Marshall's rented Trancas Beach home for the six arrests, and said he would announce "disciplinary action" today.

Led by Captain Summers, nine deputies, posing as car dealers on a "spree," took the "party girls" from Hollywood to the beach home rented by Marshall, a so-called "millionaire cop."

After the girls were paid $100 each in marked money, and did a nude dance, they were placed under arrest. In their report, the deputies said that they had been "guided" to the beach home by the girls, but Summers later admitted it was the other way around.

Biscailuz immediately ordered an investigation and stated:

"I'm against any form of entrapment."

The sheriff names Capt. Fred G. Timbres to succeed the deposed Summers as vice squad head.

Fimbres will be succeeded as head of the narcotics squad by Capt. Kenneth E. Irving of the headquarters detective division to which Capt. W. R. Tiernan was reassigned from the Montrose job given to Summers.

"The transfers were made for the good of the department in keeping with an existing personnel policy to further the efficiency of the service," Biscailuz said.

He said that any other changes in the personnel of the vice squad "will be up to Captain Fimbres," with whom Biscailuz said he would confer.

Mayo Clinic Nurse For 64 Years, Dies

ROCHESTER, Minn., March 15 (AP)—Sister Mary Sylvester Burke, 83, surgical nurse for the famed Mayo Brothers, died Sunday at St. Mary's Hospital to which she was assigned more than 64 years ago.

Two Lost Boys Safe In Mountain Ordeal

Unharmed and in good condition, two boys who had been lost two days and nights in the snow-capped San Jacinto Mountains trudged into Palm Springs today, thus halting a wide ground-air search.

Kenneth Nill jr., 13, and Keith Reekie jr., 14, both of Oceanside, had covered more than 25 miles on foot in freezing temperatures.

They got lost Saturday morning while on a hunting trip with Richard Miller, 14, of Palm Springs, who returned to his home last night.

Young Miller walked in over the eastern slope of the mountains, while the other two made for the western slope, toward Idyllwild, then doubled back in their tracks for Palm Springs.

A half dozen planes and scores of men on foot and horseback had been searching for them for the past 24 hours.

Uphold Granting of Tidelands to Cal.

—Herald-Express Photo

VICTIMS OF TEENAGED BANDITS

Norman Kaplan, left, owner of Jerry's Market at 2301 South Hoover street, shows how he and three men got out of icebox after they were locked in it by two teenaged bandits, one of them only 13 or 14 year sold, who robbed the market og $1500 in cash and $4000 in checks today. Other victims are, lef to right: Richard Longshore, Vince Perno and Marshal Kaplan.

Bandit, Aged 13, Robs L. A. Market

Two teenaged boys, one of them only 13 or 14 years old, held up Jerry's Market at 2301 South Hoover street today and escaped with $1500 in cash and $3000 to $4000 in checks, after locking four men in the icebox.

Victims of the holdup were Norman Kaplan and his brother, Marshall, owners of the market; Richard Longshore, the butcher, and Vince Perno, who was making a milk delivery.

Both wearing handkerchiefs as masks and both armed with revolvers, the two boys approached Norman Kaplan as he was carrying the cashbox from the safe.

"Everybody be nice and nobody will be hurt," the elder bandit told them.

All four were herded into the icebox behind the beer and dairy products compartments.

Norman Kaplan released the others, after several chill moments, by climbing through an icebox compartment door with a broken lock.

The older bandit was described as 18 or 19 years old, soft-spoken, 5 feet 10, 155 pounds; the younger, 13 or 14 years old, 5 feet 4, 120 pounds.

SNOW CANCELS SKI MEET

GREAT FALLS, Mont., March 15 (AP)—The Great Falls Ski Club had to cancel its races Sunday. Reason: Too much snow.

Ike's Tax Talk Tonight on L. A. Radio and T'

President Eisenhower's talk on taxes tonight will be broadcast on these stations:

Radio—KFI 7 p.m., KHJ 7:30 p. m., KMPC 8:45 p. m., KABC 9:30 p. m., KNX 10:25 p. m.

Television—KNBH (4) 6 p. m., KNXT (2) 6 p. m., KTLA (5) 6 p. m., KABC (7) 6:30 p. m.

Spur Bill for 'Vote at 18'

WASHINGTON, March 15 (INS)—The Senate Judiciary Committee today approved a constitutional amendment that would give 18-year-olds the right to vote.

The committee sent the legislation to the Senate floor by a vote of 7 to 3. President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message asked Congress to extend the voting right to those between the ages of 18 and 21.

Supreme Court in Ruling

WASHINGTON, March 15 (AP)—The Supreme Court today denied Alabama and Rhode Island permission to file suits alleging Congress violated the Constitution when it conceded title to oil-rich lands to coastal states.

The two states, in seeking to challenge validity of a 1953 Act, contended it deprived their citizens of equitable interests in oil resources estimated to be worth $50,000,000,000, plus $62,000,000 in royalties and revenues impounded by the United States.

Rejecting the request from Alabama and Rhode Island, the court's majority opinion declared that the power of Congress to do as it wishes with public lands "is without limitation."

The unsigned opinion, known as "per curiam" opinion, cited six previous Supreme Court decisions and gave various quotations from those decisions in support of its holding today.

DISQUALIFY WARREN

The court's vote today was 6-2. Justices Black and Douglas wrote separate dissenting opinions.

Chief Justice Warren disqualified himself. Warren gave no reason, but presumably it was because of his interest, while governor of California, in getting Congress to enact the 1953 submerged Lands Act.

With Black and Douglas opposed and Warren disqualified, the majority was made up of Justices Reed, Frankfurter, Jackson, Burton, Clark and Minton.

Today's decision may not finally dispose of the issue.

Arkansas has pending in a lower federal court here a suit which challenges the right of coastal states to the submerged oil and the impounded funds.

RIGHT OF CONGRESS

Today's majority opinion cited previous decisions in which it pointed out that the Constitution provides that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

Rain in Sight Tomorrow

Today's sunny weather may be followed by rain tomorrow afternoon or evening from a storm which is spreading southward from Oregon over coastal and mountain sections. The forecast:

"Sunny today. Clouds and a little warmer tonight. Considerable cloudiness and cooler Tuesday with chance of rain in the afternoon or evening."

High temperature today was 70 after a low of 47 at 6:21 a. m. Visibility was nearly 40 miles after breezes dissipated haze and smoke.

—Associated Press Wirephoto

A SHILELAH FOR McCARTHY

Senator Joseph McCarthy wields a shilelah presented to him by the St. Joe's Club of Manitouoc, Wis., just before he flew back to Washington for a showdown with the army. McCarthy later accepted Radio-Tv Commentator Edward R. Murrow's offer to free air time April 6 to answer Murrow's criticism of McCarthy on a television program.

McCarthy To Spur Army Quiz

WASHINGTON, March 15 (INS) — Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland said today Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Investigations Subcommittee must "proceed immediately" to "get all the facts" concerning army charges of pressure by McCarthy and Roy M. Cohn.

Knowland told newsmen the "matter should be proceeded with quickly." Reminded that McCarthy leaves Washington Wednesday for a series of speaking engagements that will keep him away for the rest of the week, he added:

"This is of sufficient importance that all members of the committee should want to

Continued on Page 12, Col. 3)

WASHINGTON, March 15 (AP) — Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, today accepted an invitation to reply on television to criticisms from Edward R. Murrow, CBS commentator.

McCarthy said he would be willing to appear either March 23 or April 6, but preferred the latter date.

Murrow charged last week in a TV program that McCarthy, in investigating alleged Communists, had repeatedly stepped over the line between "investigating and persecuting." He offered to give McCarthy an opportunity to reply on the same program later.

MOSCOW SCHOOL ISSUE

In accepting today, McCarthy told Murrow in a telegram:

"If I am correct in my position that you have consciously served the Communist cause it is very important for your listeners to have the clear-cut documented facts so that they can decide whether or not you are truthful as you attempt to make out or are deliberately misrepresenting the facts."

McCarthy said in his telegram that "normally I would not waste time merely to

(Continued on Page 12, Col. 5)

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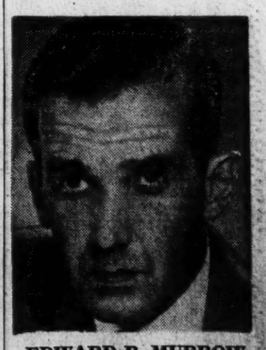

EDWARD R. MURROW
McCarthy Accepts Left-Wing Commentator's Offer

GOP, Dems. Split Party-Wise in Reaction to Nixon Talk

Seen as Pattern to Unite Republicans on Program

WASHINGTON, March 15 (AP) — Vice President Nixon's statement of the Eisenhower's administration case has been praised by a Republican as what the party needed to "get down to business," while a top Democrat said it just echoed his criticism.

Between these two poles ranged wide reaction to the talk nationally telecast Saturday night, much of which was obviously aimed at Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin.

Nixon took occasion also to speak up for the administration's "new look" in defense and diplomatic policies and to affirm that President Eisenhower is the effective leader of the government and party.

But most of the comment centered on such Nixon statements as one that "men who have in the past done effective work exposing Communism...have, by reckless talk and questionable methods, made themselves the issue" and thereby helped "those whose primary objective is to defeat the Eisenhower administration.''

McCarthy himself declined direct comment, but he said in a speech in Manitowoc, Wis., "I don't care how high or how low those are who scream at what we are doing,...I don't intend to treat traitors like gentlemen."

SENATOR FLANDERS, Republican of Vermont, who had said McCarthy intentionally or not is "doing his best to shatter" the GOP, termed the Nixon speech "the kind of a talk that should enable us Republicans to get down to business."

But **ADLAI E. STEVENSON,** the 1952 Democratic presidential candidate whose criticism a week earlier was the occasion for Nixon's address, said, "at Miami Beach I said that McCarthyism was injuring the government, dividing the nation and diverting the attention from the real issues. Last night Vice President Nixon...said precisely the same thing."

Republican comment ran along these lines:

SENATOR KNOWLAND of California, the Senate GOP leader: "It was a very constructive speech."

SENATOR BRIDGES of New Hampshire, temporary president of the Senate: A "calm, comprehensive report...which answered Mr. Stevenson's glib attack...I disagree with him (Nixon), however, when he infers that the dangers of Communism are being exaggerated."

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN LEONARD HALL: Nixon made it "amply clear...the Eisenhower administration is engaged on a program of great and lasting benefits to every American, and it will not be diverted by side issues."

SENATOR WELKER of Idaho: Nixon again "proved himself to be a great leader... (he) left no doubt but that we are united in fighting Communism at home and abroad...trying to save our people from perpetual war, overburdening taxation and inflation."

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN STEPHEN A. MITCHELL acknowledged on a television program last night that Nixon's speech was "a good answer to Senator McCarthy." The Democratic spokesman added:

"I hope it is followed by effective action by Mr. Eisenhower."

But **SENATOR MONRONEY,** Democrat of Oklahoma, said Nixon met Stevenson's charge "that the Republican party is half Eisenhower, half McCarthy by asking Senator McCarthy to stand in the corner for at least 15 minutes."

SENATOR ELLENDER, Democrat of Louisiana, said Nixon made a "weak presentation." He said the Vice President, who used previously published figures on security firings, still had not said how many Reds were found in government.

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McCarthy Braces for Showdown

(Continued from Page 1)

give it priority over other engagements."

McCarthy told newsmen earlier that he has tentatively planned a meeting of his subcommittee Tuesday to take up the army's charges that he and Cohn, subcommittee chief counsel, sought favored treatment for G. David Schine, a former subcommittee aide inducted into the army.

WANTS THOROUGH PROBE

McCarthy told reporters the closed session will take place at 10:30 a. m. if members are available.

Knowland insisted the inquiry "should not be delayed" or "put over until the following week but proceeded with this week and very promptly."

He denied a published report that he had suggested a one-day investigation, observing that he has "no idea" of how long the inquiry should or would take. His only position, he said, is that "we ought to find out and develop the facts with sworn testimony."

Asked if he could confirm or deny reports that the army only partially listed its charges of attempts by McCarthy and Cohn to obtain favored treatment for Schine, Knowland said:

"I don't know if it was an expurgated or full report. I did not have a copy of it until after stories about it appeared in the press."

ENTITLED TO FACTS

But he insisted that "the Senate and the country are entitled to all the facts," adding:

"I don't think anything in this matter should be withheld, and I don't think the public and the Senate will be satisfied with anything less than all the facts."

He insisted the investigation, at least in its primary stage, is the responsibility of the McCarthy subcommittee or its parent government Operations Committee, which also is headed by McCarthy.

However, he said he "can conceive that growing out of the developments there might be a field that the Armed Services Committee itself might feel justified in getting into."

Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, senior minority member of the group, was expected to return to Washington from Arkansas tonight. Other subcommittee men are in Washington and have been advocating such a meeting.

MUNDT PROPOSAL

Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota, second ranking GOP member of the unit, said he will bring up for discussion his proposal to shift an inquiry into the army's charges and McCarthy's counter charges to another committee.

Asked if he would make a motion to that effect, Mundt said only that he would "bring it up for discussion."'

The Wisconsin Republican interrupted a western speaking tour to fly back to Washington and angrily rejected suggestions that any probe of charges and counter-charges exchanged between his staff and the army be made by another committee.

Although such a course was advocated by Mundt, McCarthy declared that no other committee is "going to investigate whom we hire and fire."

The subcommittee may meet today to decide if a suggested hearing, in which McCarthy himself would testify under oath, should be held tomorrow.

COHN IN OFFER

Meanwhile, Cohn said he would glady "step down" from his role as attorney for the subcommittee and appear as a witness.

The 27-year-old chief counsel for the group declared on NBC's televised "Meet the Press" that he was convinced that one or two persons in the army "did their very best" to halt the subcommittee probe of possible Red infiltration of the military service.

Cohn also labeled "ridiculous" a Pentagon charge that he had threatened to "wreck the army" if special favors were not granted to his friend and former subcommittee consultant, Pvt. G. David Schine.

The counsel added that Schine was drafted while still working on an important report and that the army agreed to permit him time on weekends to complete it.

He added: "Our desire was to see that he got what was coming to him and that he didn't get kicked around because he was coming from our committee."

CHARGES BY ARMY

An army report to senators charged last week that both Cohn and McCarthy intervened at various times to obtain favors for Schine, and especially to get him assigned to the New York City area.

The same report also charged that Cohn threatened "to wreck the army" and said that Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens was "through" unless the drafted subcommittee aide received favors.

In reply, the counsel said: "that statement is so ridiculous I can scarcely answer it. That statement is completely untrue. How could I wreck an army that Hitler and Tojo couldn't."

He had high praise for Schine who, he said, did an outstanding job, particularly in a probe of operations of the U. S. Information Service.

Earlier, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, a subcommittee member, proposed that a joint group composed of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the McCarthy group ascertain the facts in the dispute.

McCarthy told newsmen: "The American people are getting sick and tired of this yak-yak about the treatment of Communists. I'm getting sick and tired of it, too. The course of our investigation will not change. I will go on to the end."

The Wisconsin senator said he planned to leave Wednesday for speaking engagements in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Oklahoma City.

ACTION ELSEWHERE

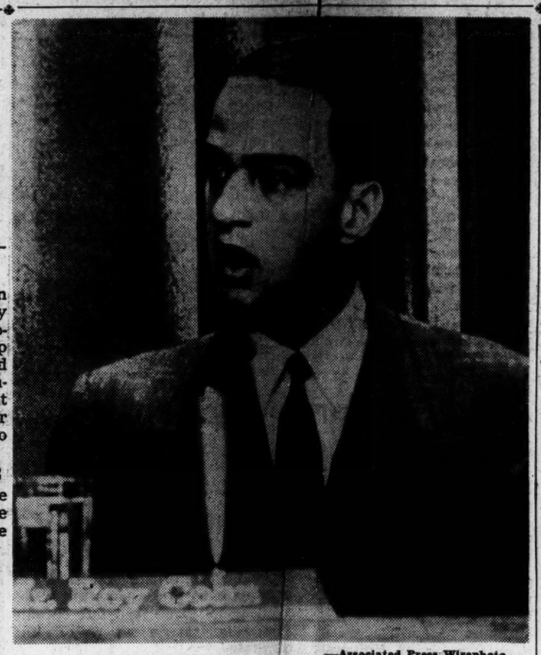
Other weekend developments:

1. Adlai E. Stevenson declared that Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in his radio-TV address Saturday night, failed to say whether the GOP will drop McCarthy as a party spokesman. He contended that the Vice President agreed with him that McCarthyism was injuring the government, dividing the nation and diverting attention from the real issues."

2. Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall said the Nixon speech made it clear that the Eisenhower administration is "engaged on a program of great and lasting benefit to every American and it will not be diverted by side issues."

3. Nixon, named by the GOP to reply to Stevenson's broadside attack on the administration of the week before, did not mention McCarthy by name, but hit out at those who use "reckless talk and, irresponsible methods" in fighting Communism.

The Vice President urged an end to the "violent controversy."



—Associated Press Wirephoto

ROY COHN, COUNSEL McCARTHY SUBCOMMITTE Denies Charge That He Tried 'to Wreck the Army'; 'How Could I Wreck an Army That Hitler an Tojo Couldn't'?

Murrow Hit By McCarthy

(Continued from Page 1)

prove that a radio and TV commentator who attacks me is lying."

This was a reference to McCarthy's charge, in a radio broadcast last week, that Murrow had been connected in the 1930s with a Moscow University summer school—a session which Murrow said was never held. McCarthy labeled it a "Communist Propaganda School."

QUESTION OF TRUTH

McCarthy had first designated a substitute, author William Buckley, to appear for him on Murrow's show but Murrow said he would give time only to McCarthy himself.

He said he prefers appearing on Murrow's show on April 6, but accept a March 23 date if that is the only available one.

He explained he had a number of other engagements arranged in the next week or so.

Many Hail Sokolsky Talk Backing Senator McCarthy

Special to Herald-Express

NEW YORK, March 15—More than 1000 telephone calls were received at radio station KJZ last night following Columnist-Commentator Sokolsky's broadcast defending Senator McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, and others fighting Communism.

Calls continued to pour in after Columnist Walter Winchell Broadcast excerpts of Sokolsky's speech on his 9 p. m. "Report to the Nation" program. The calls were approximately 4 to 1 in favor of McCarthy.

A spokesman for the Nation, which is the American-Broadcasting Company's outlet in New York, said the number of calls received was second only to the election night of Nov. 3, 1952, when Dwight Eisenhower was elected President.

The Journal American columnist, in his 6:30 broadcast, spoke favorably of McCarthy and his assistant, Roy M. Cohn, and former assistant, G. David Schine, now a GI.

Sokolsky said some source or sources within the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower administrations have been and are powerful enough to be able to partially discredit or smear anyone fighting Communism in government.

"Since the Dies committee investigated Communists in the 30s, this source has been working effectively along these lines," he declared. "Who they are is what we must find out."

He urged Congress to stop bickering among themselves and get on with the work at hand.

"This attempt at party-splitting and smears are just what the Communists want," he said.

Last Rites for Chester Franklin

Last rites were conducted today for Chester Franklin, 64, film producer, director and writer, who died Friday.

A San Francisco native, Franklin was a cartoonist for the San Diego Sun before starting his movie career with Mack Sennett and D. W. Griffith. He worked later for Warner Brothers, Paramount, First National and MGM.

He directed the first film starring the dog Rin-Tin-Tin and other animal movies including "Sequoia" besides animal sequences of "The Yearling." Recently he was active as an artist and held an exhibit of his paintings here.

Surviving are his widow, Mildred; a daughter, Mrs. Betty Ratkin, New York; a granddaughter, and his brother, Sidney Franklin, film producer-director.

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In simple language—it reduces solids to a state of solution, so that the contents may be passed by normal effort.

Prof. Ehret says—"Every sick person has a more or less mucus-clogged system, such mucus being derived from undigested and uneliminated, unnatural food substances, accumulated from childhood on."

"The actual amount of filth and waste which is the 'auspicious' cause of your 'trouble,' is almost unbelievable."

"I had fat patients that eliminated from their body as much as 50 to 60 pounds waste, and 10 to 15 pounds alone from the colon, mainly consisting of foreign matters, especially old, hardened feces. 'The average so-called 'healthy' man of today carries continually with him, since childhood, several pounds of never-eliminated feces. One 'good stool' a day means nothing. 'A fat and sick man is in fact a living cesspool.'"

"Experts in autopsy state they have found that from 60 to 70 per cent of the colons examined have foreign matters such as worms and decades of old feces-stones. The inside walls of the over-intestines are encrusted by old, hardened feces and resemble in appearance the inside of a filthy stove pipe."

"Leonard Williams, quoted by Dr. W. S. Bainbridge in his article on 'Intestinal Toxemia' (Med. Jour. and Rec. 1925) has said "THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE A DAILY EVACUATION OF THE BOWELS BUT WHO ARE NEVERTHELESS WALKING SEPTIC TANKS."

Constipation is the common sense explanation of many illnesses say some of the world's best authorities. Many doctors accuse large intestine as breeding ground of bacteria and deadly toxins that cause sickness, suffering, disease—DEATH.

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Bright's Disease	Neuralgia
Bronchitis	Organs, Sagging
Catarrh	Obesity
Circulation Defective	Pimples
Constipation	Premature Gland Failure
Cystitis	Psoriasis
Diabetes	Psychiatric Problems
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Gallstones	Varicose Veins

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"Dear Dr. Brinkley: I have been suffering with stomach trouble and gas since the last year I met you.

Now that I have come back to you and have completed two weeks' treatments just last week, I feel brighter, stronger and happy again as the result of these treatments.

Therefore, I suggest to those who suffer of same trouble to try Dr. Brinkley's New Yorker Technique, which I sincerely recommend.

This testimonial was not solicited. Respectfully yours, Rt. Rev. Eliss Pico."

"Dear Dr. Brinkley: Certainly appreciate Mrs. Padella, Mrs. Folendore and Dr. Martin's kindness.

They did wonderfully and did a great deal of good for me. I pray to God to bless and protect them.

Thankfully with great affection on them. Father Conrad Lebel."

"Dear Dr. Brinkley: I wish to extend my thanks to you and your entire staff, especially to Dr. Evans, Mrs. Vickers, and Mrs. Johanson, who were so courteous to me.

After taking your treatment for about ten days I feel better than I have felt in six years.

I shall not cease to tell my friends about you and your staff, and your great institution.

May the Lord let you live long to keep up the good work. Yours respectively, Rev. Walter H. Laster."

"Dear Dr. Brinkley: Without reservation or hesitation, I can truthfully say that I believe that your technique of treating the human body is a God-inspired idea. Because, up until I saw your advertisement in the newspaper, I had just about given up hope for any relief. The Doctors, at many of the leading clinics of this nation, had given me every kind of examination known in the field of medical science, and to no avail. But the first few treatments I received from your office I began getting relief. And I know that it was none other than the Spirit of Almighty God which led me to read your advertisement that day. So, may God crown all your efforts with His choicest benedictions in helping to relieve the perplexities and pains from which humanity is suffering. Fraternally yours, O. L. Hegmon, Minister, Toliver's Chapel Baptist Church.

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Fruit Spray Nearly Kills Boy

HOOD RIVER, Ore., March 15 (AP) — A fruit tree spray solution spilled from a bottle onto the legs of a 6-year-old boy Saturday and his heart had stopped by the time he reached a hospital here.

Heart-beat and breathing were restored but his life still hung in the balance today.

Somehow the boy, son of Mr. and Mrs. George F. Ogden jr., who live in the Odell fruit-growing district south of here, found a bottle of a solution known as Tepp — tetra-ethyl pyro phosphate — used for spraying trees to kill pests. The liquid, which penetrates human skin and attacks the respiratory system, spilled when he opened the bottle and soaked through his pants into his legs.

So potent is the solution that only a half pint of it is mixed with 100 gallons of water for tree spray.

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Murrow 10-to-1

CBS' mail count on Edward R. Murrow vs. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy stood at 8,500-to-800 in the commentator's favor as of late yesterday (Tues.) with about 4,500 letters still to be tabbed.

The 10-to-1 ratio is exclusive of wires and phone calls which hadn't yet been tabulated.

Scorecard On TV & McCarthy

VARIETY 3/17/54

Washington, March 16.

The snowballing importance of television on the national political scene was emphasized again and again last week, in a series of developments swirling about the Senator McCarthy fued with the webs.

Following the decision of NBC and CBS to give time to answer Adlai Stevenson to the Republican National Committee rather than to McCarthy, these major developments followed:

1. Sen. Ralph Flanders, a conservative Vermont Republican, ripped into McCarthy with a speech on the Senate floor Tuesday (9) and was promptly hauled off before cameras to film some of the choicer segments of the talk. This film got such play on television that President Eisenhower told his press conference the next day he hadn't read the Flanders talk, but had seen portions of the Senator's film video show.

2. Tuesday night, Edward R. Murrow let go with his sensational filmed tv show which featured McCarthy promises and charges and which the commentator charged

(Continued on page 35)

TV & McCarthy

Continued from page 1

the Wisconsin solon was doing a hollow job.

3. At his press conference Wednesday, President Eisenhower rallied to the support of CBS and NBC in their hassle with McCarthy over the "equal time" issue. While both radio and television time were concerned, Prexy laid the emphasis on video indirectly. He explained that he had seen and heard the Flanders talk on television. He went on to say he thought the webs were being entirely fair and discharging their responsibility by granting time to the G.O.P. National Committee.

4. On top of this, Eisenhower announced he was making a television fireside talk to explain his tax program to the people. It had newsmen at the conference quipping about "television day at the White House."

. On Saturday night, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon took to the airwaves to make the official reply to Adlai Stevenson, a further boost for tv.

6. Finally, on Sunday night (14), Roy M. Cohn, chief Counsel for Senator McCarthy's special investigating committee, was on "Meet the Press" to give his side of the widening row between McCarthy and the Army.

Ed:

You probably have these by now, but they're worth repeating.

No need to tell you what a lift you gave to us all, you and Fred, by what you did and the way you did it.

Best regards.

Alex. Kendrick
CBS, Vienna

Ed Murrow

LONDON OBSERVER

TALL, dark, and cadaverously handsome in his early forties, Ed Murrow has become a national hero overnight for his broadcast programme on Senator McCarthy, Murrow is a director and the star reporter of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and, incidentally, the eighth highest paid salaried man in the United States. Millions heard his broadcast. Several thousand letters and cables reached C.B.S. within hours supporting him and condemning McCarthy in the ratio of fifteen to one.

Ed Murrow became famous in the 1940s for his report of the London Blitz. "This . . . is London," began his report every night, and his graphic, warm, slightly staccato voice enlisted millions of American sympathies which might have recoiled from official Embassies.

When Murrow was broadcasting from London in 1940, he once told me, hundreds of letters were received by the C.B.S alleging that Murrow was in the pay of the British Government. He keeps one post-card as a souvenir. "*I* don't think Murrow does it because the British pay him," it read, "I think the sonofabitch does it because he *likes* them."

3-14-54

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ARMY MAKES A STAND

FROM ALISTAIR COOKE

WASHINGTON, MARCH 12.

Senator Joseph McCarthy was all over the front pages again this morning, but the instinct that put him there was for once not his. It looked as if an impulse of moral revulsion had galvanised the country and braced the backbone of an incongruous variety of his victims. The Department of the Army, a middle-aged coloured woman, the spectators at a session of the Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations, two Democratic senators, and a suddenly blithe host of columnists and radio critics were moved to furious protest at the senator's tactics and his stature.

The Army published a long report, which documented in shocking details the threats of the young Mr Roy Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel, to "wreck the Army" and break Secretary Stevens if David Schine, a McCarthy investigator, was not given consistently preferential treatment after he had been drafted into the Army as a private.

McCarthy's Demands

The report told how Senator McCarthy had directly approached the Army's chief legal counsel to seek a commission for Private Schine; how the Army found him unqualified to receive one; how Senator McCarthy and Mr Cohn then demanded that Schine be assigned to New York, in order to study "evidence of pro-Communist leanings in West Point textbooks," and how this request was also refused; how, when the Army told Mr Cohn that after Private Schine had finished his basic training the chances were nine to one that he would be sent overseas, this provoked in Mr Cohn the threat to wreck the Army and make sure that Mr Stevens would be "through" as Secretary of the Army. The Army insisted at one point

which come to be accepted as the "spontaneous" expression of spiritual longings and gurglings in some tribe of the human race, this one, too, was composed by one man, or two at best. And happily their tune has caught the popular fancy early enough not to obscure its authorship. Their names are Edward R. Murrow and Senator Ralph Flanders.

Honour Vindicated

Senator Flanders on Tuesday vindicated the honour of the Republican party on the floor of the Senate by suddenly putting the rhetorical question: "What party does he belong to? One must conclude that his is a one-man party, and that its name is McCarthyism, a title which he has proudly accepted."

Senator Flanders then launched into the first open attack on McCarthy by a Republican in this session of Congress. He said that McCarthy was diverting the attention of the nation away from "dangerous problems" abroad and that he was "doing his best . . . by intention or through ignorance to shatter the Republican party."

Next day President Eisenhower sent a letter of commendation to Senator Flanders and told his news conference that the senator had done the country "a service" by calling attention to "the danger of us engaging in internecine warfare and magnifying certain items of procedure and right and personal aggrandisement."

Mr Murrow's Achievement

But it may be that the spark which has set off this fiery and so righteous explosion of popular indignation was laid, with deliberate courage, by Mr Murrow. He came to great fame in this country during the war through his broadcasts from London. He is a tireless news reporter and, in his weekly television dramatisation of the news, a consummate showman.

Last Tuesday night Mr Murrow gave over his whole half-hour to a pictorial analysis of "McCarthyism" by projecting visual excerpts from the senator's speeches and sessions in the chair of his subcommittee. It was McCarthy exposed by McCarthy

McCarthy had directly approached the Army's chief legal counsel to seek a commission for Private Schine; how the Army found him unqualified to receive one; how Senator McCarthy and Mr Cohn then demanded that Schine be assigned to New York, in order to study "evidence of pro-Communist leanings in West Point text-books," and how this request was also refused; how, when the Army told Mr Cohn that after Private Schine had finished his basic training the chances were nine to one that he would be sent overseas, this provoked in Mr Cohn the threat to wreck the Army and make sure that Mr Stevens would be through as Secretary of the Army; how, at the point at which the policy of special treatment for any Army private was not in the national interest, whereupon Mr Cohn, who is all of 27, told the Army he would give it "a little national interest" by showing it up in public "in its worst light."

The report listed the many occasions on which Private Schine was given special passes to come to New York, supposedly on the subcommittee's business. Last December the commanding General of his camp complained to the Army's legal counsel that Private Schine was "becoming increasingly difficult because the soldier was leaving the post nearly every night," and usually returning "very late at night." The day after this warning Senator McCarthy told the Army that he was no longer interested in having special treatment for Private Schine. But apparently Mr Cohn was furious and told the Army's counsel that he would show him "what it meant to go over his head." Six weeks later the battle to have Private Schine assigned to New York was still going on and Senator McCarthy warned the Army's counsel of the consequences of thwarting young Mr Cohn.

Two weeks later Senator McCarthy told an assistant to telephone the Army's counsel that he was very angry about the honourable discharge granted to a New York dentist who had claimed his privilege not to answer questions about past associations. Ten days after that General Zwicker, the commanding officer of the dentist's former Army camp, was called to testify before the McCarthy subcommittee. And that, as all the world now knows, was the guerrilla episode that led to the famous "memorandum of understanding," or as some say the terms of surrender, between the Army of the United States and Senator McCarthy.

Cafeteria "Code Clerk"

Inevitably there was standing room only in Washington yesterday when the subcommittee called Mrs Annie Lee Moss, a middle-aged Coloured woman, who was suspended by the Army Signal Corps after Senator McCarthy had described her as a "code clerk" whose "Communist record" was known to the Army. Mrs Moss was a cafeteria worker who quietly told the subcommittee yesterday that she had never been in a code room in her life. Mr Cohn tried to establish her personal connection with a staff member of the "Daily Worker" but it turned out that the man she knew was a coloured man who happened to have the same name. She was questioned about her Communist affiliations and replied that she had never heard of communism until 1948.

The audience was uncommonly ready with applause for Democratic committee members, and Mrs Moss's lawyer, whenever they protested at the tactics of Mr Cohn. At one point Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, asked if she knew who Karl Marx was. "Who's that?" she gravely asked, and the crowd laughed itself silly.

When she finished her testimony and stepped down from the stand Senator Symington leaned into his microphone and angrily cried: "I may be sticking my neck out but I think you are telling the truth. And if you're not taken back in your Army job, you come around and see me. I am going to see that you get a job."

Senator McCarthy was mercifully absent from these rebellious proceedings because he was busy composing a broadcast reply to Adlai Stevenson's condemnation of him at Miami last Saturday, to the first outright attack made on him by a Republican Senator, Ralph Flanders of Vermont, and to a trenchant analysis of his methods televised to a national audience last Tuesday night by the celebrated American commentator, Edward R. Murrow, and sponsored by the Aluminium Corporation of America.

This belated popular uprising against Senator McCarthy will be ascribed by idealists to something as vague as an attack of spiritual indigestion in the American people. But like all folk songs,

Mr Murrow's Achievement

But it may be that the spark which has set off this fiery and so righteous explosion of popular indignation was laid, with deliberate courage, by Mr Murrow. He came to great fame in this country during the war through his broadcasts from London. He is a tireless news reporter and, in his weekly television dramatisation of the news, a consummate showman.

Last Tuesday night Mr Murrow gave over his whole half-hour to a pictorial analysis of "McCarthyism" by projecting visual excerpts from the senator's speeches and sessions in the chair of his subcommittee. It was McCarthy exposed by McCarthy, and Mr Murrow added only the sparest editorial comment. But at the end, after the huge audience for this programme had seen McCarthy merciless, McCarthy gay, McCarthy cunning, McCarthy sentimental, Mr Murrow looked his audience in the eye and ended with these words:

"This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent. Or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of the Republic to abdicate his responsibilities."

"As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at an early age. We proclaim ourselves—as indeed we are—the defenders of the free world, or what's left of it. We cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home.

"The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay among our allies abroad and given comfort to our enemies. And whose fault is that? Not really his. He didn't create the situation of fear, merely exploited it, and skilfully. Cassius was right: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves."

National Support

These words were spoken with the blessing of the Aluminum Corporation of America, which has obviously a lot to lose by taking this stand. The response, however, of televiewers across the country has been a stunning endorsement of Murrow's courage. So far the comments, by telephone, telegram, and letter, are running about fifteen to one in Murrow's favour.

Hence the surprising rally of candour in public men who have stayed astutely silent for five years. Hence President Eisenhower's relieved approval of Senator Flanders. Hence a morning chorus of suddenly uninhibited newspaper columnists praising Murrow for "laying it on the line." Hence the confident laughter of the big audience at yesterday's subcommittee hearing. Hence the delayed righteousness of Senator Symington, of Missouri.

Mr Murrow may yet make bravery fashionable.

Who Owns McCarthy 'See It' Pic?

There may have to be an amendment to the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution to get the answer to who will pony up $7,500 for the film that Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy made at Fox Movietone News in N. Y. and shown last night (Tues.) on "See It Now" in rebuttal to Edward R. Murrow's anti-McCarthy CBS-TV'er of last month. Apparently the Wisconsin legislator was under the impression that when Murrow offered him equal time, it included the expenditures for putting together the counterattack.

McCarthy left for Arizona yesterday and left the newsreel outfit out on a limb seeking to resolve the question of financial responsibility. The Senator had approached Murrow's sponsor, Aluminum Co. of America, on the cost and was shuttled over to CBS, with latter not confronted by the Commie hunter on the question of paying the freight. Should the web eventually assume the coin burden, it would probably also assume ownership of the McCarthy celluloid and be free to repeat it or cut it up into segments for future requirements. There may be some legal abracadabra on that phase, however. Most reasonable guess was that the Senator, a shrewd publicity fabricator, was using the press to take his story to the public as an attention-getter for his appearance on the show, with the amount of money involved considered small potatoes against the resultant publicity. Already known is that McCarthy had offered the film to other stations, but it's questioned now whether he has the right to do so on the ownership angle.

Murrow was to introduce his show in the usual way, giving the background of the McCarthy imbroglio and the latter would then have about 25 minutes for his film after Alcoa's opening plug. The Senator was quoted as saying that his pic was "not complete and does not contain all answers" to Murrow's charges, in an obvious attempt to forestall criticism after the fact.

It was reported at the Murrow-Fred W. Friendly (coproducer) office, where the sound portion of the McCarthy film had been previewed early yesterday, that there was "nothing to worry about" in terms of any possible violence on the part of the legislator in his vidpixer. Understood that the film was produced by BBD & O ad agency, which handled the Eisenhower campaign, and that he had the benefit of other masterminding as well.

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He Who Criticizes McCarthy Is Target for Violent Revenge

In the latest of a long series of vindictive attacks, Senator McCarthy has impugned the loyalty of Edward R. Murrow, respected Columbia Broadcasting Co. official and noted commentator.

The senator said that Mr. Murrow has done the work of the Communists for 20 years and "is a symbol, a leader and the cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

Why this vicious attack upon a man who, as the CBS says, has a record of "passionate devotion to his country and to the fundamental principles upon which it is built"? Why this attack on a man whom President Eisenhower immediately defended as his friend — at the same time denying any truth in McCarthy's ridiculous charges about H-bombs delays? The answer is: Revenge; pure and simple revenge.

Murrow a few weeks ago presented a television program on McCarthy—given over largely to film clips of McCarthy speeches, allowing the senator to present his own case. McCarthy's case looked so bad, even in the senator's own words, that Murrow's program was hailed as one of the most effective exposes of the senator.

McCarthy's revenge reaction was immediate. He charged Murrow with either being a Communist or with being influenced by them. He distorted Murrow's activities to make them look Communist. Tuesday night, on television time donated by Murrow's sponsor, McCarthy carried on his attack.

It was the latest example of the McCarthy tactic of retaliation. A glance back at his record shows that—quite aside from any alleged subversives—the targets of his irresponsible attacks have, time and again, been objects of his personal revenge.

Oppose McCarthy and you are smeared as a Communist, a dupe of Communists, stupid, an "egghead," a "bleeding heart," a "liar" or worse. He uses smear, boycott and political retaliation against opponents as the dictators have used them—to destroy those who oppose him, or his methods.

In a recent press conference at Oklahoma City, McCarthy said he planned a personal exposure of what he calls Communist infiltration and control of the American press, radio and television.

The threat comes at a time when the greater part of the press is highly critical of McCarthy and after he has failed to intimidate radio and television networks into giving him air time to which he has no right.

The press is no new McCarthy target. He attempted—with no success—to start boycotts against such critics of his methods perjury" could have been proved against McCarthy.

Maj. Gen. Richard C. Partridge, former army intelligence chief, refused to agree with McCarthy that an army intelligence report was Communist propaganda. McCarthy tried to discredit him and did force his transfer abroad.

Senator Fulbright (Dem., Ark.) criticized McCarthy and McCarthy lashed out at the Fulbright program for scholarships abroad, calling the recipients "half-brights" and tainting them with charges of subversion.

President Nathan Pusey of Harvard university opposed McCarthy's re-election while head of Lawrence college, and helped sponsor the book "The McCarthy Record." When Pusey was named to head Harvard, McCarthy let loose with an insinuating blast, saying he "did not think Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist party" but that he was a "rabid anti-anti-Communist." He later charged Pusey with protecting Communist teachers and Harvard with keeping its students "open to indoctrination by Communist professors."

Senator Lehman (Dem., N. Y.) criticized McCarthy. It brought a charge from McCarthy that Lehman had been guilty of "gross abuse" of the franking privilege—a charge proven false.

* * *

Maj. Gen. Zwicker, World War II hero, refused to answer McCarthy questions on the grounds that he was forbidden to by higher authority. He was smeared and told he was not "fit to wear the uniform."

Secretary of the Army Stevens tried to protect his subordinates and the army was charged with "coddling Communists" and Stevens himself with being stupid or a dupe.

The late Senator Taft (Rep., Ohio) said that he thought McCarthy had overstated his case and that he "can't agree with McCarthy" in the attack on Gen. Marshall. McCarthy's answer was a left handed smear and veiled warning: "I don't think Bob Taft would join the left wing camp followers in opposing my Communist fight."

The revenge tactic is not new for McCarthy. The state board of bar commissioners charged that he had violated his oath as a member of the Wisconsin bar by running for the senate while still a circuit judge. The supreme court dismissed the charge on the strange grounds that McCarthy was elected and therefore had a right to serve whatever the violation. McCarthy immediately lit out after the bar commissioners, demanding they all resign. He charged these able men had been "playing politics" or were "completely incompetent lawyers."

Revenge has been a tactic of the dictators. Senator McCarthy uses it for personal aggrandizement without regard for the cost to individuals — or the nation.

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The threat comes at a time when the greater part of the press is highly critical of McCarthy and after he has failed to intimidate radio and television networks into giving him air time to which he has no right.

The press is no new McCarthy target. He attempted—with no success—to start boycotts against such critics of his methods as The Milwaukee Journal, the Madison Capital Times and Time magazine. He assaulted one Washington columnist physically in true knee and thumb-in-eye style. He has branded papers which opposed him as local "editions of the Daily Worker" (a Communist paper published in New York). He dragged up old and tired charges of communism against editor James Wechsler of the New York Post and harried him with an investigation, because Wechsler had criticized him and his associates.

* * *

The list is long. These cases come quickly to mind:

John J. McCloy, Republican, head of Chase National bank and former assistant secretary of the army, head of the World bank and high commissioner to Germany, explained to President Eisenhower that McCarthy had seriously damaged the overseas book program. The president, shocked, spoke out against the "book burners" with remarks that drew national attention. In revenge McCarthy recently charged McCloy with having destroyed records of army Communists. The charge was so ridiculous that even McCarthy had to admit it was in error. But he came right back with the equally ridiculous charge that McCloy issued an army order to allow commissioning of Communists.

Dr. Robert L. Johnson, former head of the international information administration, defended his agency against outrageous charges by a McCarthy staff member. McCarthy immediately wrote Johnson, threatening to cut his appropriations to "not one cent." He harried the IIA almost to extinction and drove Johnson from public service.

Senator Margaret Chase Smith (Rep., Me.) wrote and delivered on the senate floor the famous "declaration of conscience," criticizing McCarthy. McCarthy managed to get her removed from the senate executive expenditures committee. She is now being opposed for re-election by a McCarthy disciple.

* * *

Former Senator Tydings (Dem., Md.) investigated McCarthy's charges of communism in the state department and proclaimed them a "fraud." McCarthy smeared Tydings and helped defeat him in one of the nastiest political campaigns in modern American history.

Former Senator Benton (Dem., Conn.) demanded that the senate act on the question of McCarthy's fitness to hold office and charged him with deceit and perjury. McCarthy smeared Benton, went into Connecticut to help defeat him. He even filed, with much fanfare, a suit for slander. But he dropped it when time for trial came because, Benton said, "deceit and think Bob Taft would join the left wing camp followers in opposing my Communist fight."

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Scap
3/54

Mr. EISENHOWER DENIES DELAY OVER H-BOMB

McCARTHY CHARGE

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON, Wednesday.

Mr. Eisenhower declared at his Press conference to-day that he knew of no delay in the hydrogen bomb programme. In a television broadcast last night, Senator McCarthy claimed that there was a "deliberate delay" of 18 months.

The President was asked a number of questions about the broadcast, in which Mr. McCarthy made his reply to criticisms on March 9 by Ed Murrow, chief Columbia Broadcasting System commentator. The reply consisted mostly of attacks on Mr. Murrow.

Although he is an inveterate television watcher, Mr. Eisenhower said he had not seen the programme. He was visibly disturbed when asked whether he had confidence in Mr. Murrow. He looked round almost as if he was planning a retreat from the room.

After evading questions for a time he changed his mind and declared he had known Mr. Murrow for many years, that he could not remember anything against him and he had always thought of him as a friend.

CHALLENGE TO SENATOR

Statement "Ridiculous"

Mr. Melvin Price, Democrat, Illinois, a member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of Congress, demanded to-day that Mr. McCarthy produce any evidence he had of a deliberate delay. He called the statement "absolutely ridiculous."

It was only Mr. Truman's "courageous decision" which got the hydrogen bomb started. "Even when experts were divided on the question, and on the recommendations of a minority of the Atomic Energy Commission and of atomic advisers, he decided to go ahead.

"His decision puts us in a favourable position now. Had the programme not been a success it is probable that the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. McCarthy) would have been the first to call for his impeachment."

Mr. Truman said in Kansas City to-day that there was "no delay" in development of the hydrogen bomb. "The order was issued as soon as the scientists were ready to go to work."

FILMED PROGRAMME

Criticisms Ignored

In his 25-minute filmed television appearance, put out by the C.B.S. in Mr. Murrow's own programme, Mr. McCarthy did not take up any of the points made by the commentator.

Instead he attacked him as "a symbol, the leader and cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors." The Communists, he asserted, used "glib, clever men like Murrow, who so closely follows the Communist party line."

Implying that Mr. Murrow was a defender of Communists in the United States Government, Mr. McCarthy suggested that he was one of those responsible for delay in American development of the hydrogen bomb.

"If there were no Communists in our Government, why did we delay for 18 months, delay our research on the hydrogen bomb even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the hydrogen bomb?

"Our nation may well die because of that 18-month deliberate delay.

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"Our nation may well die because of that 18-month deliberate delay. And I ask, who caused it? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our Government?"

"TYPICAL TACTIC"

Mr. Murrow's Reply

Mr. Murrow to-day described the Senator's effort as a "typical tactic of attempting to tie up with Communism anyone who disagrees with him." He would have to read the transcript of the broadcast with care before deciding whether it provided the basis for a libel suit.

He replied to some of Senator McCarthy's allegations. Here are the statements with Mr. Murrow's replies [in italics.]

Mr. Murrow had been a member of the Industrial Workers of the World.—*Not true.*

Prof. Laski, "The greatest Communist propagandist of our time in England," dedicated a book to Mr. Murrow.—*This does not mean that he subscribed to Prof. Laski's views. The dedication was intended as a tribute to Mr. Murrow's broadcasts from England during the war for which, Prof. Laski said, an "immense debt" was owed.*

Mr. Murrow's association with the Institute of International Education was evidence of Communist sympathies.—*Mr. Dulles, Secretary of State, and many other distinguished Americans were also associated with it.*

Most of the telephone calls received by the C.B.S. after the broadcast supported Mr. Murrow.

Counsel Chosen for Inquiry

The Senate Investigations Sub-Committee to-day appointed Mr. Ray Jenkins, 57, a lawyer from Knoxville, Tennessee, as special counsel for its inquiry into the dispute between Senator McCarthy and the Army. He succeeds Mr. Samuel Sears, who resigned yesterday, five days after accepting the appointment, because it was suggested he was a McCarthy supporter.

BROADCASTING TELECASTING

March 15, 1954 Vol. 46, No. 11

RADIO, TV TAKE THE STAGE IN NEW McCARTHY TEMPEST

Networks' refusal to grant free time to the Wisconsin Senator set off a running battle which brought in the President, the Vice President, other Senators, an FCC Commissioner, major commentators, a number of stations and the interest of the whole nation.

AS NEVER BEFORE, an unrehearsed and spontaneous American political drama broke last week on the national scene through the eyes and ears of the broadcast media.

Backing up the aural and visual media was the nation's press, whose headlines on the McCarthy issue served as a chorus of press agents for the broadcast industry.

The McCarthy story, which initially got its momentum via radio and tv and was still rolling as B•T went to press, actually had two parts, each dependent upon the other.

• One was the political fight waged by the Senator.

• The other, of immediate interest to the broadcast industry, was the "free time issue" created by a McCarthy demand on CBS and NBC that they provide him equal network time to answer Adlai Stevenson's March 6 speech which was carried without charge. When GOP National Committee Chairman Leonard Hall requested the networks to provide time to a spokesman of the Republican Party, they accepted. Vice President Nixon was chosen as the GOP's representative.

THE SENATOR
He would change law for free time.

The top developments:

• CBS and NBC bucked up to Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) and won President Eisenhower's blessing (see page 32) in the face of the Senator's condemnation and threat to teach them the law.

• They got support from what some must have considered an unexpected source. FCC Comr. Robert E. Lee, a friend of the Senator's, said he thought the networks had acted fairly and in the public interest.

• Possibly the most spectacular development in the week's merry-go-round was provided by a commercial program: CBS' Ed Murrow's *See It Now*, sponsored by the Aluminum Co. of America (also see comments, page 33).

• A McCarthy announcement Thursday that he has a lawyer—he refused to divulge the attorney's name—and may hire another to prepare a petition to FCC seeking an order to the two networks to give him the free time he demanded.

• A threat that he may seek legislative action if the petition is rejected.

• A WGN Chicago offer granting Sen. McCarthy time to answer Mr. Stevenson and acceptance by the Senator of this offer and others given voluntarily by some radio stations.

• An attack on Edward R. Murrow, which Sen. McCarthy delivered when interviewed on Fulton Lewis jr.'s MBS news program Thursday night. He said Mr. Murrow was once described as an adviser to a "communist propaganda school."

Stations Scheduled

Sen. McCarthy will appear on radio stations March 19 when he makes an address in Milwaukee. According to the Senator he has accepted offers for a half-hour from these stations: WGN Chicago, WJMJ Philadelphia, WTNJ Trenton, WNMP Evanston, Ill., and WPAC Patchogue, N. Y. He said WILM Wilmington, Del., offered him a two-hour free time period between 10:15 and 12:15 p.m. EST at an early date.

But William G. Long, general manager of WTNJ, was quoted later as denying that any "authorized agent" of the station had offered the Senator time. He said the station discovered that a disc jockey, identified as Gene Asro, had sent a telegram inviting Sen. McCarthy "free one-half hour radio time" to reply to Mr. Stevenson.

This, according to Mr. Long, was a statement issued on Mr. Asro's own volition and not as a representative of the station. "I understand it is Mr. Asro's intention to obtain time on WTNJ which he will probably pay for," Mr. Long said. The station agreed to the paid broadcast if time was found available.

WGN, the *Chicago Tribune* outlet, said it also offered to make the McCarthy broadcast available to other stations.

Frank P. Schreiber, manager of WGN Inc. (WGN-AM-TV) wired the Senator as follows:

"Understand NBC and CBS have refused to grant you time to reply to attacks made upon you in recent broadcasts over their facilities. Pursuant to WGN's long standing policy of presenting both sides of all public issues we offer you free of charge broadcasting time to present your side of this controversy to the American public and we will consent to allow any other radio station to simulcast or rebroadcast the program without restriction."

CBS' Murrow devoted last Tuesday night's *See It Now* telecast, which is sponsored by Aluminum Co. of America, to what amounted to an indictment of Sen. McCarthy, for the most part using the voice and scenes of the Senator himself as taped and filmed. Mr. Murrow announced on the program that *See It Now* facilities would be made available to Sen. McCarthy for reply, if he "desires to answer himself." Sen. McCarthy, who was reported not to have seen the show, did not indicate immediately what his response would be.

The telecast, however, touched off an audience response described as one of the heaviest in CBS history. It also inspired widespread newspaper coverage which included, along with some brickbats, high tributes to the commentator, the network, and the sponsor and, linked with the NBC and CBS rejection of Sen. McCarthy's demands for free time to answer Mr. Stevenson, praise for the broadcasting industry as a whole.

CBS' MURROW
The documentary swamps switchboards.

At CBS a battery of some 20 operators was kept busy taking calls Tuesday night through Thursday after the *See It Now* telecast. It was reported that as of Thursday night, the network had received 12,924 calls complimenting the broadcast and 1,367 against it. At the same time 3,267 complimentary and 203 protesting telegrams had been received.

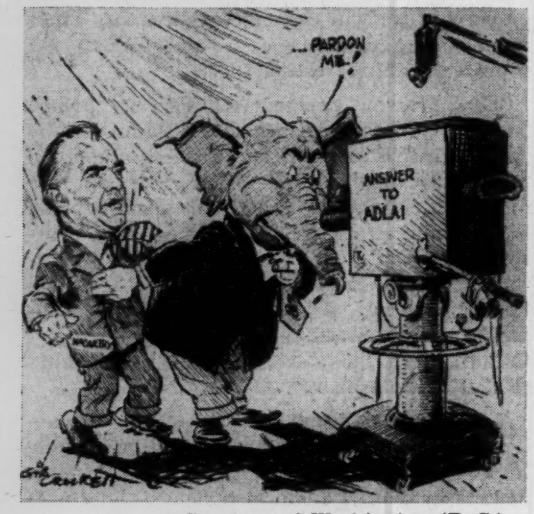
As of Thursday, CBS was not sure whether it would telecast a repeat of Mr. Murrow's tv show on the Senator. The network reported a host of requests for a re-run.

CBS and NBC, for their decisions to go along with the Republican Party and allow free time to Vice President Nixon to answer Mr. Stevenson, and to deny Mr. McCarthy's bid, were labeled "dishonest and immoral" by

the Wisconsin Senator.

His displeasure with the networks' stand was reflected in his refusal, at a Tuesday news conference in New York, to pose for CBS or NBC cameras or to talk to newsmen for those networks.

This refusal prompted an immediate protest by the Radio, Newsreel, Television Working Press Assn. of New York. In a telegram to the Senator, Arnold Lerner of Warner-Pathe News, president of the association, protested "emphatically against your discriminatory attitude . . . by barring newsfilm crews of CBS and NBC from coverage of an open press conference, you have deprived a substantial segment of the public of its right to obtain news through an important news medium. . . .



Courtesy of Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*

"We earnestly feel that your personal quarrels with television networks must not be permitted to interfere with the free and unfettered flow of news to the American public.

"I need hardly point out that once a practice of barring 'unfavorable' news agencies is adopted, it might conceivably develop to the point where only 'favorable' agencies would be admitted, making a travesty of the very institution of the press conference."

Films made at the news conference included those of UP-Movietone News, which serves WPIX (TV) and WABD (TV) in the New York area, and INS' *News of the Day*.

A part of the exchange with Sen. McCarthy (paraphrased) quoted the Senator as saying, in effect, "It's a question whether CBS and NBC can deny time to answer somebody like Stevenson. I asked for time to answer the vicious charges he made against me. They refused. Just what I'm going to do, I don't know, but I intend to go after it in detail."

At another point, when a reporter noted that NBC had made a tape recording of his remarks and asked whether Sen. McCarthy intended to take steps to prevent its use, Mr. McCarthy was quoted as saying he "wouldn't do anything that would affect an enterprising young man."

Comr. Lee said Tuesday:

"Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 requires that a station provide to legally qualified candidates equal time where time is given or sold to one of the other candidates.

"In the current controversy none of the participants are candidates in the sense of the act. Consequently, the action of the networks in giving time to the Republican Party to answer Gov. Stevenson has been in the nature of a policy and is we think very fair and in the public interest. . . ."

Vice President Nixon's reply to Mr. Stevenson, who spoke on CBS Radio, CBS-TV, and NBC Radio on Saturday night (March 6), was to be made last Saturday night on the same networks, 10:30-11 p.m.

In a statement on its decision to grant time to the GOP National Committee, which named the Vice President as spokesman, CBS said that "Mr. Stevenson's address was carried by the CBS Radio and Television Networks as a public service in time granted to the Democratic National Committee under whose auspices the address was made. It is logical and equitable therefore to provide equal time for reply to the Republican National Committee rather than to any individual.

Fills Legal Requirements

"CBS is confident that its action completely fulfills both the spirit and the letter of the law and the FCC requirements."

In his first appearance following the Stevenson speech, Sen. McCarthy told commentator Lewis Thursday (MBS, 7-7:15 p.m.) that Mr. Murrow was an American adviser to the Moscow U. summer session in 1935. He said he was assistant director of the Institute of International Education which advocated violent overthrow of the traditional social order. Sen. McCarthy ascribed these charges to the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, Feb. 18, 1935.

"This may explain why Edward R. Murrow week after week feels he must smear McCarthy," the Senator asked. "Maybe Murrow is worried about exposure of some of his friends. I don't know."

The Senator classed Mr. Murrow with what he termed the "extreme left wing bleeding heart elements of television and radio."

Mr. Lewis interviewed the Senator on his weekend tv series, spotlighting alleged misuse of government funds in Alaska.

In reply to the MBS broadcast Mr. Murrow charged "reckless handling of the truth." He said in 1953. He said in 1935 his role was in a student-professor exchange project that was cancelled by Russia before it began, with the collegiate group spending the summer traveling in the Soviet Union, "an activity which was not then and is not now illegal."

Answering a McCarthy charge that Mr. Murrow had not told the truth in claiming American Civil Liberties Union had not been listed as a subversive group, Mr. Murrow said the Attorney General's list and FBI do not list ACLU as subversive nor does any other government agency. He added that ACLU has letters of commendation from Presidents Eisenhower, and Truman, and Gen. MacArthur.

Sen. McCarthy said at a news conference that if his petition to FCC is rejected, he then will sponsor legislation to assure that in the future, anyone attacked in a free-time political broadcast or telecast can have equal free time to reply. Such a bill, he said, "most likely won't affect this situation," but would set up rules for future similar cases. (See box on Sec. 315 of Communications Act.)

He said he also plans to press for adoption of a bill (S 2125) to require radio and tv stations, including the amateurs, to record all programs.

"According to some intelligence agencies," Sen. McCarthy said, "the hams are a tremendous potential for passing out improper information for espionage and so forth." This purpose of the McCarthy bill was made known to B•T by the Senator last year when the bill was first introduced [B•T, June 22, 1953].

FCC's Position

FCC has commented on the bill but has taken neither a positive nor a negative stand. Its comments to the Senate Interstate & Foreign Commerce Committee, where the McCarthy legislation pends, were more of a questioning nature underlining the many problems which would come from such a demand on stations [B•T, Dec. 12, 1953].

A sidelight to the McCarthy-Stevenson-network battle on radio-tv was a charge by Sen. Ralph Flanders (R-Vt.) that the greatest danger from communism is external and that Sen. McCarthy is doing his best to shatter the GOP. Sen. Flanders' fiery, anti-McCarthy speech, delivered on the floor of the Senate, later was repeated in part for radio-tv.

The Law Reads . . .

REFERENCE in the Communications Act to political broadcasts is contained in Sec. 315, reprinted here in full:

"(a) If any licensee shall permit any person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public office to use a broadcasting station, he shall afford equal opportunities to all other such candidates for that office in the use of such broadcasting station, and the Commission shall make rules and regulations to carry this provision into effect: *Provided*, That such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No obligation is hereby imposed upon any licensee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate.

"(b) The charges made for the use of any broadcasting station for any of the purposes set forth in this section shall not exceed the charges made for comparable use of such station for other purposes."

Ike Backs Networks in Giving Time to GOP Only

PRESIDENT Eisenhower bolstered the CBS and NBC network positions in the controversy with Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Eight-minute excerpts of the President's remarks on the McCarthy case, made at the Wednesday morning news conference, were fed to networks Wednesday afternoon via the Washington sound loop. Included were:

Q—Do you think that the big networks have been fair in giving time to the Republican National Committee to answer Governor Stevenson rather than to Senator McCarthy? McCarthy feels that the networks have been unfair.

The President—I am not going to make the decisions that, of course, the FCC makes, and that the networks make on their own responsibility. Personally, I think that the networks have certainly discharged their responsibility for being impartial when they gave to the Republican National Committee the right to answer as they see fit.

You know, if you would take in any speech—suppose any one of you would make a speech, whatever party you belong to, and mention 20 names on the other side; now, does the network have to give 20 different people the right to get up and answer, or is it a party thing?

There must be some limit to this sort of thing, and I believe as long as they give to responsible, acknowledged heads of the organizational party—that is, the organization part of the party, the chairman, the right to determine this, that is justice.

Q—Mr. President, do you not regard the Stevenson speech as a part of the Democratic campaign for Congress, and therefore it should be answered by the party?

The President—Yes.

MURROW WINS THE NATION'S APPLAUSE

CBS commentator's program on Sen. McCarthy draws journalistic honor for itself and for the broadcast industry.

COMMENTS on last week's Edward R. Murrow *See It Now* show on CBS Television, which was devoted to a documentary-type look at Sen. McCarthy, were heard in Congress and in the nation's press.

Some of these comments and other editorial opinion on the "free time" McCarthy issue are summarized below:

Rep. Melvin Price (D-Ill.) told the House Wednesday: "It is indeed a rare thing when a tv network will stick its neck out by initiating or permitting to go out over its facilities a hard-hitting, honest, unvarnished report on a highly charged, completely controversial issue.

"We have learned to expect television to pull its punches in a situation like that in order not to offend any articulate section of the population, or the sponsor, or some network vice president with a bad case of timidity.

"Last night, however, the Aluminum Co. of America again sponsored and CBS again carried over its facilities the kind of objective analysis of a hot—really hot—issue which . . . redeems television journalism and puts it into the journalistic bigtime."

Rep. Price said of the Edward R. Murrow program, "It was a devastatingly effective program." He expressed "thanks—as a newspaperman by occupation, as one who learned professionally to seek out the truth and be satisfied with nothing less than the accurate facts—for the really excellent job done last night in behalf of accuracy in political discussion by the Murrow-Friendly team over CBS.

REP. PRICE

"And I should like to express my thanks to the Aluminum Co. of America for having demonstrated an enlightened faith in the American system of free discussion of controversial issues by sponsoring the Murrow program and by giving it the complete editorial freedom last night's program again proved it enjoys.

"It was an outstanding example of honest, courageous reporting."

In an editorial, the New York *Herald Tribune* said: "Doubtless the . . . *See It Now* program, in which Edward R. Murrow paraded the Senator's record on television, will provoke Mr. McCarthy even further. The half-hour show . . . was a sober and realistic appraisal of McCarthyism and the climate in which it flourishes. Like the free press, the free broadcasters met a controversial subject with a frank and responsible approach. Apparently the audience response was overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Murrow and against Mr. McCarthy, but even if the returns were reversed, the network still would have fulfilled its functions as an organ of expression and public service.

"Mr. McCarthy's ability to insult and calumniate those who oppose or criticize him is well known. By refusing to be bullied, the broadcasters will assure their own future and help to guarantee America's."

John Crosby of the New York *Herald Tribune* said, "Right there television came of age. At least I can never recall any other time when a network—and Ed Murrow is a director as well as one of the chief spokesmen for the Columbia Broadcasting System—has told its listeners to straighten up and act like free men with the clear implication that they are not now doing so."

There was at least one printed charge, by radio-tv columnist Jack O'Brian of the *New York Journal-American,* that before the Murrow telecast, CBS Board Chairman William S. Paley had "personally ordered the pompous portsider to take a more middle ground" but that "Murrow refused" and "backstage explosions kept detonating until tv time with threats from both sides of firings and resignations."

A CBS spokesman branded such charges "completely and totally false."

Mr. O'Brian also said:

"Madison Ave.'s hottest rumor in the wake of Ed Murrow's McCarthy smear" is that "Murrow will resign from CBS' board of directors. As it stands, any Murrow utterance must be accepted as the network's official opinion—just as a cabinet member's public speeches are accepted as reflections of the Eisenhower Administration's."

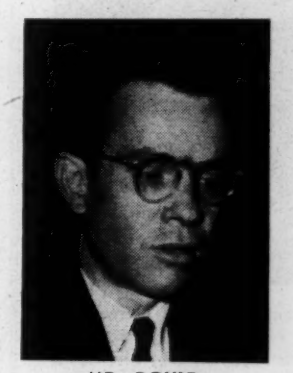
CBS spokesman said this report was also "completely false." Other CBS sources pointed out that at a CBS board meeting Wednesday there was no talk of any resignation.

It was reported that Mr. Murrow's analysis of Sen. McCarthy's record had been on the agenda of *See It Now* producers Mr. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, for many months. A news account said Mr. Murrow told a reporter early last October that he and Mr. Friendly were at work on such a documentary report and would broadcast the material at the first opportune moment.

Last Tuesday apparently was the opportune time in their opinion. Mr. Friendly was quoted: "Next week might have been too late."

The North American Newspaper Alliance reported that no pressure was brought to bear upon Mr. Murrow or Mr. Friendly by top executives at CBS to abandon the program or to modify the position taken. NANA said CBS Board Chairman William Paley did not interfere in any way with customary preparation.

Jack Gould, radio-tv editor of the *New York Times,* called the Murrow show "crusading journalism of high responsibility and genuine courage," saying:



MR. GOULD

"For tv, so often plagued by timidity and hesitation, the program was a milestone that reflected enlightened citizenship on the part of the CBS and, particularly, the Aluminum Co. of America, who paid the bill to make it possible. No voice is braver than those who enable it to be heard."

A pungent remark on the editorial page of the *Washington News* in a column by Dan Kidney: "Sen. McCarthy can demand time to answer Sen. Flanders if he wants to attend the Senate some time when it is in session."

The *New York Times,* in an editorial blast, entitled "Who Speaks for the GOP?" said:

"No doubt Mr. McCarthy will use every weapon at his command to frighten his Republican colleagues and the radio networks into backing down on their decision—if not this time, then next time. He is right in believing that this is a test. But, try as hard as he will to twist the issue, this is not a test of free speech. Mr. McCarthy has that. It is a test of the control of the Republican Party. Mr. McCarthy hasn't that—yet. And it is up to President Eisenhower and his advisers to prevent him from getting it."

The Washington Post said: "If Sen. McCarthy were given free time on the air whenever anyone spoke of him disrespectfully, he would be talking incessantly—which sometimes seems to be the case anyhow. For the Senator has succeeded in making himself a symbol of slander and political irresponsibility."

David Lawrence, in his syndicated news column, attacked the position of CBS and NBC in denying time to Sen. McCarthy, saying they had made "a serious mistake." He said this denial works against the stand by radio-tv that they should have equal access to the news as the press. He said it was "a bad precedent . . . which will plague them [networks] for years to come unless . . . they reverse their . . . decision." Acknowledging the networks are legally within rights, Mr. Lawrence questioned the policy. If a man is attacked publicly in the press, he noted, he has an opportunity to answer by printing an answer himself. Not so on the broadcast media, he said.

Another for Murrow

EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS commentator, who holds five honorary college degrees, will receive his sixth, Doctor of Humane Letters, from Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., on June 6. He will be honored for "the intelligence, honesty and clarity with which he has been broadcasting the news since 1938 and for the programs with which he has made history a living and personal thing."

Hyde on Equal Time

FCC CHAIRMAN Rosel H. Hyde has told Congress that licensees, according to Commission policy, "should maintain a balance as a public duty" in programs dealing with public issues.

Chairman Hyde's comment was given earlier in the year to the House Appropriations subcommittee during hearings on the FCC's budget request for fiscal 1955. The subject was political usage of broadcasting facilities. Testimony was released Thursday (see page 54).

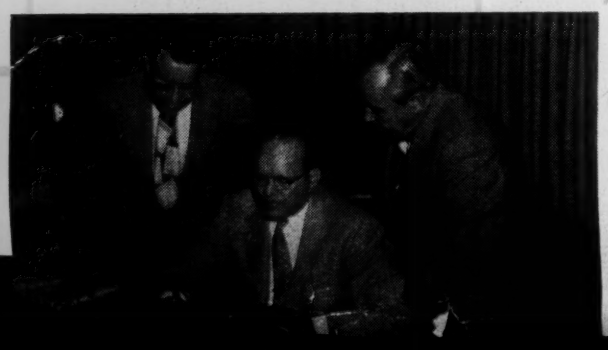
Chairman Hyde also made the distinction as to what the law states (Sec. 315 of the Act) and what is Commission "policy." He said the "Commission feels that licensees should be fair in the treatment of public issues under all conditions." Discussing the November Truman-McCarthy free time incident [B•T, Nov. 30, 23, 1953], Chairman Hyde said FCC had "no part in that series of programs". Chairman Hyde, Comrs. George Sterling and E. M. Webster (present before the subcommittee) said they had not asked the networks for time for either Harry S. Truman or Sen. McCarthy. Asked about members of the FCC staff, Chairman Hyde said he knew of "no such request. I would be astounded if anyone did."

TEXAS Co. reaches agreement with WWJ Detroit for 52-week sponsorship of five times a week sportscast featuring Budd Lynch. Agreeing on the contract are (r to l): seated, G. B. Fraser, Texas Co.'s state sls. mgr.; Tom Warner, WWJ sls. mgr.; standing, C. A. Bentley, Texas Co.'s asst. div. sls. mgr.; Fred F. Hague, Hollingbery Co., radio sales v. p., and R. P. Keim, Texas Co.'s Detroit zone sls. mgr.

JERRY MARSHALL (c), conductor of *Make Believe Ballroom*, WNEW New York, tastes the product of one of his sponsors, P. Ballantine & Sons (beer), Newark, with A. A. Bestall, (l), Ballantine merch. mgr., and William H. Alley, Ballantine gen. sls. mgr.

PABST Blue Ribbon Beer, through Warwick-Legler, Los Angeles, will sponsor two newscasts daily on the 33 stations of the Intermountain Network. Joy Mallicoat, Warwick-Legler timebuyer, and H. K. Peterson, Intermountain sales mgr., approve the contract.

KOY Phoenix, Ariz., signs Arizona Insurance Assn. (association of Arizona life insurance companies) to 52-week sponsorship of 15-minute morning program *Yours Sincerely*, featuring Jack Williams, program dir. At the signing are (l to r): Mr. Williams; Alfred Hanson, president of Arizona Insurance Assn., and John L. Hogg, KOY commercial mgr.



NESTLE BUYS LARGE CAMPAIGN ON WNEW

THE NESTLE Co. (Nescafe), New York, signed with WNEW New York last week for what was described as one of the largest single radio station announcement program advertising schedules, said to represent about $6,000 weekly. The campaign will be launched April 5 with round-the-clock coverage to run until Jan. 1, 1955. Nestle's saturation spot announcement and program sponsorship extends through WNEW'S 24-hour-a-day broadcasts, seven days a week, and represents participation in all WNEW personalities shows.

A meeting explaining the Nestle-WNEW project was held at the station, at which time all the facts of the contract were outlined to 75 Nescafe salesmen and distributors.

The negotiations were handled by Donald Cady, vice president in charge of general advertising and merchandising for Nestle; John Crandall, media director of Sherman & Marquette, and John Geddes, WNEW.

General Foods Plans Anniversary Show on Tv

GENERAL FOODS, New York, to celebrate its quarter-century anniversary will sponsor Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II in their first formal venture into television, a 90-minute, star-studded musical cavalcade to be presented on both CBS-TV and NBC-TV, 8-9:30 p.m. Sunday, March 28. The cost of the program is understood to be about $300,000.

The cavalcade will include musical excerpts from Rodgers' and Hammerstein's "Oklahoma," "South Pacific," "The King and I," "Carousel," "Allegro," and "Me and Juliet." The stars of the respective productions on broadway will in many cases appear on the program in renditions of portions of their respective roles.

Young & Rubicam, New York, is the agency handling the television extravaganza.

Geyer Inc. Names Ballard To Nash Account, Board

SAM M. BALLARD, vice president, Geyer Inc., New York, has been elected to the agency's board of directors, B. B. Geyer, president and chairman, announced last week.

Mr. Ballard also was named supervising executive on the Nash Motors account, and will head the agency group on the account in the New York and Detroit offices.

He has been with Geyer since August 1953, when he resigned as chairman of the management committee and board member of Gardner Adv., St. Louis and New York. Prior to that Mr. Ballard handled the Hudson Motor Car account for Compton Adv. and for Brooke, Smith, French & Dorrance.

Y&R's Dyke to New Post

KEN R. DYKE, vice president and assistant to the president, Young & Rubicam, New York, has been appointed director of branch office operations in the U. S., it was announced by S. S. Larmon, president of the agency. Y&R's domestic branch offices are located in Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

"Mr. Dyke," Mr. Larmon said, "will continue his responsibilities as vice president in charge of publicity and public relations. The International Division, which includes London, Mexico City, Toronto and Montreal, will remain under the direction of Lorimer B. Slocum, vice president."

Buys Color Breaks

CASTRO Decorators Inc., New York, has placed "the first local commercial order for station breaks in color" on WNBT (TV) New York, it was announced last week by Hamilton Shea, general manager of WNBC-WNBT (TV). The sale was completed by Mr. Shea and Jay Heitlin, sales manager of WNBT (TV), and Bernard Carlin, executive head of Newton Adv., which represented the company for its Castro convertibles. The contract reserves for Castro first availabilities of local color time spots. Following negotiations, Mr. Shea said: "The receipt of this initial local order for color commercials is another milestone in the rapid progress of this tremendously important addition to the television medium. The great impact of color from an advertising standpoint will open the doors to many advertisers." Several weeks ago WNBT (TV) carried what it described as "the first commercial color telecast of a regular program, *Jinx's Diary*."

Bishop Names Jay, Burr

NORMAN JAY has been elected president and Donald Burr vice president of Hazel Bishop Inc., New York, it was announced last week by Raymond Spector, chairman of the board.

Mr. Spector also revealed that the company's sales for the fiscal period ended Oct. 31, 1953, were over $10 million. The net profit before taxes was $2,022,848 and after taxes $601,111. The company's sales are running approximately 50% ahead of last year and the advertising budget for current fiscal year is $5½ million.

SPOT—NEW BUSINESS

Rad Products (bleach, cleaner and furniture polish) to start six-month radio and tv spot campaign, beginning in New York March 18 and becoming national as distribution warrants. Agency: Duane Jones Co., N. Y.

Old Dutch Coffee has started radio spot announcement campaign on WNBC, WOR and WMCA New York, to launch a point of sale merchandising promotion featuring an Easter hat contest for women. Prizes of "hats by John Frederics," the famous milliner, will be awarded for best letters on their preference for Old Dutch regular or instant coffee.

Riggio Tobacco Co. (cigarettes), N. Y., planning heavy campaign, but media plans are undetermined. Radio and tv will be used to coincide with distribution. Agency: Badger & Browning & Hershey, N. Y.

Catelli Food Products Ltd., Montreal, has expanded local quiz shows to 18 Canadian stations. Agency: Walsh Adv. Co., Montreal.

AGENCY APPOINTMENTS

Pro-Fesh Products Co., East Orange, N. J. (Pro-fesh, new gun-spray dry cleaner), names Lewin, Williams & Saylor, N. Y., to handle its advertising. Television spots and newspapers will be used.

Hamilton Textile Mills, New York, names Peck Adv. to handle its new line of Hamilton House nylon tricot knitted sheets. All media will be used in introductory campaign, to be launched April 1.

Cliquot Club Co., Millis, Mass. (soft drinks), appoints Cunningham & Walsh, N. Y., to handle advertising. Media plans are undetermined.

Editorial

The Bandwagon

The past fortnight has been exceedingly difficult for Sen. Joe McCarthy. New enemies and old friends are attacking him from all directions. The ranks of anti-McCarthyites have suddenly swollen with distinguished recruits. The senator is wounded, his fangs dulled, and it is possible to move safely in to feast on his bones.

The bandwagon has suddenly become crowded and those of us who at times have felt lonely on it, say: Welcome Aboard.

When this sad chapter of American history is written it should record those who now have jumped to the "right" side, but who for eight years had silently consented or loudly applauded while the senator trampled his way to the demagogic top.

Senator McCarthy has committed no investigative sins in the past month different from those he committed over and over in past years. He succeeded in the past because of the vast indifference, the incredible unconcern with the basic American rights.

What he has wildly said about an Army general, a popular commentator, a Republican senator recently, differ not a whit from his treatment of professors, and government clerks and less prominent newspapermen in the past. But somehow that was different — people said. Maybe Joe was a little crude, but he meant well.

It is hard to understand a people who became so aroused when General Zwicker was told he "lacked the brains of a 5-year-old," but who worried hardly at all when the same senator called Gen. George C. Marshall a traitor.

Of all McCarthy's assaults on truth, one stands out. And the willingness of responsible and honest people to tolerate it is the real phenomenon of his rise.

That is his fradulent claim to being a war hero. None of us care much for the professional hero — even when his decorations are genuine. But all of us have a sincere respect for the men who fought for us, bravely and well. For any man to run for public office solely on his war record is slightly disgusting.

For a man to campaign on a phony war record is downright sacrilegious — an insult to all the kids who died unbemedaled on our battlefields.

That's what Joe McCarthy did—way back in 1946—and those who suddenly are so shocked about him now, knew it then, but thought little of it.

McCarthy campaigned as "Tailgunner Joe," the Marine hero. He was not a tailgunner. He was an intelligence officer. He said he enlisted as a buck private and worked his way up. He didn't. He wangled a commission as a 1st lieutenant before he ever put on a uniform. He claimed he was wounded in action. Actually, he broke his leg while horsing around. He had a lot of folks believing he won the war. Actually, he resigned from the marines at the height of the Pacific war—the day the marines hit Iwo Jima—so he could come home and make political capital out of his war record.

Much has been made of the Army's "surrender" to McCarthy recently. The Army needn't blush. It was the glorybound Marine Corps, which claims it never retreats, let along surrender, which really bowed to McCarthy.

After he became senator, he frightened the brave Marines into awarding him decorations which the Corps previously had determined he didn't earn. But they decorated Joe in a formal ceremony.

Through all this none of the veterans' organizations which take so much pride in the prestige of veterans ever complained. They applauded.

A man who would falsify his war record—one of the supposedly sacred ingredients of patriotism—and then claim to be the greatest patriot of us all, is a man none of whose actions should surprise you. Yet, as they clamor on the bandwagon now, so many people act surprised.

Maybe it's because there is a little fraud in all of us.

Big Decision

While the nation's life goes on day to day, groups of men sit around tables and try to reach decisions on questions which can affect us all for a long time. The Supreme Court tries to decide about segregation. Senate committees try to write new tax laws.

One of the most important decisions of our age will be handed down by a little known group of men studying a very new problem. They are the military men who must determine whether Frank Schwable should be court-martialed.

Schwable is the flyer who, shot down over Korea, succumbed to Communist torture and made false confessions of germ warfare. Was his action unbecoming an officer and a betrayal of his country? Or is he to be likened to the officer who fails only because he has just had his head blown off?

The decision may well be the official recognition of a new weapon, the beginning of a new code of conduct for fighting men. It could be a sign, more emphatic than the atom bomb, that we have moved into a new age of warfare.

Word Of Life

ACTS 9:1-9 . . . "But Saul, still breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord, went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the synagogues at Damascus, so that if he found any belonging to the Way, men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.

Now as he journeyed he approached Damascus, and suddenly a light from heaven flashed about him. And he fell to the ground and heard a voice saying to him, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? And he said, 'Who are you, Lord? And he said, "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting; but rise and enter the city, and you will be told what you are to do.'

The men who were traveling with him stood speechless, hearing the voice but seeing no one. Saul arose from the ground; and when his eyes were opened, he could see nothing; so they led him by the hand and brought him into Damascus. And for three days he was without sight, and neither ate nor drank . . ."

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"Is that one of those prairie skyscrapers they talk about?"

Drew Pearson

Abandon Sea Survey

It hasn't been mentioned in any of the press releases on economy, but the administration's economy ax has eliminated a planned survey of the strategic Bering Sea, separating Alaska and Siberia.

The survey is considered so important that Rear Adm. Robert Studds, chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, came up to Capitol Hill to protest. Testifying behind closed doors of the House Appropriations Committee, Studds complained that the budget cutback would force him to decommission his largest ship, the Plymouth, which is now surveying the Bering Sea.

"In view of this proposed 15 per cent cut in your funds and the laying off of 253 employees and the mothballing of your largest and fastest ship, I wonder if you could tell us with propriety what the Soviet Union is doing in the field of surveys, particularly up there in the Bering Sea area?" asked Rep. John Rooney, Brooklyn Democrat.

Pearson

"I don't know, sir," replied Studds.

"I don't think anyone knows, sir," broke in his assistant, Capt. I. E. Rittenburg.

"Are you quite concerned about this cutback?" asked Georgia's Rep. Prince Preston.

'Yes, sir, I am," the admiral responded. "We feel these surveys are highly necessary. It is not my thinking, either. It is the thinking of the Navy Department."

Pointing to a special chart, he added: "I would like to show you this chart to show you just where we are going to suspend these Bering Sea operations, although the Navy is greatly interested in it. We have been doing it at the request of the Navy. That is shoal area, and you can see the strategic importance of it."

"Have you been able to ascertain," demanded Preston, "why this drastic action was taken on the part of the Bureau of the Budget"

"I think it is a general balancing of the budget, is it not?" shrugged Studds. "That is my understanding of it."

Art has now triumphed over economy, at least in the Senate office building. Senators are now able to paint their office walls a cheerful, light green instead of the drab but thriftier tan that has been standard in the Senate for years.

It took a long battle to break down the staid Senate Rules Committee which regarded the old Army tan is not only more economical, but more solemn and dignified. One exception was made some time ago for the granddaddy of the Senate, Rhode Island's spry, little Sen. Theodore Green, who was allowed to paint his walls to match his name.

Only other earlier exception was Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, who argued that green was more feminine. This was in the nature of a consolation prize after the Rules Committee had turned down her request for a powder room near the Senate chamber. Since facilities were available outside the cloakroom for male senators, she fought for equal rights for women. All she got was a coat of green paint for her office.

Later, when Utah's freshman Sen. Wallace Bennett applied for similar painting privileges, he was turned down. As a businessman and manufacturer back in Salt Lake city, however, he vowed to break this Senate boycott against attractive, expensive paints, and requested permission to cover his office walls with his own green paint. After considerable delay and debate, permission was finally granted.

Other envious senators dropped around and admired the restful green color. After that, the pressure became so great that the Rules Committee reluctantly agreed to stock green as well as tan paint. Now ten senate offices have converted to green.

Able Civil Aeronautics Administrator Fred Lee admitted behind closed doors the other day that this country is lagging two years behind Britain in developing fast passenger planes.

Testifying secretly before the senate aviation subcommittee, Lee predicted: "Coming into this fast aircraft, we are facing the prospect that turbine passenger transportation will come into operation in this country between 1957 and 1959."

"Do you feel," asked Chairman Dwight Griswold of Nebraska, "that we are falling behind the British in the field of transport?"

"I think we are behind about two years at the present time, but I think we are catching up very fast," replied Lee.

Remarked Truman's old friend, General Harry Vaughan, after the Stevens-McCarthy incident: "If the Navy's going to start wearing swords, the Army can now carry umbrellas."

Billy Rose

Bill Shakespeare, Civic Booster

Every now and so often, I get a letter from the mayor of this or that smallish town asking me to suggest a stunt or scheme which will help put his community on the map.

My answer to all such queries is that I know of only one sure-fire way to publicize a small town. Namely, to capitalize on the pulling power of a gent named Wiliam Shakespeare.

The alderman in the checked vest has a question? How can a longhair like Shakespeare attract attention and tourists to, let's say, Pismo Beach, Calif., or Ong's Hat, N. J.?

Well, the simplest way to answer the alderman is to give him some facts and figures about the Shakespeare industry. . .

For centuries, Stratford-upon-Avon was an English whistle stop, listed in the travel agencies only because it was the birthplace of the Bumptious bard. In this town, mostly for reasons of nostalgia, a replica of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre was kept open, but it only gave 80 performances a season and played to an average attendance of fewer than 500 customers.

Rose

Some years ago this miniature theatre burned down, and several of the town's live wires decided to replace it with a large modern auditorium in which two permanent repertory companies, with big names as guest stars, would give performances eight months out of the year.

Result? As of today, the new Stratford-upon-Avon theatre is playing to almost 500,000 paid admissions a year, and the culture-hungry tourists who flock to it from all over the world have made Stratford the most prosperous small town in England. Virtually every ticket sold means the purchase of a night's lodging in a local hostelry, fish-and chips in a restaurant, a couple of drinks in a pub, and a rowboat ride on the Avon. And as for getting on the map, Stratford is better known around the world than many cities with a hundred times its population.

Another example of what the Wondrous William can do for a community is the village in Ontario which is also known as Stratford. Just last summer, in an arena-type tent, a couple of civic-minded gents presented "All's Well That Ends Well" and "Richard III" with Alex Guinness as the male star and his London colleague, Tyrone Guthrie, as director.

Result? For one thing, there wasn't a hotel or rooming house accommodation to be had within a radius of 20 miles. For another, the event was considered so important that it was covered by just about every topflight dramatic critic in the Western Hemisphere. Did the canvas-top theatre do any business? Yes, almost $50,000 a week during its engagement.

To be sure, this kind of box-office magic only happens when top players, directors and technicians are hired to do the right and proper by Will's words. But the remarkable thing about Shakespeare is that when you set out to present him beautifully, you can buy some of the theatre's biggest talents for small dough. This season, Robert Ryan came 3,000 miles from Hollywood to act in "Coriolanus" at a slow hundred bucks a week. Earlier, Jose Ferrer starred in "Richard III," and his produest brag was that the management paid for his lunch. The thespian, it seems, has only one dream—to be able to say, "The time I did Hamlet—" or "When I played Lady Macbeth—"

This year, as per usual, dozens of towns will spend huge amounts of money on razzmatazz promotion stunts. They will try to make a big noise with pageants, festivals, name bands and the crowning of Miss Broccoli of 1954. And in almost every case, they will engage the services of high-priced public relations counselors.

For a fraction of what they squander, as the story of the two Stratfords proves, they can have the services of the greatest press agent of them all—Mr. Shakespeare — who works for free and doesn't even ask for a cut of the take.

Glenn Williams

This creep (meaning me) has been doing the "Creep" (meaning a dance) for years and just didn't know it.

Now, thanks to a little magazine called "Music Views", I now know what I've been doing and it makes me feel a little creepy.

The Creep, says the mag, is quite the rage in England and is spreading to the United States, so Katy had better bar the door.

Essentially, the Creep is a reverse tango, with the man always moving backward.

The music to which the Creep is crept is a simple 12-bar blues riff, whatever that is.

Williams

Well, I'm here to tell the British lads I was a backward dancer while they were still gulping tea and crumpets at their mothers' knees.

In fact, I was voted the most backward boy in my dancing class.

Actually, a couple of girl moppets were responsible for my dancing style, which has come to be known in my circle as the "Fire-And-Fall-Back" or "Run - For-the-Hills" type.

One of the moppets was the first to attempt to teach me how to dance. She was a brawny, buxom brunette, who, I feel sure, grew up to be a wrestler.

She was a determined type and every time I tried to fox-trot my way forward a couple of paces, she bounded me back for a 5-yard loss.

I guess she figured I was trying to get fresh.

Later, after I learned how to dance in a somewhat horrible fashion, I took up with a blonde who wouldn't have weighed over 90 pounds if she had tied lead weights to her skirts, which she hadn't.

When dancing with her I always was fearful that I would plow under the fragile beauty if I took a step forward without giving her fair warning.

As a consequence, I continued to back-pedal as best I could in the accepted two-step fashion of the day.

Now, this creep, this nowhere square, this schmoe is sitting around waiting for the Creep to gallop out to these midwest parts.

When it does, this real-gone guy, this cat, this hep dog is going to be out on the dance floor shaking a leg with the best of them.

It took a long time, but the Creep is creeping toward what I've been practicing for lo, these many years.

It just goes to show a prophet is not without honor except in his own country.

Bet that 90-pound blonde — who married a cornball from Sabetha, Kan., — is sorry now.

Western Front:

Sen. McCarthy

I am somewhat disappointed in the attitude of the paper, or at least Intercepted Letters concerning Senator McCarthy.

Twice last week the Senator caught it. I am sure that none of us believe that the Army is "coodling" Communism. On the other hand let us admit it is very possible that some Communist could belong to our Army. It certainly isn't right that these individuals be promoted and given an honorable discharge. That is wrong, and so are those who were responsible for the promotions. A sign of greatness is when one will admit mistakes. Certainly it isn't a sign of greatness to run to the skirts of Ike and ask him to protect them. Ike was great and admitted for them that they were wrong.

Senator McCarthy may be a little rough. I wish he could be rougher. God knows he isn't worse than the Reds. Maybe he will step on some toes—but until I hear of a person who is more effective against communism I'm for him. Let the man, who can do a beter job and prove it, cast the first stone.—F. G. FREEMAN, M. D., Pratt.

Wrong Road

Adlai's spech in Miami reminded me of the story of the man, driving thru the Ozarks, who stopped to inquire of a native if he was on the right road to Kansas City. The native said: "Don't rightly believe ya're. This road moseys along for a spell, then turns into a hog trail, then a squirrel run and fin'ly runs right up a pine tree and ends in a knot hole."—HOLLY RENFRO, Montezuma.

City Cleanup

What right do the men have to come around snooping in our yards, garages, sheds and outhouses? And telling us how to live!

I haven't seen any kids in our end of town that are sick. Also how would they like for someone to come snooping into their affairs!

I admit the town needs cleaning up but why not in the right places. Regarding the privys —did it ever occur to these men that if the sewer ran down our alley we wouldn't have the privys! Also, if we had a lot of money maybe we could all live north of the tracks. Or if we bought everything and owed everybody, we could move up there anyway. It takes a poor man from sun-up til sundown to make a decent living for his family and most of the time the wife has to work too.

Isnt it better that a man buy old cars and tear them up and sell them so he can make ends meet than have to go out and rob and steal to get things for his family Why not start with some of the eating places or drinking taverns!

It seems the poorer class of people of Hutchinson catch it all the time. Why can't they let them alone! They aren't asking the city for anything. They pay their taxes and more than they can afford.

We're all happy. Why don't they let us alone.

I don't suppose you will put this in the paper, but I feel a lot better anyway.—R. L. SMITH ("South End"), Hutchinson.

Chain Letters

The enclosed type of letters are being circulated and their non-legality has again been ruled by the Post Office Department.

(Dr. Wenke enclosed a chain letter being circulated among fishermen. It asks the recipient to send a new plug to the name at the top of the list, then write six letters, leaving out the top name and adding his own name. Promise is that in a few days, he will receive 36 plugs. "Every good fisherman needs 36 plugs," says the letter. It also states: "It is legal as there is no money involved."

The Justice Department has condemned this practice, stating that persons writing them are liable under federal law regardless of the "no money involved" clause. — L. L. WENKE, M.D., Great Bend.

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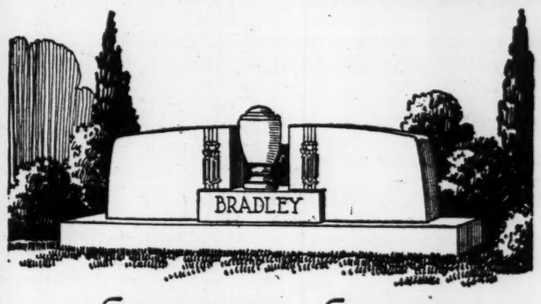

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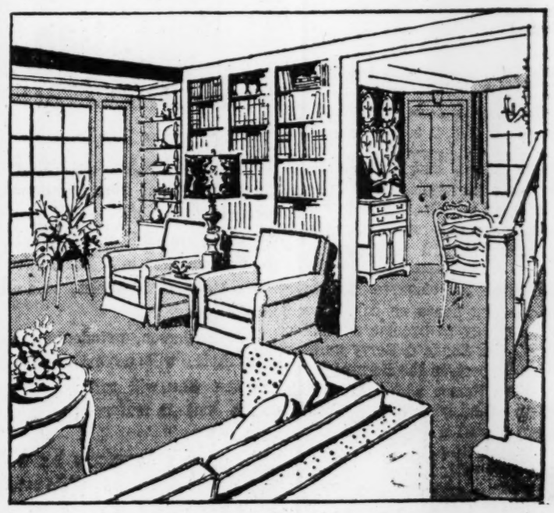
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KANSAN FOUND GUILTY OF MURDER

State Airman Killed In Local Car-Truck Crash

STATE TRUCK, CAR COLLIDE; THREE INJURED

Francis Allen, 20, Smoky Hill Airman, Dies in Crash

A man identified tentatively as Francis J. Allen, 20, stationed at the Smoky Hill Air Force Base at Salina, Kas., was killed early Saturday morning in a collision of a passenger car and a truck.

The accident occurred at the north end of the US-81 Highway overpass, north of the city limits.

Victor Santiago, 19, of the base, was critically hurt. Two other servicemen, Robert J. Benoit, 22, and Bernard L. Reinike, 18, suffered less severe injuries.

Lonnie Swift, 40, of 2804 Burton, driver of the truck, was not injured.

The collision was blamed indirectly upon the storm which struck Wichita Friday afternoon and night.

Sergt. Ray Dougherty and Patrolman Larry Duffy and John Adams of the sheriff's road patrol, said Swift, operator of the state highway truck, had started out early to sand some roads.

Swift said the car in which the servicemen were riding struck his truck from the rear.

Byrd-Snodgrass and Downing ambulances took the victims to St. Francis Hospital where Allen was pronounced dead on arrival.

The sheriff's deputies said the servicemen apparently were en route to their base when the accident happened.

The sheriff's dispatcher said the call relative to the accident was received at 4:41 a.m.

Two other men were sent to Wichita hospitals for treatment Friday as a result of another accident blamed on the dust storm.

When Frank Wright of Wellington, Kas., slowed his automobile on US-81 Highway a mile south of the Sedgwick County line, it was hit in the rear by a vehicle operated by Jim Chance Clothier, 4070 Steele.

Clothier was treated at St. Joseph Hospital and Jack Bedell of Oklahoma City, Okla., a passenger in Clothier's car, was treated at St. Francis Hospital. Wright was not hurt.

POLICE SERGEANT SHOT IN BANK DOORWAY—Sgt. Howard M. Slessman, 46, lies half in and half out of the doorway of the Greenwood Branch of the Seattle First National Bank after he was shot in the neck by holdup men. Attending doctor is not identified. (AP Wirephoto).

5-STATE DUST STORM WET BY HEAVY SNOWS

Nebraska Catches Brunt of Damage; Many Phones Out

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A snowstorm moved northeast out of Colorado and Kansas today, wetting down clouds of dust that had reduced visibility to zero in parts of five states. The blizzard dumped up to 10 inches of snow in its wake.

As the storm progressed, winds that had buffeted the Plains States with gusts up to 100 miles an hour diminished slowly. But hail borne by a howling wind and accompanied by lightning lashed Grand Rapids, Mich.

Nebraska bore the brunt in the early stages as the storm substituted snow for dust in its drive across the midcontinent.

Snow to depths of 10 inches was reported at Chadron in western Nebraska. The Northwestern Bell Telephone Company reported 1,630 long line circuits out in Nebraska, Iowa and South Dakota. It said 3,600 farm phones were out of service in the three states.

In Kansas City, the weather bureau said the storm would move northeast thru Iowa and Minnesota into Wisconsin and Michigan, and eastward out of Oklahoma and Texas. The weatherman said some rain was in prospect north of a line extending roughly eastward from St. Joseph, Mo., northeast of St. Louis to Cincinnati. He said falling temperatures were in prospect for the South as warm air gave way to cold.

High winds continued to buffet Missouri last night, fanning dozens of forest fires, some covering more than 500 acres each.

The state conservation commission said the worst danger was in southwestern Missouri, where more than 20 fires raged.

Dust blown in from the Plains States hampered fire watchers in planes and towers.

In Kansas, whose wheat plains fed the dust storm, two died in a traffic mishap blamed on the storm. Scores of lesser accidents were reported.

The dust got so thick on the Oklahoma A&M basketball court at Stillwater that it had to be brushed off after every quarters

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DEMANDS COHN INVESTIGATION AT ONCE—Sen. Charles E. Potter (R., Mich.) tells a news conference in his office in Washington that the Senate investigations subcommittee should immediately fire Chief Counsel Roy Cohn if it is true that he sought to force the army to give special treatment to inductee G. David Schine, a committee investigator. (AP Wirephoto)

JURY AT PRATT FINDS PRATER SLEW HIS WIFE

Deliberate 11 Hours Over Case of Railroad Man

Pratt, March 13. (AP) — A Pratt County District Court jury, after 11 hours' deliberation, found Dave George Prater, 64, local railroad man, guilty of murder in the second degree in the fatal shooting of his 31-year-old wife last December 28.

Prater had been charged with first degree murder.

The jury reached its verdict at 5:20 a. m. and Judge Clark Wallace opened the sealed envelope in court at 9 a. m.

Fred Tillman of Pawhuska, Okla., defense counsel announced he would appeal the verdict and Judge Wallace gave him five days to file a motion for a new trial.

The trial was one of the most sensational in the state for many years and set the city of Pratt to buzzing with conjecture and rumor. Many of the townspeople knew of the Praters' stormy married life and some testified as to hearing the 65-year-old railroad engineer threaten his wife's life.

Repeated attempts by the defense to introduce testimony relatime to Mrs. Prater's alleged infidelity were halted by objections from the prosecution and agreements from Judge Wallace.

During the trial the defense apparently directed their efforts toward an "incident" theory concerned with the pistol death of Mrs. Prater, 34 years younger than her husband.

Prater told on the stand of being assaulted by his wife whom he quoted as saying, "I'll split your skull open." He said she attacked him with a small ax and struck [illegible] charge.

The bullet struck Mrs. Prater between the eyes.

URGE STRONG FARM MARKET

Daily Competition Assures Farmer of Best Market, Cattlemen Say

By MARK CLUTTER
Wichita Beacon Farm Editor

Cattlemen heard nationall-prominent speakers stress the need for strong competitive markets during the late Friday sessions of the Kansas Livestock convention at the Broadview.

"There must be daily competition to insure adequate prices and a dependable outlook," R. J. Riddell, executive vice-president of the National Livestock Exchange, declared. "We believe that the public market system is the best system that has yet been devised, and that it is one of the most valuable assets of the American farmer."

Riddell pointed out the importance of commission men in keeping livestock prices at a good level thru competition and skillful trading ability.

Riddell emprasized the importance of good stockyard facilities and praised the Wichita Union Stock Yards Co. for its recent substantial modernization.

Gene Gunter, president of the Wichita Livestock Exchange, is

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SECRET ATOM DATA MISSING

Papers May Concern Hydrogen Bomb Plant Experiments

Washington, March 13. (AP) — Substantial quantities of secret documents,related possibly to hydrogen bomb production, reportedly aremissingfrom the government's huge 400,000-acre atomic plant at Hanford, Wash.

Rep. Pelly (R-Wash) told newsmen yesterday the Atomic Energy Commission has confirmed information that certain papers have vanished. Pelly,who said he first heard reports of this late last year, added that AEC did not tell him the natureof the missing classified material, but that he took it for granted it was "topsecret."

Pelly said he had no indication the data was stlen by spies, but he asked foran investigation by the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committeebecause, he said, "even if it's a matter ofpoor housekeeping, it's a shocking situation.

The congressman reported Chairman W. Sterling Cole (R-NY) of the atomic committee has agreed to look into the situation and that an investigator probably will be sent to Hanford shortly.

An AEC spokesman said the commission would have nothing to say for the time being. At Hanford itself, there was no immediate comment. The project, which lies near the Columbia River, employs 18,500 workers.

The project's main mission is production of plutonium—a fissionable material—for atomic bombs.

However, Dr. Ralph Lapp, a scientist who worked on the World War II Manhattan project, said in a recent book that material used in the first big hydrogen blast in November, 1952, was made at Hanford. Dr. Lapp identified this material as tritium ,a heavy form of hydrogen.

Cold Again Sunday

Topeka, March 13. (AP) — Clearing skies and sub-freezing temperatures took over in Kansas Saturday in the wake of what the weather bureau said was the season's most intense storm, and the outlook is for continued cold weather thru Sunday.

However, some moderation of temperatures is indicated in the west and central by Sunday afternoon. Low readings Sunday morning are expected to range from 5 to 10 above zero in the northwest to 20 in the southeast. Afternoon highs are due to be in the upper 30's.

The storm churned up the most severe dust blow in Kansas since the dirty 30's and accompanying snow created blizzard conditions in the northwest portion for a while on Friday but practically no moisture fell on the drouth-stricken state.

Most of the dust had moved eastward but some was still being

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WEATHER

Wichita and vicinity — Partly cloudy with diminishing winds thru Sunday. Snow flurries ending this afternoon. Colder tonight, warmer Sunday. High today mid-30's; low tonight near 15; high Sunday near 40.

Kansas—Clearing west, partly cloudy with few snow flurries east Saturday afternoon; generally fair Saturday night and Sunday cold wave Saturday afternoon and colder Saturday night; not as cold west and central Sunday afternoon; low Saturday night 5-10 above northwest to 20 southeast; high Sunday upper 30s.

Oklahoma—Fair Saturday, Saturday night and Sunday with dimishing winds; cold Saturday and colder east and central Saturday night; warmer west and central Sunday afternoon; low Saturday night 15-20 northwest to 20-25 southeast; high Sunday 40s west and 35-40 east.

Clear, Cold City Forecast for Sunday

Skies over Wichita which cleared early Saturday morning hazed over again later and light snow fell at intervals. The dust of Friday disappeared during the night and predictions of the weather bureau indicated it would not return.

The weatherman's prediction of light moisture falls came true, as traces of snow fell during the night.

The thermometer, however, fell as the skies cleared and predictions for Sunday indicated the middle 30's for a high reading.

Winds will continue thru Saturday, the forecasters said, but no dust is expected. During Saturday night, the gale will subside, and Sunday's skies will be clear.

Little erosion damage was reported in the immediate Wichita vicinity. Forecasters said the dust hung over the city Friday was from Oklahoma and the western part of the state.

During the storm Friday, transportation facilities were partially interrupted. Several plane flights were cancelled and motorists found driving on highways a tedious, hazardous business.

Visibility during the day ranged from a mile and a half down to one half mile at intervals. The dust appeared to come in waves. At times the tops of city buildings were nearly obscured and minutes later the pall had lessened, then would return.

There's ample parking around the Broadview's new Coffee House.Adv.

U. S. PLANE HIT BY CZECH JET

Copyright 1954, N. Y. Times News Service

Bonn, Germany, March 13 — A United States military plane was attacked by a Czech jet fighter Friday in Germany near the Czechoslovak border.

The American plane landed safely at Neubiberg airbase near Munich. It was not damaged and none in the plane was hurt.

An announcement from headquarters of the United States air force in Europe said the American plane became lost on a routine training mission in Austria and was fired upon by the Czechoslovak fighter. The attacking plane was described by German witnesses as a Soviet-built MIG jet.

The shooting incident took place, according to a report from German border police headquarters at Munich, two or three miles inside German territory near Waldmuecen. Altho the air force mentioned only one plane, the German police statement said the Czechoslovak plane was seen attacking two other planes. Three spent cartridges apparently from aircraft cannon were found about 300 yards inside Germany.

CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTS

Washington, March 13. (AP) — A prolonged uproar revolving around one man—Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy —cast into seeming whispers this week congressional happenings that would have amounted to quite an earful in more normal times.

The Wisconsin Republican's aim, he says, is not to root out those who would destroy this country in a Communist conspiracy. But from one day to the next he was in running battle with first one, then another combatant not usually identified with the Kremlin.

The week was already off to a fast start from a radio-televised charge by Adlai E. Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic choice for President, that the Republican Party was "half McCarthy and half Eisenhower."

McCarthy said he wanted free radio-TV time to answer Stevenson. But Chairman Leonard Hall of the Republican National Committee beat him to it, got the networks to allot time to the party instead. With President Eisenhower's okay, Vice-President Nixon was named for the job.

McCarthy hired himself a lawyer to press his case for nationwide rebuttal, meanwhile availing himself to one broadcaster's offer to

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NIXON WON'T DODGE ISSUES

Vice President Answers Stevenson Over Radio, TV

Washington, March 13. (INS) — Vice President Richard M. Nixon said today he "will not dodge the issues" when he makes a nationwide reply tonight to Adlai Stevenson's attack upon the Eisenhower administration.

The vice-president conferred for 45 minutes yesterday with President Eisenhower, who selected him to speak for the Republican party following the attack by the 1952 Democratic presidential nominee.

Following the White House meeting, Nixon secluded himself in a Washington Hotel room to escape a barrage of advice on how he should answer Stevenson's charge that the GOP is split "half McCarthy and half Eisenhower." The President has labeled this assertion "nonsense."

Nixon's speech will be carried at 9:30 p.m. (CST) over the same facilities which provided free time for Stevenson when he addressed a Democratic party gathering in Miami Beach, Fla. They are the National Broadcasting Radio Network and the Columbia Broadcasting System's radio and television hookups.

Both the NBC and CBS have rejected requests for similar free time made by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.). The GOP legislator has threatened legal action in an effort to force compliance.

It was reported that Nixon will speak from notes rather than from a prepared speech.

2 KANSANS DIE IN CAR WRECK

El Dorado, Kas., March 13. (AP)— A two-car headon collision during the dust storm Friday killed two persons and injured a third one 11 miles north of here on U.S. Highway 77.

Killed were Robert Earl Allison, 59, and his wife, Katherine, 56, of Independence, Kas. Allison was a salesman for the Wichita Building Materials Company.

The driver of the other car, Alex William Miller, 42, Toronto, Kas., was admitted to the hospital here. He suffered chest injuries and lacerations.

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M'CARTHY ANSWERS ARMY

Washington, March 13. (INS)— Following, in chronological order, are excerpts of memoranda made public by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy in charging the army with attempted "blackmail" to head off his investigation of Communists in the army:

November 6 — McCarthy wrote that Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens had asked him to "hold up" his hearings on the army and "go after the navy, the air force and the defense department, instead."

November 17 — A subcommittee memo reported a New York luncheon attended by McCarthy, Stevens, army legal counsel John Adams, subcommittee counsel Roy Cohn, and subcommittee staff director Francis Carr at which they discussed Stevens' news conference statement that "there had been no espionage at Fort Monmouth."

The memo added: "Mr. Stevens produced the correct transcript of the conference and said he had been badly misquoted in the press, and the press had absolutely distorted what he said and put in some plain untruths."

"At this meeting, Stevens again said he wished that we could get on to the air force and the navy and the personnel employed directly by the defense establishment instead of continuing with the army hearings."

December 9—McCarthy to Carr: ". . . I want to tell you . . . that I am getting fed up with the way the army is trying to use (Pvt. G. David) Schine as a hostage to pressure us to stop our hearings on the army. . .

"Again today, John Adams came down here after the hearings and using clever phrases tried to find out, 'what's there in it for us' if he and Stevens did something for Schine.

"He refers to Schine as our hostage or the hostage whenever his name comes up.

"I made it clear that as far as I

(Please turn to Page 14, Column 4)

REPORT STATE ROADS CLEAR

Topeka, March 13. (AP) — The Highway Department reported slightly improved travel conditions in Kansas late Friday.

United States Highways 24 and 40 were reopened between Wamego and Topeka as blowing dust subsided enough to permit better visibility.

A highway department spokesman said conditions also had cleared up south of Wichita

He said little information had been received concerning conditions in the northwest part of the state. Earlier the department warned motorists to stay off roads in the section of the state north and west of Oakley.

He said it was believed no highways are blocked but that visibility may be near zero from blowing snow.

PROBER BACK IN HOME STATE

Due for Off-Cuff Talk; May Discuss Work of Committee

Manitowoc, Wis., March 13. — Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wis.), fresh from a round of clashes with the army in Washington, is due to deliver an off-the-cuff speech tonight before a Manitowoc group of businessmen.

The senator said he had no prepared text, but that the speech probably would review the work of his controversial Senate investigating subcommittee.

The Wisconsin junior senator, who spent the night at the Milwaukee home of Otis Gomillion, a private detective and long time personal friend, is scheduled to address a junior chamber of commerce bosses' night dinner.

McCarthy stepped from a plane into a stringing sleet without an overcoat. "I never wear one," he said. "I love this weather."

In a brief interview McCarthy defended Roy Cohn, chief counsel of his investigation committee.

"I have a strong hunch that Roy will be in Washington quite some time," McCarthy said.

Cohn had been named in an army report as having allegedly made threats in effort to get special treatment for G. David Schine, former consultant to McCarthy's

(Please turn to Page 14, Column 6)

34 ARE KILLED IN AIR CRASH

Singapore, March 13. (AP) —A London-bound Qantas-B O A C Airlines Constellation crashed and burned on landing at Singapore today killing 34 of the persons aboard. Seven persons, including six of the plane's crew, survived the flaming wreck.

The big four-engine plane, operated by a British Commonwealth company, was coming in from Jakarta, Indonesia, where it had stopped over on its regularly scheduled flight from Sydney, Australia, to London.

It crashed at the end of the runway after skimming over rooftops on a normal approach for the landing. Flames enveloped the plane and roared out of control for more than an hour.

When the blaze was quelled, the firemen broke into the plane with axes to pull out the charred remains of the victims.

Some of the injured crewmen in the for ard part of the plane managed to crawl to stafety. One of these was the stewardess, Josephine Butler, who was said to be in serious condition. An aged civil-

(Please turn to Page 14, Column 7)

SAY SOLDIERS DEAD IN BLAST

Rome, March 13. (AP)—The Italian news agency Ansa reported from Trieste today several United States soldiers had been killed by an explosion.

The agency said the blast occurred in a barracks near Opicina on the Carso Mountain near Trieste. It said several other soldiers were wounded.

MURROW GIVES 'FACTS' ON AIR

School Cited by McCarthy Had Dulles Also on Trustee Board

New York, March 13. (AP)—CBS Commentator Edward R. Murrow says Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was a member of the board of trustees of the Institute of International Education in 1935.

On his regular news commentary last night, Murrow replied to criticism made Thursday night by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), who connected Murrow's institute activities 19 years ago with what he termed "a Moscow university summer session."

Murrow said:

"Now here are the facts about that Moscow summer school. . . I was the assistant director of the institute. . . This organization dealt primarily with the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries. . .

"It was largely financed at that time by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

"Among its board of trustees were such as John Foster Dulles, John Basset Moore, Thomas W.

(Please turn to Page 14, Column 7)

TV HEARINGS ARE SCHEDULED

Washington, March 13. (AP) — The Communications Commission announced today that oral arguments on competing applications for television stations in Wichita, Ks., would be heard April 5.

Mid-Continent Television, Inc., and KAKE Broadcasting Co., are seeking Channel 10 in Wichita.

PRAYER FOR RAIN

By THE REV. RALPH A. VANDERWOOD
Pastor, Woodland Community Church

Almighty God, in mercy send rain to this drouth stricken area. We realize our dependence upon You, the Creator of the heavens and the earth. Without the moisture which You alone can send, the crops fail, the cattle find no pasture, the beauty of the land fades, and Your children become faint from the heat, the dust, and the desolation.

Forgive us, our God, for failing to be thankful for all Your blessings—past, present and prospective. We promise to praise You for the showers that will refresh the land and cause it to bring forth beauty and bountiful harvest. We'll remember that the golden grain comes only from the ground that You have blessed.

In our adversity we have come to You, Heavenly Father. Never have we failed to find help thru prayer. As we petition You now, we believe that You will respond in love to meet our need. Give us grace enough that our lives as well as our lips shall thank You for rain and all our blessings.

Want Ads Taken Up to 8 p. m.

Whether you're buying or selling, let a Beacon classified ad do the job; do it in a hurry.

That's the advice thousands of Wichitans will testify to, because they are satisfied customers.

The Beacon's classified ads not only assure of fast action, but low cost.

If you want to place a classified ad, just phone The Beacon at FOrest 3-2211 and ask for an Ad-visor.

When you place a classified ad in The Beacon, you are sure it will reach 500,000 persons in Kansas, northern Oklahoma and the Texas Panhandle.

Remember, to place an ad, just phone FOrest 3-2211. Better yet, stop by The Beacon's new home at 825 East Doug-

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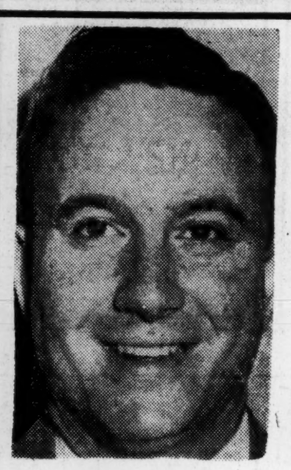
VOL. 102, NO. 125 Phone—FOrest 3-2211 WICHITA, KANSAS, SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1954 Phone—FOrest 3-2211 14 PAGES

At the End of This Week

The Beacon Takes Off Its Hat To These Worthwhile Leaders

FRED G. GURLEY

Fred G. Gurley, president of the Santa Fe Railroad, expressed "cautious optimism" about the future while in Wichita this week for an inspection tour of Santa Fe Lines. The tour will take the road's top officials thruout the southwest.



LESTER L. ROSEN

Lester L. (Les) Rosen, director of public relations at Wichita University, was named this week by the Wichita Junior Chamber of Commerce as the city's outstanding young man of the year. He received the service award at the group's banquet at Wichita Air Force base.

ALLAN B. KLINE

Allan B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, was main speaker at the annual meeting of the Kansas Livestock Association convening in Wichita this week. He heads one of the most influential farm groups in the nation.

MRS. FLOYD MULLENDORE

Mrs. Floyd Mullendore of 1465 Perry was selected as "woman of the year" by a local radio station for her years of volunteer service to the crippled children and mental patients at Wesley Hospital. Mrs. Herbert Hodel of Peabody nominated Mrs. Mullendore for the honor.

MRS. GERALDINE MICKELSON

Mrs. Geraldine Mickelson, international president of the 99s, woman pilot's organization, paid tribute to the local chapter Sunday during the third birthday party of the Wichita 99s. Mrs. Mickelson is from Sacramento, Calif.

WILLIAM J. KEATING

William J. Keating, director of the New York Crime Commission, was featured speaker Thursday night at the Wichita Crime Commission's annual membership dinner. At a press conference here prior to the speech, Keating cited the role of the free press in crime commission activities.

JURY AWARDS YOUTH $1,000

A 19-year-old Dewey, Okla., youth, Oliver Darrell Smith, was awarded $1,000 in damages by a federal court jury in Wichita in a verdict returned late Friday against Baxter Springs, Kas, truck driver, Arthur R. Mallory and the Brewster Trucking Company.

The civil jury trial resulted from a highway accident occurring November 7, 1951 on U.S.-Highway 166 west of Baxter Springs.

Young Smith was injured when an automobile in which he was riding as a passenger collided with the rear end of a semi-trailer truck being driven by Mallory.

The complaint charged negligence on the part of the truck driver for allegedly failing to signal when he slowed the truck to turn from the highway. A total of $21,000 in damages was asked in the original suit filed by Payne Ratner, Jr., Wichita attorney. The local law firm of Smith, Gilchrist, Warner and Buck represented the deefndants.

M'CARTHY ANSWERS ARMY

(Continued from Page 1)

was concerned, I don't personally care what treatment they gave Schine, and that as far as I was concerned, he was in the army.

"I did say that I thought it wasn't fair to them to take it out on Schine, because we were investigating the army, or to keep using it to try to stop our investigations. I told him the only contact we were authorized to have with him about Schine was in investigations committee business.

"My telling him this does no real good, as he constantly lumps together all his talk about Schine with suggestions that we stop holding hearings on the army.

I am convinced that they will keep right on trying to blackmail us as long as Schine is in the army.

"Even tho they said he deserved a commission, they didn't give it to him because of the left-wing press and they keep trying to dangle proposed small favors to him in front of us.

"Adams, by his attitude, makes it clear that the army will do nothing to see that Schine gets into any kind of assignment to which he is qualified, unless we stop investigating the army.

"When he brought up the 'what's there in it for us' business this morning, I told him that I saw no chance of stopping the hearings. I suggested that he talk with you.

"This hostage business is getting to be a real thorn in my side and I wish that they would either give Schine what he deserves or leave him in the rear ranks forever without bothering me about it."

December 9—Cohn to McCarthy: "John Adams said today that following up the idea about investigating the air force he had gotten specific information for us about an air force base where there were a large number of homosexuals. He said that he would trade us that information if we could tell him what the next army project was that we would investigate."

December 17—McCarthy to Cohn and Carr: The senator said he had learned from Adams that "Gen. Lawton, who as you recall, cooperated fully with the committee in the exposure of subversives at Fort Monmouth, is about to be relieved of his command. . ."

December 21—Carr to McCarthy: "I think you should know that the staff of the subcommittee has not called upon Dave Schine's time or services except when necessary to the committee work. . .

"I agree that contact with him should be kept at a minimum. So far as I have been able to ascertain there has been no instance where he has missed training because of committee work. . .

"I think you should also know that during the past months since we have been closely associated with John Adams, I have on numerous occasions talked to him on the subject of Dave Schine.

"In all instances that I can remember the topic either came into the conversation as a natural result of some other subject we were discussing or Adams in a facetious vien made some statement concerning the 'hostage.'

"On a number of these occasions, I have stated that it was my opinion that Schine should get an assignment for which he was qualified and in which he could actually be useful to the army in an investigatory position.

"I have never, however, suggested that his assignment should be other than on which he is entitled to by all army standards of fair play."

January 14—Cohn to McCarthy: "John Adams has been in the office again. He said that if we keep on with the hearings on the army, and particularly if we call in those on the loyalty board, who cleared Communists, he will fight us in every way he can.

"As you know, Adams' present assistant, Haskins, was one of those on the board. His last assistant was eased out after we advised Adams of his record.

"Adams said this was the last chance for me to arrange that law partnership in New York which he wanted. One would think he was kidding, but his persistence on this subject makes it clear he is serious. He said he had turned down a job in industry at $17,500 and needed a guarantee of $25,000 from a law firm."

January 15—Carr to McCarthy: "Maybe one of these days you should speak to Adams in a friendly way. I've tried. He is baiting Roy Cohn pretty much lately on the 'hostage' situation. They get pretty heated before Roy buys the lunch, but it's going to lead to trouble."

March 11—In this memo, Carr told of a meeting he attended with McCarthy, Cohn and assistant defense Secretary Fred Seaton at which the senator told of hearing a report that the Pentagon planned to distribute copies of the Schine report to subcommittee Democrats.

"Sen. McCarthy advised Mr. Seaton that the writer (Carr) was searching the files for memoranda dictated cancerning Schine.

"The senator distinctly stated that he was not suggesting to Mr. Seaton what he could, or should, do with the report as far as the distribution was concerned, but that he was offering to Mr. Seaton some of the memoranda prepared by the subcommittee concerning Schine.

"The senator stated that he thought it would only be proper for the department of defense to consider these memoranda along with any releases of the Adams report. . ."

HOME TOWN NEWS

VITAMIN K BACK

Talk being heard around Wichita Friday was reminiscent of the 1930's. Not since the dust bowl days has the old term of "Vitamin K" been heard to any extent, but the Friday duster moving in from the west brought with it some long buried terms of the past. For the benefit of those not familiar with the peculiarities of the dust bowl era, "Vitamin K" was the name applied to dust taken internally by breathing. Visitors from the "outside world" were told that vitamin K was a necessity as far as the metabolic system of the dust bowl dweller was concerned.

REMEMBERED RHYME

And the blowing dust touched the memory of Mrs. Ernest Ziesch of 1832 Greenacres. A poem she had read more than 20 years ago suddenly came to her mind. It goes like this: "Now I lay me down to snore . . . With a ton of dust in every pore . . . And if at morn I fail to wake . . . My grave you will not have to make."

GREEN ROOMS

Tax agent-turned draftsman, Bill Agnew, who has designed the interior of the new internal revenue building tells us of the color which has been chosen for the inside decoration scheme. Evidently it's a color people never get tired looking at no matter how much they see it. The walls and ceilings will be done in shades ranging from cabbage to lettuce green. It matches the color of the commodity they take in. Too bad the tax folks won't be able to move in next Wednesday. It would be a fine place to celebrate St. Patrick's Day.

PAINT PROBLEM

The color scheme for the outside of the new revenue building has not been so easily arrived at. The planners are divided into three schools of thought. Two factions are pulling for gray and pink, while Lynn Brodrick has gained a following in his suggestion that the concrete structure be painted white with a big red stripe around the top. It won't be painted for a while.

GREEN THUMB QUESTION

Back to green again: From clear up in Columbus, Ohio, M. L. Mullay has written to ask why a successful gardener is attributed with having a "green thumb." Evidently he has already done some extensive research on the subject since he says that horticulturists can only offer widely varying explanations which amount to no more than opinions. Many, he said, have opined that the term dates back hundreds of years. To that he says, "The earliest recorded mention of a green thumb that I have found dates back only to 1925." Now Mullay has probably succeeded in getting a lot of us curious. Can anyone offer a clue or idea as to the origin of the term?

WHO WROTE IT?

One hint as to the age and origin of the green thumb term might be gained by finding out who wrote this verse and when: "Denied are the secrets of soil, seed and weather . . . To thousands who struggle to put them together . . . But, certain as morning, success seems to come . . . To those chosen people who have a green thumb."

SERVICE NOTES

We have been told during the past few months that national defense strategy is undergoing a change. This week we noted that the local draft boards have received notice that the army wants more dentists while at the same time the navy recruiting station has been instructed to let it be known that the navy wants lawyers. One quipster interpreted the army's search for dentists as an indication that there is a shortage of drill sergeants who know the words to that old marching song, "The Yanks Are Coming." But no explanation concerning the navy's search for attorneys has yet been offered. As most salt water veterans will tell you, there is hardly a skipper in the navy who does not contend that there are already too many "sea lawyers" on his ship.

Income Tax Deadline Is Drawing Near

At midnight Monday, the Ides of March, another income tax filing period will draw to a close.

Lynn R. Brodrick, director of internal revenue for the Kansas district has ordered that door of his ta xoffice in Wichita will remain open up to the last minute of the deadline day to accommodate late filers.

Monday the tax assistance and cashier's office in the basement of the postoffice building will open at 8 a.m. and close at midnight with agents on duty thruout the 16 hours to help last minute tax filers.

Most of the late filers were taking care of their income tax returns Saturday, a holiday for many, who needed time and assistance in the sometimes complicated business of computing income and deductions.

Also being accommodated by Brodrick's office are taxpayers all over the state who have yet to file their returns by mail. Their returns may be mailed at any post office as late as midnight Monday without penalty for tardiness.

The Wichita internal revenue office is charged with collecting taxes from more than 822,000 individual income taxpayers in Kansas.

SNOW SETTLES 5-STATE DUST

(Continued from Page 1)

in a regional tournament of the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

A heavy pall of dust covered the upper two-thirds of Texas last night and was expected to drift southeast over the state by morning.

Pushed ahead of the dust was a dense blanket of fog that cut visibility to less than a mile at Beaumont, Houston, Galveston and Brownsville.

Texas had its share of high winds, too, with gusts of up to 60 and 70 miles an hour reported at Dalhart.

Elsewhere, there were gusts up to 52 miles an hour in Oklahoma, 53 at Cheyenne, Wyo., and 41 at Pueblo, Colo.

A gust of 100 mph was reported at Fairfax Airport in Kansas City, Kas.

In Colorado and Wyoming the snow was diminishing after leaving up to six inches at Casper and Lander, Wyo., and four inches at Akron, Colo.

An estimated 300 motorists were stranded at various points in the two states, and 40 Colorado schools were closed.

In Colorado the moving snowstorm also was disrupting transportation. One hundred fifty passengers from six buses transferred to trains at Sidney last night. At Lincoln, the site of a state basketball tournament and a Democratic Party meeting, hotels and motels had to turn away stranded travelers.

MURROW GIVES 'FACTS' ON AIR

(Continued from Page 1)

Lamont . . . and others equally distinguished.

"The Russian authorities abruptly and without satisfactory explanation, cancelled the proposed summer school before it began, and most of the prospective members spent the summer traveling in the Soviet Union.

"No effort was made to revive the venture, and the advisory council was therefore dissolved."

Murrow had devoted his CBS television show to McCarthy last Tuesday night. The commentator charged that the senator repeatedly has stepped over the line between investigation and persecution in the course of his Red-hunting activities.

McCarthy blasted back Thursday on the Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio program (Mutual Broadcasting System), classing Murrow with the "extreme left-wing bleeding hearts element of radio and television"—and at the same time accusing Adlai Stevenson of "untrue" statements about Communists in government.

Concerning the "left-wing" accusation by McCarthy, Murrow countered last night, "if the senator means I am somewhat to the left of his position and of Louis XIV, he is correct."

34 ARE KILLED IN AIR CRASH

(Continued from Page 1)

ian in the tail of the plane was the first to be removed by the rescuers. His condition was reported as critical.

Horrified eyewitnesses, including friends and relatives of some of those aboard, said they saw only wheels come down as the Constallation approached. One witness said he heard two explosions as the plane hit the ground.

An ambulance rushing some of the survivors to a nearby hospital was involved in a road accident and the patients had to be transferred to a police radio car for the rest of the trip.

TOPCOAT STOLEN

H. M. Tillman, 2903 West Douglas, complained to the sheriff's office Friday that his topcoat valued at $60 was stolen from the check room of a night club where he was a guest.

Wichita Briefs

MUSIC CLUB WINNER NAMED

Lydal Bales, violinist, was named winner of the Saturday Afternoon Musical Club scholarship following auditions Friday afternoon at Central Christian Church.

A freshman at the University of Wichita and a student of James Caesar, Bales will receive a four-year scholarship at the municipal university.

Alice Graber, violinist, also of W. U., was second place winner and Carl L. Anderson, organist, of Friends University, was third.

Dr. Jack Juergens, director of the fine arts department, Southwestern College, Winfield, served as judge. Mrs. Boyce Radfield is the SAMC scholarship chairman. Mrs. Galen Graham is president of the club.

TRUCK STRIKES WICHITA MAN

Ernest J. Gabriel, 51, of 724½ East Douglas, was injured Friday afternoon when he was struck by a truck in the 700 block East Douglas. he suffered cuts and bruises on his head, face and body.

Driver of the car was identified by police as Wayne Wood, 25, of 726 Woodrow. Wood was arrested and charged with driving without due regard to use, occupancy and condition of the street, failing to yield the right-of-way to a pedestrian in a cross walk and failing to have a current driver's license.

Gabriel was treated at County Hospital.

TRIO IS HELD IN BURGLARY

Three Wichitans were held in city jail Saturday, suspected of burglarizing a Wichita home where a television set was stolen.

The three are John D. Blodgett, 21, 314 East Lewis, Garl E. Sutton, 39, 929½ North Main, and Gordon P. Murray, 32, 314½ East Lewis. Blodgett is currently a parolee from a 10-21 year jail sentence for robbery.

The three were apprehended at Harry and Broadway, by officers John Windsor and L. Barton. The car in which the three were riding had run a stop sign, according to the officers.

Searching the car the officers found the TV set. Serial number on the set matched the serial number on the set stolen from the home of Mrs. Naomi Hoskens of 1035 South Yale.

WICHITA YOUTH PRESUMED DEAD

The army has announced that Raymond O. Ware, son of Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Ware, 3 Vassar Court, missing in Korea for more than a year, can now be presumed dead.

Ware was reported missing in action two months after he arrived in Korea in 1950. He was a student at Planeview High School before entering the service.

Also on the presumed dead list released by the army was Pfc. Merle Cole, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. Merle L. Cole, Sr., Liberal.

$134,000 SUIT IS FILED HERE

A $134,000 damage suit was filed in Federal District Court here Friday against the Missouri Pacific Railroad by a former employe, Harry Love, of Wichita Falls, Tex.

Suit brought under the Federal Employers Liability Act charged the railroad of being responsible for a back injury allegedly suffered by Love, June 7, 1953 while working with a section crew on the company's tracks near Wichita.

Louie Mattox, Wichita attorney for the plaintiff, requested a jury trial.

LINSCOTT BEFORE HOUSE GROUP

Washington, March 12.—Harold Linscott of Wichita, president of Branch 205 of the National Association of Postal Supervisors, appeared briefly before the House civil service and post office committee Friday in support of the postal salary reclassification bill.

He also endorsed the postal pay raise bill calling for a flat $800 increase for postal employees.

Linscott has been in Washington attending the legislative conference of the Government Employees Council. He planned to leave Washington by train Friday evening to return to Wichita.

The Weather

LOCAL DATA

Highest temperature yesterday, 69, at 12:05 p.m.; a year ago today, 68; this date since July 1, 1888, 84, in 1916.

Lowest temperature during 12 hours ending at 6:30 a.m., C.S.T., 24, at 5:45 a.m.; a year ago today, 43; this date since July, 188, 11 in 1950.

Total precipitation for the 24 hours ending at 6:30 a.m., C.S.T., trace.

Precipitation this month to date: Total trace; normal, .55; departure, —.55.

Precipitation this year to date: Total, 0; normal, 2.58; departure —1.92.

Sunrise today, 6:43 a.m.; sets 6:34 p.m.

Sunrise Sunday, 6:42 a.m.; sets 6:35 p.m.

Moon phase, first quarter; next change to full on March 19.

Shade temperatures, dew points and relative humidities:

12:30 a.m.	30	12:30 p.m.	22	30
1:30 a.m.	29			
2:30 a.m.	28	6:30 p.m.	23	44
3:30 a.m.	27			
4:30 a.m.	26	12:30 a.m.	26	83
5:30 a.m.	24			
6:30 a.m.	24	6:30 a.m.	16	71
7:30 a.m.	25			
8:30 a.m.	26			

In the following list of stations, the first figures are the highest temperatures for yesterday; the second figures are the lowest temperatures for the past twelve hours; and the third figures are the total precipitation for the past 24 hours, ending at 6:30 a.m., C.S.T.

Amarillo, Tex.	55	20	..
Cheyenne, Wyo.	20	5	1.03
Chicago, Ill.	36	33	.52
Concordia, Kas.	50	23	trace
Denver, Colo.	32	13	.04
Des Moines, Iowa	35	21	.18
Dodge City, Kas.	55	18	trace
Hill City, Kas.	44	19	trace
Goodland, Kas.	32	12	.28
Huron, South Dak.	33	11	.92
Kansas City, Mo.	72	27	trace
Minneapolis, Minn.	30	20	.77
North Platte, Neb.	38	12	.36
Oklahoma City, Okla.	77	26	.02
Omaha, Neb.	40	23	.10
St. Louis, Mo.	78	46	.04
Topeka, Kas.	69	26	trace
Washington, D.C.	41	30	.10
Wichita, Kansas	69	24	trace
Williston, N. D.	27	3	..

WASHINGTON AVIATION NOTES

By BETSY JAGER

By BETSY JAGER

Rep. Carl Hinshaw (R. Calif.) urged Congress this week to consider transport of all first class mail by air.

This recommendation from Hinshaw is not new, for seven years ago when he was vice chairman of the Congressional Aviation Policy board, the board maintained that carriage of long-haul, first class mail by air would substantially benefit the Nation's convenience, commerce, national security, and service to the public as a whole. Furthermore, in 1948, the Finletter report of the President's Air Policy Committee recommended that Congress give serious consideration to the air carriage of all first class mail which could be expedited thereby.

Hinshaw pointed out this week that the Post Office Department's experimental program authorizing certificated scheduled airlines to fly first class mail between certain cities in the United States has now entered its sixth month. He added that this mail experiment is not only bringing improved service to the public, but is proving to be a deficit reducer for the Post Office Department as well.

"For example, the run between New York and Chicago, alone is realizing revenues for the Post Office Department, after payment to the carriers, of more than $2,000 per ton of mail flown.

Specifically, the department is realizing $2,314 a ton, of which $134.66 is paid to the airlines for services rendered," Hinshaw explained. "This means the airlines receive only 5.8 percent of the postal revenues for flying the New York-Chicago mail, and the remaining 94.2 percent, or $2,175.34 on each ton is retained by the Post Office to pay ground expenses."

The experimental first class air mail service is operating between Washington and Chicago, New York-Chicago, as well as the following points: Washington-Jacksonville, Washington-Tampa, Washington-Miami, New York-Jacksonville, New York-Tampa, New York-Miami, Chicago-Jacksonville, Chicago-Tampa, Chicago-Miami.

Hinshaw said he opposed the pending bill in House and Senate to raise airmail postage rate from 6 cents to 7 cents as inconsistent, because based on past postal rate experience, such an increase would result in depressing airmail volume.

He recommended instead that 6 cent airmail be eliminated and that a new class of priority first class mail be established. This class of mail would include all present first class mail, and would be carried at a uniform postage rate. It would be the responsibility of the Post Office Department to dispatch all mail in this new class by the most expeditious transportation medium available.

He considered the most realistic rate for such priority first class mail to be five cents an ounce.

A. L. EPPERSON IN FAR EAST

Pvt. Archie Lee Epperson, 20, son of Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Epperson, 8901 East Douglas, has been assigned to headquarters, eighth fighter bomber wing in Korea.

A Wichita High School East graduate of June, 1951, Epperson was employed at Boeing Airplane Company's Wichita division prior to his entry into service in June, 1953.

He took his basic training at Fort Leonard Wood, Mo., and Fort Belvoir, Va.

BLAZE IN SLUM AREA KILLS 4

New Londn, Conn., March 13. (AP) — Fire raced thru a slum area apartment building here early today, killing at least four persons. Police said four others, all believed to be children, are missing.

A LENTEN PRAYER

SATURDAY, MARSH 12

THE NEED FOR GOD

"While I go yonder and pray." Matthew 26:36. (R.S.V.) Read 36-46.

Even Jesus was not sufficient of himself for the supreme testing that he had to face. But he knew how he could lay hold upon the added strength that he needed. For he had always lived close to God. Now in this time of extremity, he went not to any physical armory, not even to assemble the strength of his many loyal friends. It was an inward victory that he must have, and so he went apart, that far from all pressures and distractions he might commune with his Father. His prayer was answered in the best way—not by the removal of the cup, but in the provision of power.

Few of us are called upon to undergo such trials or to bear such burdens. But for all our perplexities, when we are bruised by ill-fortune, discovered by our failures, when we feel frustrated or offended, whatever the situation, we too can go yonder and pray. It doesn't matter geographically where "yonder" is. One can commune with God in a crowded subway or while making beds as surely as in a church. It is the intent that assures the contact and communion to meet our need.

LET US PRAY: O thou infinite Giver of strength and comfort, may we be wise and quick to seek thee out in prayer. Whatever place or the time of our need, may we remember that thou art ready to help. And we would always pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTS

(Continued from Page 1)

give what the senator termed a partial answer.

Senator Flanders of Vermont, in one of the first Republican attacks on McCarthy on the Senate floor, leaped into the fray by asking if his colleague was not "doing his best to chatter" the party. Eisenhower agreed with Flanders that there was "great danger" of splitting the GOP. McCarthy playfully told Flanders, "you vote less for the Republicans than any other member of the party so quit advising me how to be a good Republican."

The inquiry by McCarthy's Senate Investigations Subcommittee went right along, but departed on some tangents not according to the script. Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, summoned to the witness stand in part of the senator's campaign to show how the army handles alleged Reds, denied she had ever been a Communist. Democrats on the committee drew out that two other women by the same name live in Washington.

Then the army gave some members of the group a report saying McCarthy and the subcommittee's chief counsel, Roy Cohn, interceded for David Schine, a former subcommittee consultant now in the army as a private. The report cited alleged instances where it said McCarthy and Cohn exerted pressure for special treatment of Schine.

The Wisconsin senator fired back with a protest that army officials had attempted to "blackmail" him into dropping a probe of the army. This the army denied.

All this and much more spilled over the dam before the heralded hour when Nixon was to deliver the official answer to Stevenson.

Nixon promised he would "not dodge the issues" in his speech. And with the McCarthy controversy spilling over into so many a nook and cranny, it did not seem there was much place to hide.

STATEHOOD — A near-united Democratic front in the Senate succeeded in tying, 46-43, a proposal for Alaska's statehood on to the Hawaii statehood bill. This foreshadowed another close vote on the Senate's final choice, but not before more hours of oratory.

CHAVEZ-HURLEY — A Senate elections subcommittee decided 2 to 1, the Republicans against the Democrat, that the seat of Senator Chavez (D., NM), should be declared vacant because of alleged irregularities in the 1952 New Mexico election. Chavez' official victory was challenged by the GOP opponent for his seat, Patrick J. Hurley. Democrats were lining up strongly against Chavez' ouster, especially since they now have a one-member Senate margin over the Republicans.

TAXES—With landslide momentum the House rolled to the Senate, 411-3, an excise tax bill trimming many important sales levies down to 10 per cent. The measure would lop off more treasury revenue than Eisenhower would like, but it seemed assured of easy traveling right on to the White House.

URGE STRONG FARM MARKET

(Continued from Page 1)

next in line for the presidency of the national organization.

Allan B. Kline, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, was the speaker at the convention banquet Friday night. He stressed the importance developing markets rather than depending on the government.

Kline termed the idea that "if you get it from the federal government, it won't cost anything" a "delusion".

"Actually it costs more," he said.

"There are no substitutes for markets, and no kind of agricultural legislation will stop deflation," he said.

Kline praised the cattlemen for finding new markets, citing the substantial increase in beef consumption during the past year.

He criticized the storing of wheat and other crops by the Commodity Credit Corporation. "The thing that makes a living for wheat men is selling wheat, not storing it." He urged the importance of developing foreign markets.

Kline, who was to have arrived in Wichita at noon Friday, was delayed when his plane was unable to land at the airport. He went on to Oklahoma City and arrived in Wichita in time for the address.

PROBER BACK IN HOME STATE

(Continued from Page 1)

committee. Cohn denied the Army statements.

Cohn is "one of the most valuable and finest young men who have ever worked for me," McCarthy said, adding "Roy is hated more than any man in the country with the possible exception of J. Edgar Hoover." Hoover is head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The army also claimed McCarthy had allegedly exerted pressure on Schine's behalf, but in a lesser degree. McCarthy said he had no comment about this. He reiterated the army's report was "completely untrue," but he said the report would be reviewed by his subcommittee as soon as the full subcommittee could be brought together. He indicated that might be Tuesday.

COLD WEATHER WILL CONTINUE

(Continued from Page 1)

stirred up in the west portion Saturday altho diminishing winds are in prospect, the forecaster said.

Goodland reported three inches of snow for the only measurable amount staying on the ground and it contained .28 of an inch of moisture, the weather bureau said.

The only other measurable amounts of moisture were .02 of an inch at both Hill City and Garden City.

Temperatures dropped as much as 45 degrees Friday. Freezing temperatures were reported thruout the state state Saturday morning with low marks ranging from 27 at Chanute down to 12 at Goodland. The mercury climbed to 71 at Chanute Friday before the storm reached that area, but afternoon highs in the West were held to the 20's.

Greece is geeting bids on its Mogdova River power project to cost aound $15,500,000.

"so-called reformation . . . rebellion, blooodshed and licentiousness. No true historian can ever cheat himself into the conviction that Protestantism brought peace and happiness."

On the contrary,

"by his incentive talk and venomous pen" he "destroyed peace and harmony throughout the Fatherland." "Where formerly people had lived peacefully together, there rebellion and hatred entered, and despotism ruled with an iron hand. This universal cause of discord, devestation and despicable barbarism was the result of revolt against the Church."

That this attitude toward Protestantism in general and Lutheranism in particular still obtains is indicated by an article on the recent, widely publicized film "Martin Luther." The November, 1953, issue of *The Sign,* national Catholic magazine, replies in the following words to a query regarding the film:

". . . the religious war spearheaded by Martin Luther was a deformation rather than a reformation . . . Luther was one of the most depraved men the world has ever known—vile in thought, word, and conduct."

We wonder if our President has any inkling of the above. We wonder if he has set the proper example in attending a mass in a church which has so consistently opposed our American way of life, inveighed against our Protestant heritage, and condemned those Christian principles so essential to our testimony. Even Roman Catholic followers will see that on the one hand bigotry and abuse are wholly unchristian and that on the other hand the display of external grandeur designed to impress our Chief Executive is nothing but superficiality, vanity, and self-glorification.

But in a more serious way, *the incident is another step in the advance to make America Catholic.* It would be in order for Protestant leaders of this country to invite our President's attention to the fact that the Catholic hierarchy has not finished its work of conquering the high positions in our government. The work will be completed only when the United States has become a Roman Catholic Church-State. To this end the Church is dedicated.

Federal Government: The Stronghold of Roman Catholics?

Sen. Joseph McCarthy

Is it possible that the McCarthy issue in the United States is a smoke screen for activities favoring Roman Catholicism in this country?

Apparently some individuals and groups are beginning to think so. Wilbur LaRoe in *The Presbyterian Tribune* for Jan., 1954, observes that "a situation may be developing where the average man on the street will think that if a person is a Roman Catholic there need be no question as to his loyalty, but if he is a Protestant, perhaps he should be investigated." Why?

Joseph C. Harsch, special correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor,* gives a provocative answer in an article entitled "State of the Nation: Religious Controversy" (November 10, 1953). Quoted editorially in *The New Age* for January, 1954, the article reported that the General Council of the Presbyterian Church issued a letter to its constituents on November 3, 1953, "declaring that 'truth is being subtly and silently dethroned by prominent public figures from the position that it has occupied hitherto in out American tradition,' and warning that 'the moral consequences will be terrifying.' "

Mr. Harsch reminds his readers that "for about half a century it has been impolite to air in public print the old issues in the Christian world between Protestant and Roman Catholic." But the "tacit truce" is breaking down, and the ground swell of aroused opinion is beginning to be observed as greater prominence is given to controversial issues in American publications.

The most insidious encroachments seem to have followed in the wake of Senator McCarthy's Communist investigations, though it is probably too early to pass judg-

Converted CATHOLIC Magazine 4/54

ment on any cause and effect relationship. But the Senator's activities "have had the incidental effect, whether accidental or intentional," continues Mr. Harsch, "of increasing the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants employed in the public service." To protect themselves from attack, government officials have resorted to employing Catholics—inasmuch as the Senator is a good Catholic,—with the result that the proportion of Roman Catholics included in dismissals is remarkably lower than that of Protestants.

To substantiate his allegations, Mr. Harsch comments that he has

> "failed to find a single Roman Catholic among officials dismissed from the State Department. A Protestant compilation of dismissals from the Foreign Operations Administration indicates that 80 per cent of all dismissals are Protestant and that many of the 20 per cent of dismissed Roman Catholics were subsequently 're-absorbed' into the service. If the present trend were to continue, Roman Catholics, who are a minority of the American population, would become the majority of federal employees."

It is the fear of consequences implicit in such a movement that is rousing some Protestants from their twilight sleep of indifference. They are concerned lest "Roman Catholic fervor against Communism may turn out in the end to be primarily a vehicle for an assault on Protestantism.

"The evidence to substantiate such a concern among Protestants is not conclusive," Mr. Harsch says by way of summing up. But "The Presbyterian statement is in itself conclusive evidence of the existence of the concern."

While admitting the scarcity of evidence, the *New Age* trenchantly comments that

> "the collective acts and pronouncements of the church hierarchy for generations have tended to confirm the opinion that these have not been nearly so much for the freedom of man as for the financial and political aggrandizement of the Roman Catholic Church-State."

If what Mr. Harsch has reported is found to be fully authenticated, it is high time that not only Protestants but all Americans return to their posts of eternal vigilance and man the guns of Constitutional guarantees in defense of their liberties before the enemy is upon them. Time is running out.

The Pope Condemns "Mass Democracy"

Abraham Lincoln

In a recent issue of the Jesuit magazine *America* (December 19, 1953), emphasis is again focused on the long-standing Roman Catholic attitude opposed to democracy. This time the criticism is shifted to their own co-religionist Senator Joseph McCarthy, who, in his remarks on the Red China blockade, was speaking too much as an American and not enough as a Catholic when he urged

> ". . . every American who feels as I do about this blood trade with a mortal enemy to write or wire the President of the United States and let him know how they feel so he can be properly guided in this matter."

The magazine, with vehement conviction, goes on to comment:

> "Because the Senator regarded Mr. Eisenhower as 'an honorable man,' he thought the President would 'follow the will of the American people if that will is known to him.' The principle of government the Senator here invoked is, in our opinion, inherently wrong. It is that of 'mass democracy,' of appealing to the 'people' to pressure their representatives into following their 'will' (the way they 'feel') on highly complex issues. Pope Pius XII explicitly condemned 'mass democracy' in his 1944 Christmas Message . . . The people, of course, have a right 'to petition the government.' But they cannot expect officials to let telegrams alone shape our foreign policy."

We do not know if Senator McCarthy is familiar with the doctrines of his Church regarding democracy. We do not know if he realizes the staunch opposition of the

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Who? When?

When are the responsible Senate leaders of the party in power going to speak up in the great political tradition that comes down to them through their own party?

In the Mirror of Public Opinion on this page are extracts from a moving address on the floor of the Senate by James W. Fulbright of Arkansas. It is an address that seeks to lift our sights to higher things and to the enduring elements in our constitutional system.

But Senator Fulbright is a Democrat. He does not speak for the Eisenhower Administration. He does not represent the side of the Senate which controls the organization of committees.

Last Wednesday Wayne Morse of Oregon rose on the Senate floor to make a truly outstanding speech. He defended eloquently "the precious right of the Senate to investigate." He described the congressional investigative power "as one of the great safeguards of the American people for the preservation of their liberties." Then he called for the enactment of a code of fair procedure to guarantee that the right to investigate is not abused and discredited, as in the McCarthy-Zwicker-Stevens battle. To that end Senator Morse introduced a concurrent resolution embodying safeguards for witnesses at congressional hearings.

But Wayne Morse is not even a Democrat. He left the Republican party in the 1952 campaign and lists himself as an Independent. Far from speaking for the Republican side, he enjoys the distinction of speaking only for himself. When the G.O.P. Policy Committee on Friday instructed Senator Ferguson to study investigating committee procedures, with a view to possible establishment of some ground rules, it took care to disassociate itself from Senator Morse's much more comprehensive approach.

* * *

What is needed in the Senate are speeches like those by Morse of Oregon and Fulbright of Arkansas but from the Republicans. What is needed is for just one Republican Senator to join the battle openly against Joseph R. McCarthy, his destructive war on the Eisenhower Administration, and his wanton disregard of historic constitutional rights.

The need is for a Republican Senator like the great Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana who in 1910, in the Taft Administration, assumed leadership of the fight against the corrupt Republican Senator from Illinois, William Lorimer, who was finally unseated in disgrace.

The need is for a Republican Senator like the indefatigible first Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin who, in the Harding Administration, fought through the resolution which authorized the official probe of the Teapot Dome and other naval oil leases.

The need is for a Republican like George W. Norris of Nebraska, who was the "conscience of the Republican party" in the Coolidge and Hoover Administrations. It is for a Republican like William E. Borah of Idaho, who time and again spoke for right and decency from his side of the Senate.

* * *

Whatever President Eisenhower may be persuaded to do or not to do about the Wild Man from Wisconsin, the Senate has the primary responsibility, and within the Senate the initiative lies with the Republicans. McCarthy is one of them. After all, it is their party that he is tearing to pieces.

Senator McCarthy is a chairman of a committee on which the Republicans are the majority. They can take him in hand. They can stop the mad performance before it destroys the Eisenhower program and even the Republican party. They can rise now as Beveridge, La Follette, Norris, Borah and many other Republicans stood up to fight for honor in their day.

What is needed is a new Republican Declaration of Conscience in the "greatest deliberative body in the world," followed by firm, sure, united effective action against its No. 1 Irresponsible.

Who will take the lead?

Who will say: This has gone too far, it will go no farther?

Who will be the man of the hour, the day, the year?

Who will act to restore the great name of the United States Senate?

Who?

When?

Murrow Outpulls McCarthy

By Mary Hornaday
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

The office of Edward R. Murrow, newscaster, in the Columbia Broadcasting System's building at 52d Street and Madison Avenue, has become the nation's new scoreboard for pro- and anti-McCarthy sentiment among the American public.

20-1 Tally

Telephone calls and telegrams to Mr. Murrow following his latest criticism (in his TV "See It Now" show) of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R) of Wisconsin, for "two staples of his diet, investigation protected by immunity and half truths," were running 20 to 1 in the telecaster's favor. Letters had not yet begun to come in.

CBS headquarters was abuzz with communications from coast to coast. Officials said they were especially impressed with the caliber of the persons calling. Many made it clear that they had never called or written a telecaster before, but they felt compelled to do so after the Murrow show.

Several senators were said to be among those who telephoned their congratulations.

Though Mr. Murrow made no special plea for an audience response, CBS switchboards were jammed with calls up until after midnight after the 10:30 p.m. show. A 3 a.m. count showed 2,214 calls of congratulation and 151 protests. At the same time, 1,320 wires had been received congratulating him, and 24 objecting to the telecast.

Preponderance of favorable calls appeared to be even larger the morning after, when a number of persons called saying they were voicing the congratulations of 150 or 200 people in their offices.

The Murrow telecast came at a time when Senator McCarthy was venting his spleen on both the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company for refusing him free radio and TV time to answer an attack by Adlai E. Stevenson.

Mr. Murrow, a member of the CBS board of directors as well as a newscaster, offered free time on his show to Senator McCarthy for a reply.

Using pictures of the senator in action to support his attack on McCarthy methods, Mr. Murrow added his own preachments to the American public for letting an atmosphere of fear develop that could support the McCarthy technique.

Probes Useful

"No one familiar with the history of this country," he declared, "can deny that congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate legislating, but the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one, and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly.

"His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and external threats of communism. We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is never proof and that conviction depends upon evidence, and due process of law.

"We will not walk in fear one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate, and to defend courses that were for the moment unpopular.

"This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent nor for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history, but we cannot escape responsibility for the results. There is no way for a citizen of a republic to abdicate his responsibilities.

"As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We proclaim ourselves, as indeed we are, defenders of freedom wherever it continues to exist in the world, but we cannot defend freedom abroad in deserting it at home.

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'Alarm and Dismay'

"The actions of the junior senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad, and given considerable comfort to our enemies—and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create this situation of fear. He merely exploited it, and rather successfully."

Among films Mr. Murrow showed to back his statements were excerpts of a recent McCarthy speech attacking Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker; questioning of Reed Harris, whose removal from the State Department Senator McCarthy claimed as a victory; and making a statement in which he attempted to identify Adlai E. Stevenson with Institute of Pacific Relations papers found in the Lee, Mass., "Red Barn."

He quoted the Chicago Tribune, Washington Times-Herald and Milwaukee Journal among non-left-wing newspapers that have recently cautioned Senator McCarthy, and he challenged the senator's recent withdrawal of the slander suit against former Senator William B. Benton, saying several volunteers had come to the senator's aid by offering to testify that they believed Senator Benton as a basis for the suit.

Christian Science Monitor 3/1/54

★ Murrow on McCarthy

Edward R. Murrow's television program "See It Now" Tuesday evening presented for the first time a conscientious and academic dissection of the methods, techniques and modus operandi of Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

Widely-known as an objective, truth-seeking, fact-finding reporter and being highly respected throughout the nation, Murrow has performed a great service to the American people by showing how McCarthy uses half-truths, distortions and semantic gobbledygook, coupled with maudlin sentimentality in his un-American investigations.

Murrow pointed out, via film clips, how McCarthy once said in a speech that if the fight against Communism pits one party against another, it would mean the destruction of the American system of government. Paradoxically, McCarthy, in another speech, recently pinned the "treason" label on the Democratic Party. The Wisconsin senator now contends through faulty logic that all Democrats are "traitors."

At one of McCarthy's investigations a Mr. Reed Harris was being questioned. McCarthy asked the man if the American Civil Liberties Union had ever provided a lawyer for him. Harris answered in the affirmative. McCarthy then informed Harris that the ACLU had been labeled subversive by the Justice Department and the FBI. The man said he received counsel from the ACLU some 21 years ago.

What Harris did not know and what McCarthy failed to tell him was that the ACLU has never been labeled subversive by any governmental organization. It has letters of commendation in its files from former President Truman and President Eisenhower. It is the Civil Liberties Congress that is a well-known Red front organization. Thus McCarthy once again twisted facts for his own purpose.

In another speech, McCarthy categorized Adlai Stevenson—then running for the presidency—in the same class as convicted perjurer Alger Hiss. He showed a copy of a document in which Hiss allegedly recommended Stevenson for an important executive post. McCarthy also said that Stevenson was affiliated at one time with the Institute of Pacific Relations, a so-called Red front group. Once again McCarthy failed to tell his audience that such men as Sen. Homer Ferguson and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles also belonged to the IPR at one time.

Thus Murrow tore into McCarthy's tactics with unerring detail. He showed up McCarthy to be a man who will live for a purpose, will distort for a means and twist for an end.

Possibly the climax of the program arrived when Murrow referred to McCarthy's statement that the nation's left-wing papers are against him. Here Murrow listed these "left-wing" papers. The New York Times, The New York Herald-Tribune, The Chicago Tribune (a McCormick paper, no less), The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Washington Post, etc.

It is our conjecture that Murrow turned his program in the direction of McCarthy because he was fed up with the junior senator from Wisconsin's rampaging riot against truth and justice. A reporter is supposed to be objective, but he is also supposed to search for the truth. Murrow as accomplished this purpose.

Murrow opened his program by stating he would give McCarthy an opportunity to reply. It is our hope that both gentlemen sit around a table and really go at it—Murrow hurling the questions, McCarthy attempting to answer. We place our money on Murrow.

So here's a salute to a great journalist for a job well-done. Yes, as Thomas Paine once said, "These are times that try men's souls.'—J. E. H.

Bravo, Murrow

During World War II, there was always a thrill when Edward R. Murrow opened his CBS broadcasts from bomb-scarred England with the terse line: *"This . . . is London."* He told the story of Hitler-menaced British democracy as nobody else could.

By the same token, Murrow deserves all the plaudits he is getting for his "See It Now" TV show—which said, in effect, *"This . . . is Joe McCarthy."*

It was television at its best, performing in the service of the American public.

The CIO News

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McCarthy and the Networks

Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's campaign to get free radio time to reply to a speech by Adlai Stevenson is as dubious as many of his other activities. No other figure in public life would have been arrogant enough to make such a demand in the first place, and it is ironical that a man who was reproved on the Senate floor by a member of his own party for his investigatory tactics should use the words "dishonest" and "unmoral" in attacking the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

President Eisenhower's support of Senator Flanders' Senate speech, and his announced opinion that the networks have discharged their obligation to be impartial by giving the Vice-President time to answer Mr. Stevenson, would normally be expected to close the case. But Mr. McCarthy's refusal to speak to N. B. C. and C. B. S. reporters, as well as his dark hints that legal retribution is in store for the broadcasters, indicates that a McCarthy vendetta against the networks has been added to his wars against the State Department and the Army.

Doubtless the C. B. S. "See It Now" program, in which Edward R. Murrow paraded the Senator's record on television, will provoke Mr. McCarthy even further. The half-hour show, which the Senator already has been invited to answer, was a sober and realistic appraisal of McCarthyism and the climate in which it flourishes. Like the free press, the free broadcasters met a controversial subject with a frank and responsible approach. Apparently the audience response was overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Murrow and against Mr. McCarthy, but even if the returns were reversed, the network still would have fulfilled its functions as an organ of expression and public service.

Mr. McCarthy's ability to insult and calumniate those who oppose or criticize him is well known. By refusing to be bullied, the broadcasters will assure their own future and help to guarantee America's.

The Mirror of Public Opinion

... news commentator asks correspondents to sum up effect on Allies of Senator McCarthy's skirmish with United States Army; reactions range from plain disgust to fear of fascism; press abroad sees damage to America's reputation.

Edward R. Murrow in a News Commentary on the Columbia Broadcasting System

I cabled four of our correspondents in Europe, asking them to summarize reaction in the countries where they are stationed to Senator McCarthy's recent actions. Their cables are here in front of me. Permit me to quote from some of these cables. The first one comes from David Schoenbrun in Paris.

"'Senator McCarthy and Marilyn Monroe Attack United States Army on Two Fronts,' is the headline feature piece from Washington in Paris influential *Le Monde* tonight. Their correspondent cabled: 'The spectacle presented by McCarthy committee is sheer buffoonery.' And the correspondent concludes: 'Despite protests, Senator McCarthy will continue to exercise his talents, for, in fact, a large part of the American Administration, including Secretary Stevens and the unfortunate Gen. Zwicker, themselves approve the general line and objectives of McCarthy, reserving their criticism only for his methods'."

Edward R. Murrow

Schoenbrun says: "This is the general tenor of French observation about McCarthy, and most French believe this is a serious error on the part of Americans. They don't think a line can be drawn between objectives and methods, particularly when methods, as in the McCarthy case, are so spectacular and destructive that they obviously achieve objectives far removed from the avowed one.

On Burning Down the Barn

"It's a case of burning down the barn to catch a rat, one French editor told me, pointing out that it's ridiculous to say you approve rat-catching, although you deplore the fact that the barn burned down. You can't separate the two, any more than you can say that you approved Hitler's aims while deploring his uncouth methods. Hitler's aims may have been to eradicate Communism in Germany and destroy the Soviet Union, but what his methods did in fact accomplish was to eradicate democracy in Germany and destroy France and not Russia."

And Schoenbrun concludes: "French Government officials and legislators refuse on-the-record comments, feeling they have no right to express opinions on American domestic politics. But all, without exception, express privately consternation at the loss of American prestige among masses of people here, leading to serious doubts about the authority and constancy of American policy.

Vienna's Reaction to McCarthy

"One French statesman told me: 'I hope you won't make too much of French criticism of McCarthy, because you will be sure to make him a hero back home if we attack him'."

The second cable comes from Howard K. Smith in London and he says: "The British happen to be acutely alarmed at Senator McCarthy presently, as their concern for the demoralization of the United States Army, whereon all free Europe depends, coincides with the close-up experience of one of the Senator's investigations." And Smith says that in a TV program scheduled months ago, a former MP, Aden Crawley, night before last, narrated shots of McCarthy questioning Reed Harris, and the press reacted to what they term 'the smeared-run methods' with disgust, with a disgust that one feels examining creatures on the moist underside of a garden rock for the first time.

"The *News Chronicle* correspondent in London says: 'It's one thing to read about a witch-hunt and quite another to see it at close quarters. It's not very pretty but it's very instructive.'

Smith's cable continues: "The Senator's assault on the Army alarms a wide range of press. The Conservative *Evening News* today says: 'Were this merely a domestic scandal in a friendly country, no comment would be called for. But, clearly, it's a matter of principle which concerns all who want to both maintain freedom and order in the democratic society and to fight Communism.'

British Alarm Over Army Morale

"And the Conservative *Daily Telegraph* says: 'Even the most understanding friends of America abroad find it hard to preserve a sense of balance about activities epitomized in the name of Senator McCarthy. His attacks on America's allies, notably the 'blood trade' business, the smearing of Britain, have produced something worse than irritation. World Communism couldn't ask for richer ore than pours into its propaganda machine every time Senator McCarthy makes an utterance'."

There's another cable, from Alex Kendrick in Vienna, in which he says: "It must be trite by now to recall that this part of Europe was responsible for Hitler and saw Naziism come to power in the guise of an anti-Communist crusade. Yet, just for that reason people here who have been pushed around for 20 years, first by their own native fascists and then by Hitler and then by the Russians, have come to dislike those who do the pushing, especially when it's to the detriment of democratic processes and government."

Kendrick says: "That sums up the attitude hereabout toward McCarthy. He is not regarded as an international threat, like Hitler proved, but as one of the primary reasons for the serious loss of American prestige in an area where such prestige is important because we are face to face with the Communists and deal with them every day." Kendrick says: "It gets discouraging to have Austrians offer you condolences about the loss of your democratic traditions."

And Kendrick concludes his cable by saying: "Army officers are supposed to be nonpolitical, but the general feeling among headquarters officers here is to blame Eisenhower for not standing up to what McCarthy is trying to do to the Army, which, after all, as one senior officer said: 'It isn't only our Army, but it's supposed to be his army too.'"

Senator Gets Blast on TV

Ed Murrow Program Features Films From McCarthy's Past

New York, N. Y.—Edward R. Murrow, Columbia Broadcasting System commentator, said Tuesday night that Senator McCarthy had repeatedly stepped over the line between "investigating and persecuting."

Murrow ended a half hour film and record roundup of the Wisconsin Republican's career on his "See It Now" program with an attack on the senator's methods and a call to his opponents—and supporters—to speak up.

"This is no time," Murrow said, "for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent—or for those who approve."

Murrow's telecast came as McCarthy was threatening to take legal action to force CBS and the National Broadcasting Co. to give him, personally, free time to answer a speech made last Saturday by Democratic leader Adlai Stevenson. The CBS and NBC networks had turned McCarthy down after giving free time to the Republican national committee.

Offers Him Time

Murrow said at the start of the program that his comments were all from a script and on record, and that if McCarthy wished to answer them, "an opportunity will be afforded him on this program."

Murrow said the usefulness of congressional committees such as that McCarthy heads could not be denied.

"It is necessary to investigate before legislating," he said. "But the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly.

"His primary achievement," Murrow added, "has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and the external threats of communism."

A spokesman for CBS said after the telecast that Murrow was giving his own personal views. CBS reported that the network's switchboard was jammed by an "unprecedented" number of telephone calls after the program.

Some 2,500 calls were received, the spokesman said, of which about 96% were congratulatory. He added that some 1,046 telegrams were received, of which all but 13 expressed approval of the program.

Margaret Truman Is One

A CBS official said those telephoning congratulations included Margaret Truman, daughter of former President Harry S. Truman, and Senator Mike Monroney (Dem., Okla.).

TV stations across the country which carried the CBS network program were flooded with calls, most of them praising the broadcast.

[Upward of 400 telephone calls, every one of them complimentary, were received Tuesday night and Wednesday by WCAN-TV after presentation of the Murrow program, according to Lou Poller, president and general manager of the station. So popular was the program that Poller asked CBS offices in New York for permission to rebroadcast it as a public service. Poller said his station also was willing to give McCarthy time for a reply if he wanted it.]

Murrow opened his program with an acknowledgment that it would be "controversial."

The program included film clips of McCarthy speeches and a sequence from a hearing by his permanent investigations subcommittee.

Murrow showed a film of McCarthy, earlier in his career, in which he spoke out in praise of the two party system. Then he showed the senator during his recent description of the Democratic party as the "party of treason."

Film clips at least twice showed McCarthy in unattractive poses, laughing or chuckling with an almost fiendish expression.

The commentator also showed a film of President Eisenhower during a Wisconsin campaign speech. In the speech, the president pledged to get rid of all "subversives" and emphasized that while congressional investigations were needed, the prime responsibility lay in the executive. This was a slap at McCarthy's efforts to take over this "executive" responsibility.

Hearing Is Shown

Then Murrow took up the senator's claim that he never browbeat a witness. A film of a McCarthy hearing was shown. McCarthy had Reed Harris, formerly of the Voice of America, on the stand. McCarthy, during questioning of Harris, referred to the witness' suspension by Columbia university in the early thirties. He asked if Harris had been furnished a lawyer by the American Civil Liberties Union. Harris conceded that he had.

McCarthy asked if Harris "knew" that the ACLU had been "listed" as an organization serving Communist ends.

Harris said he didn't "know" that.

Murrow afterward explained that this was typical McCarthy technique, and said that the ACLU had not been "listed" by any responsible government agencies nor by the attorney general.

Monmouth Probe Hit

Murrow said McCarthy had "investigated and substantially demoralized the present state department" and had made charges of espionage at Fort Monmouth, N. J., while the army "has been unable to find anything related to espionage there."

The commentator scoffed at McCarthy's claim that "only the left wing press" criticized him for calling Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker, commanding officer at Camp Kilmer, N. J., a "disgrace" to his uniform.

Murrow said editorial opinion on the incident was 3 to 1 against McCarthy in "the 50 large circulation newspapers in the country." He read excerpts from editorials in McCarthy styled "left wing" papers that included the New York World-Telegram & the Sun, the Chicago Tribune, New York Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, The Milwaukee Journal, New York Herald Tribune and Washington Times Herald.

Murrow made his points in a quiet voice. There could be no implication that he was "hysterical" or "excited" about McCarthy . . . but rather that he was giving a cold, dispassionate picture of the man.

As Murrow said, his purpose was to get at "the truth."

In Washington, McCarthy's wife said the senator went to bed early Tuesday night and did not see the program. She refused to wake him up to talk to reporters.

Delegates to the 10th inter-American conference near Caraca listened Tuesday as United States Secretary of State Dulles der national communism in the Americas as "alien intrigue and trea lermo Toriello (extreme left), Guatemala's foreign minister, h

MR. McCARTHY GETS ON AIR AHEAD OF MR. NIXON

RADIO OFFER ACCEPTED

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NEW YORK, Thursday.

In what is regarded as a bid to anticipate Vice-President Nixon's broadcast reply to a speech Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic leader, made in Miami last Saturday, Senator McCarthy has accepted an invitation to appear to-night on Mr. Fulton Lewis, junior's, radio programme.

The programme is carried by stations of the Mutual Broadcasting System. Mr. Lewis said he made the offer because of "the refusal of the National Broadcasting Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting System to grant you time and in view of Edward Murrow's distorted and slanted tirade against you."

The Republican leaders, with President Eisenhower's approval, had decided Mr. Nixon should be their spokesman in replying to Mr. Stevenson, but he is not to make his broadcast until Saturday. The Chicago Tribune's radio station has also offered Mr. McCarthy free time.

To-day the Columbia Broadcasting System was still receiving congratulations on the television programme in which Mr. Murrow analysed the senator's methods. Mr. Murrow is a member of its board of directors in addition to being its most famous commentator.

BROADCAST PRAISED

Using films and recordings of Mr. McCarthy's speeches, he sought to show, as he put it, that "two of the staples of his diet are the investigations (protected by immunity) and the half-truth." Already C.B.S. has tabulated more than 8,000 telephone calls commending Mr. Murrow.

This compares with 697 protesting against the broadcast. In addition, there have been 2,700 favourable telegrams and 86 critical ones.

"This is the largest spontaneous response we have ever known," officials of the network stated. Mr. McCarthy indicated to-day that he would accept Mr. Murrow's invitation to make a reply on the same programme if there were "no strings attached" and he was allowed to produce the programme as he saw fit.

Mr. Murrow's television presentation owed its tremendous impact to the fact that he condemned Mr. McCarthy out of the latter's own mouth by showing him conducting investigations, or making such speeches as the famous campaign one in which he pretended he had made a slip of the tongue when he referred to Mr. Stevenson as "Alger" (Hiss).

"The line between investigation and persecuting is a very fine one," said Mr. Murrow, "and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly. His primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between the internal and the external threat of Communism.

"The actions of the junior senator have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies."

Commenting on the program[illegible] to-day, the NEW YORK TIMES [illegible] "crusading journalism [illegible] sibility and genuine c[illegible]

[illegible]SITION TO MR. [illegible]

[illegible] ext step in the pe[illegible] in " Mr. McCarthy [illegible] stence by other memb[illegible] investigating sub-committee [illegible] young and aggressive co[illegible]

" Cohn should either r[illegible] or be dismissed.

The Army have a secret report [illegible] his efforts to secure favours for his former associate, Mr. David Schine, who was drafted into the Army a few m[illegible] ago. Some Republican lead[illegible] the Democrats may get [illegible] of the report and make politi[illegible] capital out of it.

Mr. McCarthy so far is backing up his counsel. "He comes as close to being the indispensable man as I am," he said. Meanwhile Mr. Cohn has been ordered to report in June for a fortnight's Army training.

Spectators at a sub-committee hearing to-day applauded when Senator McClelland, Democrat, said Mr. Cohn was trying Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a Negress, by hearsay evidence. Mrs. Moss, who has been suspended from Government service, denied being a Communist. Senator Symington, Democrat, said: "I believe you are telling the truth."

THE HERALD-NEWS

PRescott 7-6000 | PASSAIC-CLIFTON, N. J., FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1954 | 26 PAGES

He'll Reply, To Attack, Says Murrow

Senator and Newsman Trade Verbal Blows; Answers Stevenson

NEW YORK (UP) — Edward R. Murrow said he would take time on his radio program tonight to deal with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's "latest reckless handling of the truth."

Called "Left Winger"

McCarthy attacked the CBS news commentator on the radio last night, charging that Murrow was one of the "extreme left wing bleeding heart elements of television and radio".

The Wisconsin senator was replying to an attack by Murrow on the latter's "See It Now" television show on Tuesday night. Murrow had accused McCarthy of repeatedly "stepping over the line between investigating and persecuting".

McCarthy also charged that Adlai E. Stevenson made "false" statements against him. To a charge by Senator Ralph Flanders (R-Vt) that he has been diverting public attention from the danger of Communists abread, McCarthy quoted Abraham Lincoln's statement that if the nation ever is destroyed "it will be from within".

McCarthy never mentioned President Eisenhower although he said earlier he might reply to the chief executive who declared Wednesday that Flanders did a "service" in his speech, which also accused McCarthy of trying to "shatter" the Republican Party.

McCarthy, interviewed by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on a MBS radio program, cited a February 18, 1935, clipping from the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph to show that Murrow once was "on the advisory council of Moscow University".

That university, McCarthy said, taught "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order".

"That may explain," the senator said, "why Murrow week after week feels that he must smear McCarthy. Maybe he feels that ... he should worry about the exposure of some of his friends."

Canceled by Reds

In reply Murrow sai[illegible] last night:

"In 1935 I was [illegible] Institute of International Education, [illegible] tion engaged in the exch[illegible] of students and professors [illegible] between this and foreign countries. In this capacity I was a member of the advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow.

"In actual fact the summer school was canceled by Russian authorities before it began. Those graduate students and professors who had signed up for the school spent the summer traveling in the Soviet Union, an activity which was not then and is not now illegal. I did not accompany this group of distinguished educators."

3/13/54

COPY OF NEWS STORY ON WPAY 6:00 NEWS MARCH 12, 1954

RE: "CBS's"EDWARD R. MURROW AND THE NEWS"

WPAY & WPAY-FM
ROUTING SLIP

To:
Mr. Murrow

Sent by -- Return to
SMB

In a broadcast last night on another network, Senator McCar
with Edward R. Murrow, distinguished CBS commentator who is
at 7:45 over WPAY.

McCarthy said Murrow had been connected with a Moscow schoo
revolutionary.

Murrow's reply said that in the 30's he'd been assistant di
organization which arranged exchange of students and teache
countries and the United States. In this capacity, said Murrow, he was a member of an advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow. But, Murrow added, the school was called off by the Russians themselves, even before it began.

Mr. Murrow advised WPAY and other CBS stations today that he will...in his words..."attempt to deal adequately with senator McCarthys lates reckless handling of the truth on tonight's broadcast." That's Edward R. Murrow at 7:45 tonight over WPAY...

COPY OF NEWS STORY ON WPAY 6:00 NEWS MARCH 12, 1954

RE: "CBS's"EDWARD R. MURROW AND THE NEWS"

In a broadcast last night on another network, Senator McCarthy took issue with Edward R. Murrow, distinguished CBS commentator who is heard nightly at 7:45 over WPAY.

McCarthy said Murrow had been connected with a Moscow school described as revolutionary.

Murrow's reply said that in the 30's he'd been assistant director for an organization which arranged exchange of students and teachers between other countries and the United States. In this capacity, said Murrow, he was a member of an advisory committee for a summer school in Moscow. But, Murrow added, the school was called off by the Russians themselves, even before it began.

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BRATTON WILL SUE AFTER $3,000 FINE

Pennsylvania Imposes Its Third Largest Penalty in Saxton Bout Aftermath

PHILADELPHIA, March 10 (AP) — Johnny Bratton, former welterweight champion, was fined $3,000 today by the Pennsylvania State Athletic Commission for "not putting forth his best efforts" in a ten-round losing fight with Johnny Saxton last Feb. 24.

The penalty—the third largest ever imposed by the commission in its thirty years of existence—was announced by Chairman Frank Wiener.

Murray A. Frank, general counsel for the International Boxing Managers Guild of New York, who represented Bratton, said the action would be taken to court to "test the validity of the commission's action."

Frank called the move "capricious and arbitrary" and charged that Bratton's "constitutional rights had been violated by the severity of the penalty."

The fine is to be deducted from Bratton's share of the purse—$4,770—which had been withheld. The commission's suspension of Bratton remained in effect.

The remainder of Bratton's purse is tied up by a Philadelphia Common Pleas Court action filed by Robert Richards, proprietor of a training camp at Ulster Park, N. Y., who claims Bratton owes him $1,200 for room and board.

Bratton previously had collected $4,000 in television money.

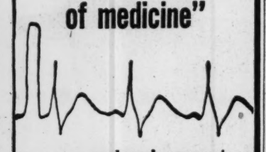
The largest fine ever levied against a boxer by the commission was $5,000 against George Godfrey in 1930. Joe Glick was assessed $3,500 in the mid-Twenties.

Wiener said:

"We want this to be a warning to all boxers coming into the state of Pennsylvania. They must put forth their best efforts or run the risk of being suspended or having their purses forfeited."

Tonight 10 p.m. EST
WNBT Channel 4

see "the march of medicine"



a comprehensive report on the problem of

overweight

presented by Smith, Kline & French Laboratories and the American Medical Association

I'm Joe Friday and TIME's got me covered!

For a fact-packed report on Joe Friday and Dragnet . . . and for *all* the world's most interesting news, see TIME. OUT TODAY. 20¢.

SCHOOLS OF DANCE

DALE DANCE STUDIOS
New York, B'klyn, Jamaica, Hempstead, White Plains, Union City, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson.

$40 for Ringside Seat For Marciano-Charles

The top price for a ringside ticket to the world heavyweight championship fight between Rocky Marciano and Ezzard Charles will be $40, Jim Norris, promoter, said yesterday. Other prices for reserved seats will be $30, $20, $15, $10 and $5.

Marciano, the holder of the title, will meet Charles at the Yankee Stadium on June 17. Norris has not yet made a decision on whether the bout will be televised into homes or theatres. The tickets will go on sale May 10.

GRIGGS AND OELSNER TAKE CLASS C TESTS

Between the hours of 5 and 7 last night the Rev. J. J. Lynch, member of the squash racquets squad of the New York Athletic Club, lost two matches in the Metropolitan Class C singles championship, but there may be a "recount" on one of them. This tournament is spread around three local clubs, the Columbia University, Downtown A. C. and the Lone Star Boat, and mix-ups are almost inevitable.

While they were waiting for him at the Lone Star courts in the Capitol Hotel building and where the scorers at last decided he had lost by default to R. Fuller of the Brown Club who was on hand and waiting, Father Lynch, a teacher at Cathedral High School, actually was on the Downtown Athletic Club courts losing a fourth-round match to E. C. White of the Yale Club, 15—12, 15—13, 17—15.

Also at the Downtown A. C., Mike Griggs of the Williams Club needed four games to get past Fred Seggerman of the Princeton Club, 15—10, 17—18, 15—13 and 15—10. W. J. Oelsner of the Downtown A. C. defeated Victor Schwartz of the Brown Club, 15—5, 15—3, 15—4.

On the Columbia University Club courts, Martin Lobdell of the Seabright Club was carried to five games before beating Larry Becker of Lone Star, 15—12, 12—15, 5—15, 15—14, 17—16. Jim Megysey of the New York A. C. won from Phil Hoffman, a club mate, 11—15, 15—10, 15—8, 15—10.

In a second default at Lone Star, Robert Hawthorne of the N. Y. A. C. was declared winner over Edward Reed of Lone Star.

R. P. I. Six Off for Tourney

TROY, N. Y., March 10 (UP) —The thirteen-man Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute hockey squad left by plane today for Colorado Springs and the national collegiate championship. The Engineers will cross sticks with the University of Michigan Friday night in the first round. Boston College takes on Minnesota tomorrow, with final and consolation matches scheduled Saturday.

$100,000 for Formosa Nine

WICHITA, Kan., March 10 (UP) —Formosa is successfully raising a fund of $100,000 to participate in international baseball competition, the National Baseball Congress said today. The congress also announced the re-appointment of Maj. Gen. William C. Chase of Taiwan as commissioner for Formosa in 1954.

CITY COLLEGE SIFTS SPORTS PURCHASES

Acts on a Report by Sheils—Holman Not Implicated, Cayallaro Emphasizes

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College, announced last night that he had begun an inquiry into alleged improper practices in the purchase of athletic equipment for the college.

The action stemmed from a report that Dr. Gallagher received as the result of an investigation finished last December by former Commissioner of Investigation James H. Sheils. The Commissioner's report was made confidentially to the Board of Higher Education, and was forwarded by that body to Dr. Gallagher for his action.

While the contents of the report were not revealed, Joseph B. Cavallaro, chairman of the board, stressed that Nat Holman, dismissed City College basketball coach, was in no way implicated.

Mr. Sheils began inquiring a year ago to learn why the city paid more for athletic equipment for City College than for other municipal colleges. The findings in the report sent to Mr. Cavallaro on Dec. 2 were not disclosed either by him or the present Commissioner of Investigation, Peter Campbell Brown.

A statement denying that there had been any irregularities in the purchase of supplies was issued later by Sam Winograd, who had served from 1947 to 1952 as the faculty manager of athletics. He now is an assistant professor of hygiene.

Cites Backing of Inquiries

Although he was not mentioned in Dr. Gallagher's announcement, Mr. Winograd's statement said that earlier investigations had stressed his "completely loyal and proper service" as the person in charge of buying athletic supplies.

Dr. Gallagher said he had delayed action until after the Board of Higher Education had completed the trial of Mr. Holman and his assistant, Harry (Bobby) Sand, on charges resulting from the 1950 basketball scandal. Dr. Gallagher explained that he wanted to avoid confusion.

Mr. Holman charged yesterday that the board was withholding from him a transcript of the closed meeting that had decided on his dismissal. He said through his attorney, James V. Hayes, that the board had offered to supply the minutes of the open meeting, but he declared he was most interested in what was said in the closed part of last Wednesday's session.

Mr. Holman had been exonerated of charges of conduct unbecoming a teacher in a majority opinion of a three-man trial committee, but he was found guilty and dismissed at the board meeting.

The 56-year-old coach said that since his suspension from City College in November, 1952, he had received job offers from colleges, professional groups and television, but that he had reached no decision on them.

'STRIKE IT RICH' SUES

Seeks to Block City Order for Fund-Raising License

The producer of the radio and TV show "Strike It Rich" said yesterday that he was seeking a declaratory judgment in the State Supreme Court to prevent the Department of Welfare from requiring the show to obtain a fund-raising license.

Walt Framer, the producer, asserted that a summons and complaint were served on Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy and were accepted on his behalf by Philip Sokol, counsel for the department.

Mr. Sokol, who confirmed this action, said that the Commissioner had made no formal demand that "Strike It Rich" obtain a license, but had said that it ought to get one.

Television in Review: Murrow vs. McCarthy

'See It Now' on C.B.S. Examines Senator and His Methods

By JACK GOULD

EDWARD R. MURROW'S television program on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was an exciting and provocative examination of the man and his methods. It was crusading journalism of high responsibility and genuine courage.

For TV, so often plagued by timidity and hesitation, the program was a milestone that reflected enlightened citizenship on the part of the Columbia Broadcasting System and, particularly, the Aluminum Company of America, who paid the bill to make it possible. No voice is braver than those who enable it to be heard.

On "See It Now" (10:30 P. M. Tuesday over C. B. S.), Mr. Murrow brought vigor, conviction and craftsmanship to the preparation of his indictment of the controversial legislator. His chief witnesses were Mr. McCarthy's own words, gestures and mannerisms as recorded on film and sound tape. The Senator's most useful tools, Mr. Murrow suggested, were Congressional immunity and the "half-truth."

•

Yet the program was no less an indictment of those who wish the problems posed by the Senator's tactics and theatrics would just go away and leave them alone. Whether a viewer approves or disapproves of Senator McCarthy, he could hardly help but react to Mr. Murrow's challenge. That was Mr. Murrow's and television's triumph, and a very great one.

There need be no quibble about the point of view of "See It Now." By itself Mr. Murrow's program was strongly one-sided. But the alternative to not handling the story in this manner was not to do the story at all, by far a greater danger. The Senator seldom has shown relish for letting others do the cross-examination.

Edward R. Murrow

As it was, Mr. Murrow made unmistakably clear at the program's outset that Senator McCarthy could have equal time to address himself to the points raised on the program. As the only person who can answer, Mr. McCarthy must decide whether to complete the record. Mr. Murrow can only invite, not subpoena. It will be interesting to see how the Senator pleads.

In "See It Now," Mr. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly, the co-editor of the program, took up the many facets of Senator McCarthy's activities in several stages.

•

The program's "working thesis," as Mr. Murrow called it, was that if the fight against communism was made into a fight against the two great political parties one party soon would be destroyed and the Republic could not long survive. These words were taken from a speech by Senator McCarthy seventeen months ago.

Yet last month Senator McCarthy spoke of the "twenty years of treason" and said "those who wear the label of Democrat wear the same historic betrayal."

"See It Now" showed Senator McCarthy once explaining that his "cup and heart is so full" he could not talk. In contrast he was shown at no loss for words in describing a general as not fit to wear the uniform. Mr. Murrow took up the Senator's charge that the left-wing press was against him. Fifty large-circulation papers, including the most conservative, actually were against the Senator by a ratio of 3 to 1 on the Zwicker case.

Mr. Murrow presented on film Senator McCarthy's calculated quip, accompanied by a giggle, against Adlai E. Stevenson: "Strangely, Alger —I mean Adlai * * *." This was followed by detailed documentation that Mr. Stevenson had nothing to do with a barn in Lee, Mass., though the Senator clearly had implied it showed a Communist tie-up. Similarly, the irrelevancy and prejudice of much of the Senator's questioning of Reed Harris were detailed.

•

After documenting his case, Mr. Murrow offered his telling summary of its meaning. It speaks for itself:

"No one familiar with the history of this country can deny that Congressional committees are useful. It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one, and the junior Senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly.

"Hhis primary achievement has been in confusing the public mind as between internal and external threats of communism.

"We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty. We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law. We will not walk in fear one of another. We will not be driven by fear into an age of unreason if we dig deep in our history and our doctrine, and remember that we are not descended from fearful men, not from men who feared to write, to speak, to associate and to defend causes that were for the moment unpopular.

"This is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods to keep silent, nor for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history but we cannot escape responsibility for the result.

"The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay amongst our allies abroad and given considerable comfort to our enemies, and whose fault is that? Not really his, he didn't create the situation of fear, he merely exploited it, and rather successfully. Cassius was right, 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves * * *'."

Film Clips and Sound Tape Used to Justify Vigorous Comment

Textile Union Renews Pacts

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union of America, C. I. O., said yesterday that the union's contract with the American Woolen Company, due to expire next Monday, had been extended. He said extension also had been negotiated with more than 100 other woolen and worsted companies, whose contracts expire Monday. He explained that the union's woolen and worsted policy committee early in January had adopted a policy of renewing contracts without change.

Mrs. Mesta Plans TV Show

BOSTON, March 10 (UP)—Mrs. Perle Mesta, Washington hostess and former Minister to Luxembourg, said today she planned to go to work in a television show to pay for educating "hundreds" of aspiring European diplomats. She said she hoped to put on a television show in Washington. The proceeds will pay for scholarships at American schools for young people who want to enter the diplomatic service.

SPECIAL TV SHOW OF MUSICALS SET

Rodgers and Hammerstein to Produce 1½-Hour Program March 28 Over 2 Networks

Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein 2d will produce a special ninety-minute television program on Sunday, March 28, at 8 P. M. that will feature musical highlights from their Broadway productions during the last eleven years.

The program will be presented over the combined networks of the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company, with the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein appearing in person. They will use, wherever possible, the stars who appeared in the original stage productions.

The program, as yet untitled, will be comprised of scenes and music from "Oklahoma," "Carousel," "Allegro," "South Pacific," "The King and I" and "Me and Juliet."

The General Foods Corporation will sponsor the program in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The cost is estimated to be upward of $300,000.

Dangers of overeating will be discussed on the "March of Medicine" program, to be presented tonight from 10 to 10:30 o'clock over the N. B. C. television network. Among the participants will be authorities on obesity, nutrition and diet.

Actual tape recordings of the activities of the police department in Culver City, Calif., will be featured in a new C. B. S. radio program, "Night Watch," which begins April 5 from 10 to 10:30 P. M. The recordings will be edited to remove all names and to disguise locations.

The "Joe Palooka Story," a film series, will make its debut over Channel 5 on Saturday from 7 to 7:30 P. M. The cast will include Joe Kirkwood, Kathy Downs, Sid Tomack and Maxie Rosenbloom.

ON THE RADIO

WAAT	970	WHOM	1480	WNBC	660	WOV	1280
WABC	770	WINS	1010	WNEW	1130	WPAT	930
WBNX	1380	WLIB	1190	WNJR	1430	WQXR	1560
WCBS	880	WMCA	570	WNYC	830	WVNJ	620
WEVD	1330	WMGM	1050	WOR	710	WWRL	1600

THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1954

7-7:15—Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Interviewed by Fulton Lewis Jr.—WOR.
7:45—National Invitation Basketball Tourney: Duquesne vs. Niagara; Holy Cross vs. Western Kentucky, at Madison Square Garden—WMGM.
8-8:30—Meet Millie: With Elena Verdugo—WCBS.
8:05-9—Symphony Hall: Featuring Mozart's Concerto in E Flat for Two Pianos and Orchestra—WQXR.
8:30-9:30—Kay Armen Show: With Louis Nye—WNBC.
8:30-9—Junior Miss: With Barbara Whiting—WCBS.
8:30-9—Chicago Round-Table: "Sharing Our Atomic Secrets"—Professors Harold C. Urey, Hans Morgenthau and Alan Simpson (Recorded)—WNYC.
9-10—Paul Whiteman Varieties: With Shirley Harmer, Billy Butterfield and Tony Scott—WABC.
9-9:30—Meet Mr. McNutley: With Ray Milland—WCBS.
9-9:55—Cooper Union Forum: "Arrested Anti-Colonialism"—Eric Mann (Recorded)—WNYC.
9:05-9:30—The Spoken Word: Featuring the Voices of Bertrand Russell, G. B. Shaw, Mahatma Gandhi; Pola Chasman, Commentator—WQXR.
9:30-10—Time for Love: With Marlene Dietrich—WCBS.
9:30-10—The Challenge: "Juvenile Delinquency"—Chief Magistrate John Murtagh (Recorded)—WMCA.
9:35-10—The Eddie Cantor Show—WNBC.
10-10:30—Escape: "The Bird of Paradise"—WCBS.
10:35-11—The Jane Pickens Show—WNBC.

DAYTIME

7:00-WNBC—News; Allyn Edwards
WOR—News; John Gambling
WABC—News; Weather
WCBS—News; Jack Sterling
WMCA—News; Gallagher-O'Brien
WNYC—Sunrise Symphony
WINS—News; Charlie Stark
WMGM—Ted Brown
WNEW—Klavan-Finch
WOV—Wake Up, New York
WQXR—New York Times News
7:05-WQXR—Bright and Early
7:15-WABC—Bobby Sherwood
7:28-WQXR—Weather Report
7:30-WNBC—News; Allyn Edwards
WABC—Charles F. McCarthy
WCBS—News; Jack Sterling
WNEW—News; Klavan-Finch
WQXR—Breakfast Symphony
7:35-WABC—Bobby Sherwood
7:45-WCBS—News Reports
WNYC—Weather; News Reports
8:00-WNBC—News; Allyn Edwards
WOR, WABC—News Reports
WCBS—News; Bob Haymes
WNYC—Around New York
WQXR—New York Times News
8:05-WQXR—Breakfast Symphony
8:15-WOR—Dorothy and Dick
WABC—Ed and Pegeen Fitzgerald
8:30-WNBC—Tex and Jinx
WNEW—News; Klavan-Finch
WOV—Ladies' Day
8:45-WNYC—Social Security News
8:50-WNYC—Food Talks
8:55-WABC—News Reports
WNYC, WMGM—News Reports
9:00-WABC—Breakfast Club
WOR—News; Second Breakfast
WCBS—This Is New York
WMCA—News; Gallagher-O'Brien
WNYC—Masterwork Hour
WINS—News; Charlie Stark
WMGM—Cariton Fredericks
WQXR—New York Times News
9:05-WQXR—Just Music
9:15-WOV—Band Parade
9:30-WNBC—News; Jim Coy
WOR—The McCanns at Home
WCBS—Joan Edwards Show
WMCA—Record Shop
WINS—Paul Sherman Show
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
WOV—Morning Bells
WQXR—Piano Personalities
9:45-WNBC—Ev'ry Day
WQXR—Composer's Varieties
10:00-WNBC—Welcome, Travelers
WOR—News; Martha Deane
WABC—My True Story
WCBS—Arthur Godfrey Time
WMCA—News; Record Shop
WMGM—Ted Husing Bandstand
WNEW—Jerry Marshall
WQXR—New York Times News
10:05-WQXR—Morning Melodies
10:25-WABC—Whispering Streets
10:30-WNBC—Bob Hope
WNYC—You and Your Help
WNEW—Recorded Music
10:45-WNBC—Break the Bank
WABC—When a Girl Marries
WNYC—News Reports
10:55-WMGM—News; Blossom Seeley-Benny Fields Show
11:00-WNBC—Strike It Rich
WOR—Wonderful City
WABC—Grand Central Station
WMCA—News; Record Shop
WNYC—For the Ladies
WQXR—New York Times News
11:05-WQXR—Mid-Morning Concert
11:25-WOR—News; Queen for a Day
WABC—Modern Romances
11:30-WNBC—Phrase That Pays
WCBS—Make Up Your Mind
WINS—Jo Halpin
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
11:40-WABC—Ever Since Eve
11:45-WNBC—Second Chance
WCBS—Rosemary
WQXR—Luncheon Concert
11:55-WABC—White House Report
WNYC—News; Midday Symphony
12:00-WNBC—News; Faye Emerson
WOR—Curt Massey Time
WABC—News Reports
WCBS—Wendy Warren
WMCA—News; Music Makers
WINS—News; Recorded Music
WMGM—Hal Peary Show
WNEW—Bill Harrington Show
WOV—Continental Melodies
WQXR—New York Times News
12:05-WQXR—Luncheon Concert
12:15-WOR—Les Higbie, Comments
WABC—George Ansbro Show
WCBS—Aunt Jenny
12:20-WOR—News Reports
12:25-WABC—Jack Berch
12:30-WOR—News; Edwin C. Hill
WABC—Maggi McNellis
WCBS—Romance of Helen Trent
WINS—Sports; Music
12:45-WCBS—Our Gal Sunday
12:55-WOR—Here's to My Lady
WNYC—News Reports

EVENING

6:00-WNBC, WOR, WCBS—News
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Here's to Vets
WINS—News; Listen to Lacy
WQXR—New York Times News
6:05-WQXR—Dinner Concert
6:15-WNBC—Sports Daily—Mel Allen, Russ Hodges
WOR—Dorothy and Dick
WCBS—Curt Massey Time
WNYC—Veterans' News Services
6:25-WNBC—Light-Up Time
6:28-WQXR—Weather Reports
6:30-WOR—News Reports
WCBS—Dwight Cooke's Guests
WNYC—Historic Heritage of Old New York
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
WQXR—Dinner Concert
6:45-WNBC—Three-Star Extra
WOR—Stan Lomax, Sports
WABC—Sports—Bill Stern
WCBS—Lowell Thomas
WMCA—Giant Jottings—Sam Aro
WNYC—Weather; U. N. News
WMGM—Ralph Hendershot, Wall Street Commentator
6:55-WMGM—News; Benny Fields-Blossom Seeley Show
7:00-WNBC—Man on the Go, News
WOR—Fulton Lewis Jr.: Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Guest
WABC—John W. Vandercook
WCBS—Tennessee Ernie Ford
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Masterwork Hour
WINS—Martin Starr
WQXR—New York Times News
7:05-WQXR—To France With Music
7:15-WNBC—The Symphonette
WOR—Today's Business News
WABC—Quincy Howe, Comments
WCBS—Beulah: Amanda Randolph
WINS—Recorded Music
7:20-WOR—The Answer Man
7:28-WQXR—Weather Round-Up
7:30-WNBC—News Reports
WOR—Cedric Foster, Comments
WABC—Starr of Space
WCBS—The Choraliers
WINS—News; A. F. of L. Longshoremen's Union Program
WNEW—News; Bill Williams
WQXR—Hambro and Zayde, Duo-Piano Classics
7:45-WABC—One Man's Family
WOR—Eddie Fisher Show
WCBS—Edward R. Murrow
WMCA—Swap Shop
WNYC—A Star Sings
WMGM—National Invitation Basketball Tourney, From Madison Square Garden—Duquesne vs. Niagara; Holy Cross vs. Western Kentucky
7:55-WNBC, WMGM—News Reports
8:00-WABC—Roy Rogers
WOR—Official Detective, With Craig McDonnell
WNBC—Three City By-Line
WCBS—Meet Millie, With Elena Verdugo
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WINS—News; Recorded Music
WOV—Here's to Vets
WNY—Rosalie Allen
WQXR—New York Times News
8:05-WQXR—Symphony Hall: Mozart's Concerto in E Flat for Two Pianos and Orchestra
8:15-WNBC—Sammy Kaye Serenade
WOV—L. Harrison Layton
8:30-WNBC—Kay Armen Show
WOR—Crime Fighters
WABC—Hollywood Starway
WCBS—Junior Miss, With Barbara Whiting
WNYC—Chicago Round Table—Sharing Our Atom Secrets—Profs. Harold C. Urey, Hans Morgenthau and Alan Simpson
WNEW—News; Bert Wayne
WOV—Sara Sokolsky-Violied, Piano
8:45-WABC—Mike Malloy
WOV—U. N. Today
9:00-WOR—News; The Man From Times Square
WABC—Paul Whiteman Varieties: With Shirley Harmer, Billy Butterfield, Tony Scott, Guests
WCBS—Meet Mr. McNutley—Comedy, With Ray Milland
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Cooper Union Forum: Arrested Anti-Colonialism—Eric Mann
WOV—News; 1280 Club
WEVD—Psychologically Speaking: Why Do People Gamble?—David D. Allen, Dr. Leroy Bowman; Mrs. Lee R. Steiner, Moderator
WQXR—New York Times News
9:05-WQXR—The Spoken Word: Featuring the Voices of Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw and Mahatma Gandhi
9:30-WNBC—News Reports
WOR—Mystery House
WCBS—Time for Love, With Marlene Dietrich
WMCA—The Challenge: Juvenile Delinquency—Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh (Recorded)
WNEW—News; Jazzbo Collins
WEVD—U. S. Army Show
WQXR—Your Listening Booth
9:35-WNBC—Eddie Cantor Show
9:55-WNYC—News (FM to 3)
10:00-WNBC—Fibber McGee and Molly
WOR—Frank Edwards, Comments
WABC—News Reports
WCBS—Escape: The Bird of Paradise
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WOV—News; Georgia Carr
WEVD—Editorially Speaking
WQXR—New York Times News
10:05-WQXR—The Concert Hall
10:15-WNBC—Can You Top This?
WOR—Sports—Harry Wismer
WABC—Outdoors Unlimited—Dorian St. George
WINS—Paul Arnold Show
10:20-WOR—Footnotes to History; Weather
10:30-WNBC—News; Jane Pickens
WOR—The Cisco Kid
WABC—Spotlight, N. Y.
WCBS—News; Bob Haymes
WINS—Campus Editorial: Should Alaska and Hawaii Be Admitted to the Union?
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
WOV—1280 Club
WEVD—The Antilles Hour
10:45-WMCA—U. N. Today
WINS—Ivory Tower
10:55-WMGM—News Reports
11:00-WNBC, WOR, WABC—News
WCBS—News; Eric Sevareid
WMCA—News; Murray Kaufman
WINS—News; Recorded Music
WMGM—Dixieland Bandstand
WNEW—Music Till Midnight
WEVD—News and Music
WQXR—New York Times News
11:07-WQXR—Music for Orchestra
11:15-WNBC—Joe Hasel—Sports
WOR—Ski Reports
WCBS—Galen Drake
11:20-WNBC—Tex and Jinx Show: Mayor Wagner and Clinton Blume, Guests
WOR—Ruby Mercer Show
11:25-WEVD—Joseph Shipley, Critic
11:30-WOR—Weather; Dance Music
WABC—Joe Franklin Show
WCBS—Dance Music
WMGM—Dodger Dugout
WOV—Evelyn Robinson
WEVD—Music You Want
11:45-WMGM—News Reports
11:55-WMCA—News Reports
12:00-WNBC—News; All Night Music
WOR—News and Music
WABC—Mellow Moods
WCBS—Music 'Til Dawn
WMCA—Barry Gray (To 2)
WMGM—Bill Silbert (To 2)
WNEW—Milkman's Matinee
WOV—Life Begins at Midnight
WEVD—Symphonic Hour
WQXR—New York Times News
12:05-WQXR—The World of Music
12:55-WABC—News Reports

FM PROGRAMS

WFUV	90.7	WABC-FM	95.5	WOR-FM	99.7
WNYE	91.5	WQXR-FM	96.3	WMGM-FM	100.3
WHOM-FM	92.3	WNBC-FM	97.1	WCBS-FM	101.1
WNYC-FM	93.9	WEVD-FM	97.9	WGHF	101.9
				WWRL-FM	105.1

DUPLICATING AM PROGRAMS
6:00 A. M. to 1:00 A. M.—WQXR-FM
6:00 A. M. to 1:30 A. M.—WNBC-FM
6:00 A. M. to 9:00 P. M.—WCBS-FM
6:00 A. M. to 9:00 P. M.—WNYC-FM
8:00 A. M. to 1:00 A. M.—WEVD-FM
9:00 A. M. to 12:00 P. M.—WABC-FM
3:00 P. M. to 9:00 P. M.—WMGM-FM

FM ONLY
7:40-WGHF—American Bible Society
8:00-WGHF—Music and News (To 6)
9:15-WNYE—Home Study
9:25-WFUV—Morning Meditation
9:27-WFUV—Blue Chapel Mass
10:00-WFUV—News Reports
WNYE—Famous New Yorkers
10:15-WFUV—International Dateline
WNYE—Uncle Dan
10:30-WFUV—Paris Star Time
WNYE—Know Your City
10:45-WNYE—Meeting the Situation
11:00-WFUV—Guest Star
WNYE—Famous New Yorkers
11:15-WFUV—Heart of America
WNYE—Safety Sam
11:30-WFUV—French in the Air
WNYE—Science at Our Door
11:45-WFUV—Sacred Heart Program
WNYE—Ring Around the World
12:00-WFUV—News; Noon Concert
WNYE—Famous New Yorkers
12:15-WNYE—Times Youth Forum
12:45-WNYE—Home Study
1:00-WFUV—Bonjour Mesdames
1:15-WFUV—This Week a Year Ago
WNYE—Polly and Puffy
1:30-WFUV—City Desk; Classical Requests
WNYE—Program From Utica
1:45-WNYE—People and Places
2:00-WNYE—Americans to Remember
2:15-WNYE—This Way to Storyland
2:30-WNYE—Tales From Four Winds
2:45-WNYE—Famous New Yorkers
4:30-WFUV—News; Compline
6:00-WGHF—Dinner Music
8:00-WWRL—Concert Hall
8:30-WGHF—Music (To 3)
9:00-WNYC—For Doctors Only: Skin Cancer—Dr. Robert Kennedy
10:00-WNYC—Concert Hall
WWRL—Classics by Request
11:00-WNYC—Chamber Music (To 12)
WWRL—Music Preferred
12:00-WNYC—While the City Sleeps

1:00-WNBC—News; Jim Coy
WOR—McCanns at Home
WABC—Mary Margaret McBride
WCBS—Road of Life
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Famous Artists
WINS—News; Recorded Music
WMGM—Rhythm of America
WNEW—Recorded Music
WQXR—New York Times News
1:05-WQXR—Midday Symphony
1:15-WOR—Patt Barnes-Barbara
WCBS—Ma Perkins
1:30-WNBC—Herb Sheldon
WOR—Barbara Welles
WCBS—Young Dr. Malone
WNYC—Headlines in Chemistry
1:45-WCBS—The Guiding Light
WNYC—Weather; News
2:00-WNBC—News; Herb Sheldon
WOR—Fred Robbins
WABC—Dean Cameron
WCBS—The Second Mrs. Burton
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Americans to Remember
WINS—News; Art Scanlon
WMGM—Aime Gauvin Show
WQXR—New York Times News
2:05-WQXR—Footlight Favorites
2:15-WCBS—Perry Mason
WNYC—This Way to Storyland
2:30-WNBC—Good News
WOR—Sloan Simpson
WABC—Dorest Bell
WCBS—This Is Nora Drake
WNYC—Opera Matinee: Wagner's Lohengrin
WMGM—Recorded Music
WNEW—News; Music Hall
WQXR—Alma Dettinger
2:35-WABC—Martin Block's Make-Believe Ballroom
2:45-WNBC—Jane Pickens
WCBS—The Brighter Day
2:55-WNBC—News Reports
WMGM—News; Bob Byron Show
3:00-WNBC—Life Can Be Beautiful
WOR—Radio Playhouse: Next Chapter, With George Brent
WCBS—Hilltop House
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WINS—News; Recorded Music
WQXR—New York Times News
3:05-WQXR—Symphonic Matinee
3:15-WNBC—Road of Life
WCBS—House Party

The New York Times
NEWS BULLETINS
every hour on the hour
7 A. M. to midnight over
WQXR
(1560 on your dial)
WQXR—FM
96.3 mc. [on FM sets]

3:30-WNBC—Pepper Young's Family
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
3:45-WNBC—Right to Happiness
WCBS—Wizard of Odds
3:55-WMGM—News; Bill Silbert
4:00-WNBC—Backstage Wife
WCBS—Robert Q. Lewis
WMCA—News; Recorded Music
WNYC—Music From the Theatre
WINS—News; Listen to Lacy
WQXR—New York Times News
4:05-WCBS—Emily Kimbrough
WQXR—The Concert Hall
4:15-WNBC—Stella Dallas
4:30-WNBC—Young Widder Brown
WCBS—Galen Drake
WNEW—News; Recorded Music
WQXR—Listening, Jacques Fray
4:45-WNBC—The Woman in My House
4:55-WNYC—News Reports
WMGM—News; Ted Husing
5:00-WNBC—Just Plain Bill
WOR—Sgt. Preston of the Yukon
WCBS—News; John Henry Faulk
WMCA—News; Crosby Records
WNYC—Adventures in Jazz
WNEW—Art Ford Show
WQXR—New York Times News
5:05-WQXR—Music Specialties
5:15-WNBC—Front-Page Farrell
WQXR—Cocktail Time
5:30-WNBC—Lorenzo Jones
WOR—Sky King
WNYC—Social Security Series
WNEW—News; Ballroom Music
5:45-WNBC—It Pays to Be Married
WNYC—Armed Forces Newsreel
5:50-WNYC—News Reports
5:55-WOR—Cecil Brown, Comments
WCBS—This I Believe
WMGM—News; Ted Brown

ON TELEVISION

Channel 2	WCBS-TV	Channel 7	WABC-TV
Channel 4	WNBT	Channel 9	WOR-TV
Channel 5	WABD	Channel 11	WPIX
Channel 13	WATV		

7-7:30—**It Seems Like Yesterday:** H. V. Kaltenborn—(4).
8-8:30—**Meet Mr. McNutley:** With Ray Milland—(2).
8-8:30—**Groucho Marx:** "You Bet Your Life"—(4).
8-8:30—**It's About Time:** With Dr. Bergen Evans—(7).
8-8:55—**Spotlight Play:** "Gentleman Complex," With Lisa Clark, Lee Philips, Herbert Patterson—(9).
8:30-9—**Four-Star Playhouse:** "Operation in Money," With David Niven, Marjorie Lord, Others—(2).
8:30-9—**Treasury Men in Action:** Walter Greaza—(4).
8:30-9—**Ray Bolger Show:** With Allyn Joslyn—(7).
9-9:30—**Video Theatre:** "Call Me Mrs.," With Laraine Day, Hugh Beaumont and Others—(2).
9-9:30—**Dragnet:** With Jack Webb and Others—(4).
9-9:30—**What's the Story?:** John K. M. McCaffrey—(5).
9:30-10—**Play:** "Come On, Red," With Edmund Gwenn, Jay C. Flippen and Others—(4).
9:30-10—**Television Theatre:** "Dark Victory," With Leora Dana, Duane McKinney and Others—(7).
10-10:30—**Public Defender:** Reed Hadley—(2) (Première).
10-10:30—**The March of Medicine:** A Report on the Problem of Overweight—(4).
10:30-11—**Place the Face:** Quiz, With Pat O'Brien, Carol Richards and John Carradine—(2).
10:30-11—**Foreign Intrigue:** With James Daly—(4).
10:30-11—**Between the Lines:** "Does N. Y. C. Need a Loyalty Review Board?"—Hamilton Fish, Norman Thomas, Dorothy Kenyon and Victor Konow—(5).
10:30-11—**High Tension—Play:** "Mr. Krosneck Disappears," With Martin Kosleck—(9).

DAYTIME

7:00-(4)—Today, With Dave Garroway
7:30-(2)—Prevue; Give Us This Day; News; Laugh Time
8:00-(2)—Film: Dangerous Millions
9:00-(2)—Margaret Arlen
(4)—Herb Sheldon
(7)—The Breakfast Club
9:45-(2)—News Reports
10:00-(2)—Arthur Godfrey Time
(4)—Ding Dong School
(7)—Manhattan Honeymoon
10:30-(4)—One Man's Family
(7)—Your Show; Variety
10:45-(4)—Three Steps to Heaven
11:00-(4)—Home: Arlene Francis
11:30-(2)—Strike It Rich
(5)—Kitchen Fare
(7)—Kids' Korner—Film
11:55-(7)—News Reports
12:00-(2)—Valiant Lady—Serial
(4)—Bride and Groom
(5)—Food for Thought
(7)—Time for Fun
(13)—News; A Woman's Work
12:15-(2)—Love of Life
(4)—Hawkins Falls
12:30-(2)—Search for Tomorrow
(4)—Betty White Show
(5)—News Reports
(7)—Ern Westmore Show
(13)—Feature Film
12:45-(2)—Guiding Light
(5)—Midday Chapel
1:00-(2)—Brighter Day
(4)—Morey Amsterdam
(5)—Claire Mann
1:15-(2)—Journey Through Life
1:25-(7)—News Reports
1:30-(2)—Garry Moore Show
(4)—Here's Looking at You
(5)—Movie Quick Quiz
(7)—Maggi McNellis
(13)—Dividends for Homemakers
1:45-(11)—Treasure Chest
2:00-(4)—Tex and Jinx
(5)—Letter to Lee Graham
(7)—Film
(11)—The Living Blackboard
(13)—Film: Outside of Paradise
2:30-(2)—Linkletter's House Party
(5)—News; The Continental
(11)—Film
2:55-(7)—Weather Report
3:00-(2)—The Big Pay-Off
(4)—Kate Smith Hour
(5)—Paul Dixon Show
(7)—Nancy Craig
(11)—Eloise McElhone Show
3:25-(7)—News Reports
3:30-(2)—Bob Crosby Show
(7)—Joe Franklin, Memory Lane
(11)—Ted Steele
(13)—Comedy Corner
3:55-(7)—Weather Reports
4:00-(2)—Woman With a Past
(4)—Welcome

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Quin Benson,
Mills, Harry
Bert Lahr,
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—A Dollar a Second, Jan
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(7)—Sky King, Kirby Grant,
Show.
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8:30 Talent Scouts, Arthur
(4) ment, News Docu-
ment s (Premiere).
(5) e With Elizabeth,
Bel White Moore,
Comedy Series.
(7)—Roberta Peters, soprano,
Howard Barlow Orch.

——9 M.——

0 (2)— Lucy, Lucille
all, D naz. Filmed
omedy
(4)— Day Show,
Songs Comed
(5)— dication of Telecentre,
Filme
(7)—Talent Patrol, Arlene
Francis, Variety.
(9)—"The Prairie" (1948
Film). Alan Baxter, Lenore
Aubert. A Kentucky famil
makes the trek across Loui-
Purchase territory, aided
government map maker
who helps them fight off the
deadly Sioux.
(11)—National Round Robin
ion Tennis Tournament
from Tow Tennis Club. Fifth
round, ki (Wash-
Straight

Letters From Readers On Slanted Newscasts

By JACK O'BRIAN

Our frank opinions that various CBS radio and TV newscasters are delivering their purportedly "objective" news material from a stance well to the left of even so called "liberal" analysis of the news has brought a surprising number of letters in agreement. It would seem that CBS is fooling around with a strangely vigorous intangible called public acceptance of its newscasts.

No longer does the public, from the tone of our letters, consider CBS news impervious to slanting. We have discovered the newscasts and telecasts generally of Edward R. Murrow and Don Hollenbeck, to name the leading CBS lessers, to the left to develop a peculiarly selective slant in most of their news work. It is this brace of portsided thinkers whose public performance has stirred many readers into the following angry exercise of the postal facilities:

"Thank you for corroborating my estimation of Murrow and Hollenbeck," writes one "middle-of-the-roader" who asked that we do not divulge his name. "I am a college instructor, and I'm afraid with the way things are going around my school that my feelings if printed out in the open in your paper might make things rough for me. If you don't mind, please keep my identity a secret.

"But I would like to give you my analysis of Don Hollenbeck's unusual approach to the news of the day. Whatever the big news may be, he manages to include some item of less than heavy import so long as it has some bearing on racism, unionism, or a hint that the public is not with the President in his program for the future, somehow keeping the future shaky and troubled, seeing global implications in some provincial situation far removed from the mainstream of progress.

"Or he will take some popular item of news and drop in a shrewdly timed and provocative comment usually intended to shake our confidence in American institutions, as I see it. One night Hollenbeck injected a snide aside into a television newsreel of a peaceful agreement between Tito and the Greek king. Of course Tito and Moscow aren't quite judy-pally any more. Hollenbeck's supposed afterthought suggested it was somehow shameful for Greece and Yugoslavia to find a basis for a peaceful agreement.

"Another night Hollenbeck, during the West Point graduation newsreel on his show tossed in a sly, softly spoken and entirely biased aside on a routine loyalty check of our service school graduates. It was shrewd, slick, and oily, just enough to get over a left-handed swipe at the necessarily cautious study we must make these days of any danger point, and any place where a man of privately treasonable conscience might secretly plot against our country under the patriotic guise of a uniform must satisfy our fears with a reasonable investigation.

"Should we accept someone for commission in our Army or Navy who has some private plot for the future? Don't even the cleanest of us occasionally examine our own consciences? Does that mean we shan't pass our own private scrutiny? If some civilian is tapped for a big government job, isn't the FBI asked to investigate him? But Hollenbeck, a graduate of that Commie-laden newspaper 'PM' who has taken a tack notably to the left in most matters of public commotion, was able to sneak in a sly suggestion that something awful is inherent in such a simple, honest, necessary check.

"Doesn't he know that Navy and Army fledglings grown men who some day will mature into another generation's Ike Eisenhowers, George Marshalls, Omar Bradleys, Douglas MacArthurs, Beedle Smith and that we should make certain they pass muster early, before they could color our country's future the pink that Mr. Hollenbeck seems to admire?

"We don't want any Maj. Peresses to get into West Point. Think of what Benedict Arnold almost did.

"These are important sidelights which do not seem ever to strike Don Hollenbeck, but only the items which strike me as tossing suspicion upon intentions which are the noblest. I'm afraid I'm sick of him, and CBS."

* * *

"I, too, would like to add my name to the list of those who are objecting to Don Hollenbeck on Ch. 2," writes C. Devlin, 315 E. 196th st., N. Y. C. 58.

* * *

And so on. We have received countless letters and cards bearing similar anger and suspicions. We did not "pitch" for such volunteered opinions, but we shall do just that now: Please write about any political slanting you catch anywhere in radio and TV. We'll print as many as we can. It might help.

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Journal-American Highlights for Wednesday March 10

SPORTS

Hockey: Chicago Hawks vs. Rangers (11) 9:00; Boxing: Gil Turner vs. Bobby Jones (2) 10:00.

DRAMA

Spotlight (9) 8:00 (1 hr.); TV Theatre (4) 9:00 (1) hr.); Playhouse (7) 9:30; Douglas Fairbanks Presents (4) 10:30 (½ hr.); TV Theatre (9) 10:30.

COMEDY

Joan Davis Show (4) 8:00; My Little Margie (4) 8:30; Ozzie & Harriet (7) 9:00; My Hero (7) 10:30.

VARIETY

Stork Club (4) 7:00; Arthur Godfrey Friends (2) 8:00; Stars on Parade (5) 9:30; Art Ford (9) 11:00; Steve Allen (4) 11:20.

CHILDREN'S SHOWS

Roy Doty (5) 4:45; Saddle Scouts (5) 5:00; Buster Crabbe (7) 5:00; Merry Mailman (9) 5:00; Howdy Doody (4) 5:30; Fun Time (13) 5:30; Wild Bill Hickok (4) 6:00; Magic Cottage (5) 6:00; Rootie Kazootie (7) 6:00; Jolly Gene (7) 6:15; Sense & Nonsense (5) 6:30; Captain Video (5) 7:00.

MYSTERY

Mark Saber (7) 7:30; Badge 714 (9) 9:00; Dangerous Assignment (9) 9:30; Boston Blackie (7) 10:00; Captured (9) 10:00.

SONGS

Ted Straeter (7) 7:00; Eddie Fisher (4) 7:30; Perry Como (2) 7:45.

HUMAN INTEREST

Johns Hopkins Science Review (5) 8:00; This Is Your Life (4) 10:00.

QUIZ

Strike It Rich (2) 9:00; I've Got A Secret (2) 9:30.

DISCUSSION

Chronoscope (2) 11:00.

FILMS

"Death Rides the Range" (9) 6:00; "Inside the Law" (11) 6:00; "Marked Trails" (13) 6:00; "Northwest Outpost" (2) 6:15; "East Meets West" (9) 7:00; "Forged Passport" (13) 7:00; "Folly to be Wise" (11) 7:30; "A Desperate Adventure" (13) 10:30; "Guilty Bystander" (2) 11:30; "Outside of Paradise (13) 11:30; "Mr. Wong Detective" (4) 12:05 a. m.; "The Last Crooked Mile" (2) 1:00.

Tonight's feature films have been reviewed and previewed by TV KEY's staff of preview experts who have attended rehearsals and advance screenings.

——12 NOON——

12:00 (2)—Valiant Lady, Nancy Coleman, Jerome Cowan, Drama Serial.
(4)—Bride and Groom, John Nelson, Emcee.
(5)—Food For Thought, Virginia Graham, Homemaker's Discussions.
(7)—Time For Fun, Children's Show.
(13)—News.
12:05 (13)—Report To Parents.
12:15 (2)—Love of Life, Peggy McCoy, Paul Potter, Drama Serial.
(4)—Hawkins Falls, Drama.
12:30 (2)—Search for Tomorrow, Mary Stuart, Lynn Loring. Drama Serial.
(4)—Betty White Show, Musical Variety.
(5)—News.
(7)—Ern Westmore Show, Beauty and Personality Tips.
(13)—"A Desperate Adventure" (1938 Film), Ramon Navarro, Marian Marsh. The portrait painted by a dashing artist leads to romantic complications. Enjoyable comedy.
12:45 (2)—Guiding Light, Herb Nelson, Ellen Demming ,Drama Serial.
(5)—Mid-Day Chapel, Joseph Collins. "Sanctity Is Sanity."

——1 P. M.——

1:00 (2)—The Brighter Day, dramatic series with Bill Smith, Brooke Byron, Hal Holbrook, Mary Lynn Beller and Lois Nettleton.
(4)—Morey Amsterdam Show.
(5)—Claire Mann Show, International guests discuss glamour problems.
1:15 (2)—Journey Through Life, Tom Reddy, Emcee.
1:25 (7)—News.
1:30 (2)—Garry Moore Show, Durward Kirby, Ken Carson, Denise Lor, Howard Smith Orch.
(4)—Bright Ideas, Gene Rayburn, Household Hints.
(5)—Movie-Quick Quiz: Quizmasters Bruce Elliot and Dan McCullough run off one-minute movies and then ask questions about the films from phone contestants. Jackpot prize begins at $50.
(7)—Maggi McNellis Show.
(13)—Shop, Look & Cook,
1:45 (11)—"Majestic Vista," Film Short.

——2 P. M.——

2:00 (2)—Double or Nothing, Quiz, Bert Parks.
(4)—Tex and Jinx Show, Interviews, Music, Fashion, News, Ethel Waters, Songs.
(5)—Letter To Lee Graham. Answers to letters on how to deal with problems of marriage, beauty, etc.
(7)—"Dance Girl Dance," Alan Dinehart, Film.
(11)—Living Blackboard, Education Show.
(13)—"Girl From Mandalay" (1936 Film), Conrad Nagel, Donald Cook, Kay Linaker. Two men battle it out for a girl in the tropics.
2:30 (2)—House Party, Art Linkletter, Judy Canova, Guest.
(5)—News.
(11)—Film.
2:45 (5)—Love Story: Renzo "The Continental" Cesana entertains televisitors to his apartment" with chitchat, talks on life, philosophy, love.
2:55 (7)—Weather Report.

——3 P. M.——

3:00 (2)—The Big Payoff, Randy Merriman, Bess Myerson, Betty Ann Grove.
(4)—Kate Smith Show, The Cerneys, Danny Sutton, Guests; "World of Mr. Sweeney," Charles Ruggles, Play.
(5)—Paul Dixon Show, variety show featuring Wanda Lewis and Sis Camp.
(7)—Nancy Craig Time, Interviews.
(11)—Eloise McElhone Show, Fashions & Beauty Hints.
3:25 (7)—News.
(13)—News.
3:30 (2)—Bob Crosby Show, Bobcats, Joan O'Brien, Modernaires.
(7)—Memory Lane, Joe Franklin, Records, Films.
(11)—Ted Steele Show, Jerry Jerome Orch., Variety.
(13)—Comedy Films.
3:55 (7)—Weather Report.

——4 P. M.——

4:00 (2)—"Woman With A Past," dramatic series, with Constance Ford, Gene Lyons, Anne Hegira and Mary Sinclair.
(4)—Welcome Travelers, Tommy Bartlett, Emcee.
(5)—"Unwritten Column" starring Virginia Farmer and Edward Earl, Film. Successful politician in Washington, D. C. rid of his old hometown secretary, Lucy Miles. She played a vital part in his past and in his career.
(7)—Jerry Lester Show, Ellie Russell.
(13)—Enemy Of The Law" (1945 Film). Tex Ritter western.
4:15 (2)—The Secret Storm, dramatic series, with Haila Stoddard, Peter Hobbs.
4:30 (2)—Robert Q. Lewis Show, Musical variety with singers Jan Arden, Earl Wrightson, Jaye P. Morgan and Lois Hunt; Dancer-choreographer, Don Liberto, The Chordettes and Ray Bloch Orchestra.
(4)—On Your Account, Win Elliot, Emcee; Beauty and Personality Tips.
(5)—News.
(9)—News.
4:35 (9)—Musical Film Short.
4:45 (5)—Roy Doty, Children's Show, "Adventures of Danny Dee;" "The Obstinate Turtle."
(9)—Cooking Lady, Jean Phair.
4:55 (7)—Weather Report.

——5 P. M.——

5:00 (2)—Barker Bill's Cartoons.
(4)—Pinky Lee Show, Variety.
(5)—Saddle Scouts, Ken Carson, Film. A live Western show featuring songs and folk lore by Carson.
(7)—Buster Crabbe Show.
(9)—Merry Mailman, Ray Heatherton.
(11)—Dance Time, Teen-Agers' Program.
(13)—Junior Frolics, Cartoons.
5:15 (2)—"Caught In The Act" (1940), Henry Armetta, Iris Meredith. An excitable construction foreman is used as a dupe by crooks.
5:30 (4)—Howdy Doody, Bob Smith.
(11)—The Kartoon Club.
(13)—Fun Time, Jolly Jack Gleason, Children's Show.
5:45 (7)—Animal Fun Time.
5:55 (11)—News.

——6 P. M.——

6:00 (2)—News.
(4)—"Wild Bill Hickok," Guy Madison, Film Series.
(5)—Magic Cottage: Pat Meikle, Hostess, "Dudley Droop Finds A Hobby."
(7)—Rootie Kazootie, Puppet Show.
(9)—"Death Rides The Range" (1943 Film), Bob Livingston western.
(11)—"Inside The Law," (1942 Film), Wallace Ford, Luana Walters. A group of con men invade a small town, only to be reformed by the pleasant atmosphere.
(13)—"Marked Trails" (1945 Film), Bob Steele-Hoot Gibson western.
6:05 (2)—New York Feature, Bill Leonard.
6:10 (2)—Sport News.
6:15 (2)—"Northwest Outpost" (1947 Film), Nelson Eddy, Ilona Massey. Historical melodrama of California's early days, when White Russian settlers populated the territory.
(7)—Jolly Gene, Puppet Show.
6:30 (4)—Faye Emerson - Skitch Henderson Show.
(5)—Sense & Nonsense, Quiz, Bob Kennedy with Peggy O'Hara. Contestants try to identify objects by means of the five senses.
(7)—True Life Theatre, Film Series.
6:45 (4)—News.
(7)—Bob and Ray, Comedy.
(9)—News; Sports; Weather.

——7 P. M.——

7:00 (4)—Stork Club, Variety Interviews, Sherman Billingsley, Connie Russell, Edith Fellows, The Toppers, Arthur Maxwell, Guests.
(5)—Captain Video, Al Hodges and Don Hastings. Adventure Series, "The Star Ship."
(7)—Ted Straeter Show.
(9)—"East Meets West" (British Film 1936), George Arliss, Lucie Manheim. The great actor appears as a wily Eastern potentate. A good example of what solid acting can be.
(11)—News.
(13)—"Forged Passport" (1939 Film), Paul Kelly, June Lang. His buddy's death causes an immigration officer to round up a smuggling gang.
7:10 (7)—Weather Report.
(11)—Weather Man.
7:15 (5)—Marge and Jeff, Marge Greene and Jeff Cain struggle with the problems of newlyweds.
(7)—News.
(11)—Sports; News.
7:25 (2)—Weather.
(11)—News.
7:30 (2)—News Commentary.
(4)—Eddie Fisher Show, Fred Robbins, Host, Kitty Kallen, Guest.
(5)—Weather.
(7)—Mark Saber, Tom Conway, Detective Series.
(11)—"Folly To Be Wise" (British Film 1953). Alastair Sim, Roland Culver. The trials and tribulations of an Army Chaplain. Delightfully witty comedy.
7:35 (5)—News.
7:45 (2)—Perry Como Show, Patti Page, Guest Star.
(4)—News.
(5)—Sports.

——8 P. M.——

8:00 (2)—Arthur Godfrey and His Friends, Frank Parker, Haleloke, Janette Davis, Marion Marlowe, The Mariners, The McGuire Sisters, Lu Ann Simms and Tony Marvin. Guest: Helen Traubel.
(4)—"I Married Joan." Joan Davis, Jim Backus, Comedy Series.
(5)—Johns Hopkins Science Review. Topic: "A Trip Through Your Heart."
(7)—Theatre, Jonathan Blake, Mystery Series, "Boy Down The Road."
(9)—Spotlight: "The Gentleman Complex," Lisa Clark, Herb Patterson, Play.
(13)—Miss TV Beauty and Talent Show.
8:30 (4)—My Little Margie, Gale Storm, Charles Farrell, Film Comedy Series.
(5)—Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Conductor: Fritz Reiner. Symphony No. 7, Beethoven and Selections from "The Damnation of Faust" by Berlioz.
(7)—"Death Rides The Night," Joe Wray, Film Drama.
(11)—News.
8:55 (9)—News.

——9 P. M.——

9:00 (2)—Strike It Rich, Quiz, Warren Hull, Emcee.
(4)—Theatre, "Picture Window." Domestic drama revolving around wife's desire for husband's financial success in business, and his dogged desire to return to the simple outdoor life in Maine. Enlivened by the superior acting of Arthur Franz and Kathy McGuire.
(7)—Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, Comedy Series.
(9)—"Badge 714," Police Drama Series; Jack Webb, "The Big Cop."
(11)—Hockey from Garden. Chicago Hawks vs. Rangers. Season series standing: Hawks won 3; Rangers won 8, Two Ties.
(13)—Western Film.
9:30 (2)—I've Got A Secret, Garry Moore, M. C., Quiz.
(5)—Stars On Parade, Variety, Elliot Lawrence, Bobby Sherwood, Emcee, Morton Downey, Joan Holloway, Eleanor Russell, Guests.
(7)—"Pursuit," Richard Carlson, Play.
(9)—Dangerous Assignment, Brian Donlevy, "The Manger Story," Mystery Series.

——10 P. M.——

10:00 (2)—Middleweight boxing match from Philadelphia. Gil Turner (Philadelphia) vs. Bobby Jones (Oakland). Ten rounds. Turner's record: won 42 (30 by KO), lost 4. Jones won 35 (4 by KO), lost 19, 8 draws. Last fights: Jones lost 10-round decision to George Benton Dec. 28. Turner won 10-round decision over Pierre Langlois Jan. 26.
(4)—This Is Your Life, Ralph Edwards.
(5)—The Music Show—A half-hour of relaxing musical fare featuring conductor Robert Trendler's "pops" orchestra, and vocalists Jackie Van, Mike Douglas, Eleanor Warner and Henri Noel.
(7)—Boston Blackie, Kent Taylor, Mystery Series.
(9)—Captured, Mystery Series, Story of Willie Sutton, Part II, Chester Morris.
(13)—Club Caravan, Variety, Bill Cook.
10:30 (4)—Douglas Fairbanks presents: "The Trap," Mary Parker, Film Drama.
(5)—"The Case Of Marina Goodwin," starring Mary Sinclair and Wilton Graff, Film Drama. A disillusioned young socialite who becomes an ardent communist, is placed by the party in the home of a prominent politician to spy on his activities.
(7)—My Hero, Robert Cummings, Comedy Series, "Jimmy Valentine."
(9)—"TV Theatre," The People's Choice," Christine Miller, Steven Clark, Film Drama.
(13)—"A Desperate Adventure" (1938), Ramon Navarro, Marian Marsh, Film.
10:40 (11)—News.
10:50 (11)—Weatherman.
10:55 (11)—Sports.
10:45 (2)—Sports Show.

——11 P. M.——

11:00 (2)—Chronoscope, Discussion, Larry Lesueur, Thomas E. Martin, Guest.
(4)—News.
(5)—Commentary.
(7)—News.
(9)—Art Ford Show, Interviews, music, audience participation quiz.
(11)—"Bounty Of The Forrest," Film Short.
11:10 (4)—Weather.
(7)—Sports.
11:15 (2)—News.
(4)—Sports Final.
(5)—"Party Line" starring Walter McGrail, Gertrude Michael and Don Beddoe, Film.
(7)—True Life Theatre, Film Series.
11:20 (4)—Steve Allen Show, Variety.
11:25 (2)—Sports.
11:30 (2)—"Guilty Bystander" (1950 Film), Zachary Scott, Faye Emerson. A private eye down on his luck snaps out of the fog when he finds his little child has been kidnapped. Generally well done mystery. Good musical score.
(11)—Feature Film.
(13)—"Outside Of Paradise" (1938), Phil Regan, Penny Singleton. Young man inherits an Irish castle but no money, so he opens a hamburger shoppe on the premises. Amusing musical.
11:45 (5)—News & Program Notes.
11:50 (11)—Feature Film.

——12 MIDNIGHT——

12:00 (4)—News; Kenneth Banghart.
12:05 (4)—"Mr. Wong Detective," Film, Boris Karloff, and Grant Withers.

——1 A. M.——

1:00 (2)—"The Last Crooked Mile" (1946 Film), Donald Barry, Adele Mara. Murder committed on a roller coaster and a daring robbery are the crimes that a private eye must solve in this mystery thriller.

——2 A. M.——

2:15 (2)—News.
2:20 (2)—Give Us This Day, Father Joseph J. Flynn.

BORIS KARLOFF in "Mr. Wong, Detective" tonight on the MIDNIGHT MOVIE your host, Jim Moran WNBT, Channel 4

HE'S A GOOD SPORT . . . When pretty contestant Russell Lee, of Charlottesville, Va., told quizmaster Bert Parks her favorite pastime is ballroom dancing, he immediately launched her into a terpsichorean number for two. It is such spontaneous antics that have made his "Double or Nothing" quiz show, on view every Monday, Wednesday and Friday on Ch. 2 at 2 p. m., a popular afternoon television program.

Journal-American Photo by Jack Layer

An Analysis of Murrow's Portsided Political Pitching

By JACK O'BRIAN

We can't say we were surprised at Edw. R. Murrow's hate-McCarthy telecast last evening. Realizing before the broadcast that the program would be slanted one-sidedly to meet Murrow's own opinions, CBS Board Chairman Bill Paley personally ordered the pompous portsider to take a more middle ground. Murrow refused.

Backstage explosions kept detonating until TV time with threats from both sides of firings and resignations.

The feeling around CBS, where the air has been filled for years with pink and liberal editorializing, was that Murrow might cause a public revulsion against such permanently slanted political comments, to the detriment of sponsors, CBS business generally and the loudly expressed desire among some of CBS' top brass to get out from under what they considered an old misconception of the network's "liberal" policies.

Murrow's idealogies have brought the charge that he is a "reactionary," that his reactions can be anticipated in advance of any prescribed event or commentary thereupon.

The Columbia Broadcasting System has been in a lengthy "clean house of lefties" mood. The worst offendors on lesser levels have been quietly pushed out of the company.

Charmed Life

Murrow, however, has led a charmed existence. His Svengali-style influence on the top officers of the corporation has molded many a CBS attitude in the handling of both personnel and news.

When he officially and personally dominated the news departments of CBS, he encouraged in many ways heckling of publications whose editorial stands were anywhere to the right of Murrow.

He incited and encouraged a 15-minute radio program called "CBS Views The Press," in which Don Hollenbeck, a graduate of the demised pinko publication "P.M.," attacked conservative newspapers with sly Sen. Joseph McCarthy's speeches over the last few years.

and slanted propaganda of the sort Murrow last evening plucked from the context of

When his explosively one-sided propaganda, edited with deviously clever selectivity from McCarthy's march against Communism, was finished last evening, by equally Machiavellian coincidence the following telecast featured Murrow's "P.M." protege Hollenbeck. In an obviously gloating mood, Hollenbeck hoped viewers had witnessed his patron's triumph from and for the left.

He then proceeded through an equally tilted review of the day's events with McCarthy dominating his words, actions, attitude and camera.

Murrow's techniques on radio and TV are identical. He stubbornly sticks to the left side of any situation. He states cases as fact when they are merely Murrow's opinion. He is a great hand at dipping into the classics, citing the words of Twain, Lincoln, Diogenes, Holmes and other dead thinkers on subjects of the present moment about which none of these demised celebrities could be expected to have any precise retroactive opinions. Mostly the problems concerning which such ancient but glib quotations have been so deftly plucked have no bearing whatever on any phase of current history.

Still, they fit Murrow's purpose and mood; it's an old trick: Stating his own opinion might leave a listener in doubt as to his full authority on the subject. Quoting a resplendant name from the dead past and reciting a corpse's thoughts on an entirely separate subject, Murrow's manner indicates that Lincoln surely would have had the same opinion of the situation that prevails and therefore would have been moved back in the middle eighties to phrase something cogently pertinent to today's ears and minds.

It's an old device; along Broadway the device was used to give importance to some straggly joke. The creator of such jape would give it an extra dimension by asking: "Did you hear what Dorothy Parker said last night?" Then, in Dorothy Parker's unwilling name, the quip would follow.

Even in his "Person to Person" CBS-TV show, Murrow tries to push his guests into provocative statements about Sen. McCarthy. He was able easily to accomplish it with Harry Truman; he was not so successful in an exchange with Tallulah Bankhead, whose inhibitions can be loosened on many a matter but not one which might joggle her earnings.

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——12:00 Noon——
WNBC—News; Faye Emerson.
WABC—News.
WOR—Curt Massey Time. Martha Tilton.
WCBS—News.
WMGM—Hal Peary Show.
WINS—News; Records.
WMCA—News; Music Makers.
WNEW—Bill Harington Show.
WNYC—Mid - Day Symphony, Concerto for Trumpet, Piano and Strings—Shostakovich; Carnival Overture, Dvorak.
WOV—Continental Melodies.
WVNJ—Stars In Song.
WGBB—News; Music.

——12:15 P. M.——
WABC—Betty Crocker; George Ansbro, Music.
WOR—News; Tello-Test.
WCBS—Aunt Jenny.

——12:30 P. M.——
WABC — Maggi's Magazine, Maggi McNellis.
WOR—News.
WCBS—Helen Trent.

——12:45 P. M.——
WOR—News; Music.
WCBS—Our Gal Sunday.

——1:00 P. M.——
WNBC—News; Music.
WABC—Mary M. McBride.
WOR—The McCannis at Home.
WCBS—Road To Life.
WMGM—Noble Sissle Show.
WINS—News; Music.
WNEW—Recorded Music.
WNYC—Famous Artists, Jean Fournier.
WGBB—News; Guy Lombardo.

——1:15 P. M.——
WOR—Patt Barnes & Barbara.
WCBS—Ma Perkins.
WMCA—Recorded Music.

——1:30 P. M.——
WNBC—Herb Sheldon Show.
WOR—Barbara Welles Show.
WINS—News; Sports Preview.
WNYC—French Press Review.

——1:45 P. M.——
WCBS—Guiding Light.
WNYC — Weather; Selective Service; News.

——2:00 P. M.——
WNBC—News; Herb Sheldon.
WABC—Dean Cameron Show.
WOR—Fred Robbins Show.
WCBS—Second Mrs. Burton, Susan Ball.
WMGM—Aime Gauvin Show.
WINS—Yanks vs. Senators.
WOV—Recorded Music.
WNYC—Languages In Song.
WWRL—Spiritual Music.

——2:15 P. M.——
WCBS—Perry Mason.
WMCA—Recorded Music.
WNYC—Neighbors & Friends.

——2:30 P. M.——
WNBC—News Oddities.
WABC — Betty Crocker; Recorded Music.
WOR—Sloan Simpson Show.
WCBS—This Is Nora Drake.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WNYC — Symphonic Matinee, Arthur Honegger Birthday Program.

——2:45 P. M.——
WNBC—Jane Pickens Show.
WCBS—Brighter Day.
WABC—Recorded Music.

——3:00 P. M.——
WNBC—Life Can Be Beautiful.
WOR — Playhouse, "Freedom U.S.A.," Tyrone Power, Edwin C. Hill, "Marco Polo." "The Cisco Kid."
WCBS—Hilltop House.
WMGM—Bob Byron Show.
WMCA—News; Music.

——3:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Road of Life.
WCBS—House Party, Art Linkletter.

——3:30 P. M.——
WNBC—Pepper Young.

——3:45 P. M.——
WNBC—Right to Happiness.
WCBS—Wizard of Odds.

——4:00 P. M.——
WNBC—Backstage Wife.
WCBS — Robert Q. Lewis, Emily Kimbrough.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WNEW—Recorded Music.
WNYC—Theatre Music, "Ruddigore," Gilbert & Sullivan.

——4:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Stella Dallas.
WHOM—Musical Matinee.

——4:30 P. M.——
WNBC—Young Widder Brown.
WCBS—Galen Drake.

——4:45 P. M.——
WNBC—Woman In My House.
WINS—Sports Roundup.

——5:00 P. M.——
WNBC—Just Plain Bill.
WABC—Recorded Music.
WOR—Songs of the B-Bar-B.
WCBS—News; Records, Chatter.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WINS—News.

——5:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Front Page Farrell.
WOV—A Song at Twilight.

——5:30 P. M.——
WNBC—Lorenzo Jones.
WOR—Wild Bill Hickok.
WNEW—News; Records.
WNYC—Youth Talks It Over.
WVNJ—News; Music.

——5:45 P. M.——
WNBC—It Pays To Be Married, Audience Show.
WCBS—Records; This I Believe.
WMCA—Recorded Music.
WNYC—Air Warden Report; News.
WBNX—Sports Resume.

——6:00 P. M.——
WNBC—News, K. Banghart.
WOR—News.
WCBS—News.
WMGM—Ted Brown Show.
WINS—News; Music.

——6:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Sports News; Music.
WOR—Dorothy and Dick.
WCBS—Curt Massey Show, Martha Tilton.

——6:30 P. M.——
WOR—News.
WCBS—Dwight Cooke's Guest Book, Clark B. Millikan.

——6:45 P. M.——
WNBC—News.
WABC—Sports Today.
WOR—Sports News
WCBS—News.
WMGM — Wall Street Commentator.
WOV—Pasquale C. O. D.

——7:00 P. M.——
WNBC—News.
WABC—News.
WOR—Fulton Lewis Jr., News.
WCBS—Tennessee Ernie Show, Helen O'Connell.
WMGM — Blossom Seeley-Benny Fields Show.
WMCA—News; Music (R).
WNYC — Masterwork Hour, Classical Music.

——7:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Symphonette.
WABC—News.
WOR—Today's Business; Answer Man.
WCBS—Beulah, Drama Series, Amanda Randolph.
WNEW—News; Music (R).
WOV—Lucio Basco.

——7:30 P. M.——
WNBC—News.
WABC—Lone Ranger.
WOR—News.
WCBS—The Symphonette.
WINS—News; A.F. of L.

——7:45 P. M.——
WNBC—One Man's Family.
WOR—Perry Como Show.
WCBS—News.
WMCA—Recorded Music.

——8:00 P. M.——
WNBC—Walk A Mile, Quiz.
WABC — Three City Byline, News Commentary.
WOR—Squad Room.
WCBS—F. B. I. in Peace and War, "The Bird Game," with Alice Frost, Bob Dryden.
WMGM—Hour of Champions.
WINS—Recorded Music.
WMCA—News; Music.
WOV—Rosalie Allen.
WBNX—Italian Revue.

——8:15 P. M.——
WABC — Sammy Kaye Orch. Kitty Kallen, Guest.

——8:30 P. M.——
WNBC — Great Gildersleeve, Willard Waterman, Comedy.
WABC — Hollywood Starway, Drama Series.
WOR—Nightmare, Peter Lorre.
WCBS—21st Precinct, Everett Sloane.
WMGM — Rangers vs. Black Hawks, Hockey.
WNYC — Paul Erlich 100th Anniv. Memorial, N. Y. Academy of Medicine.

——8:45 P. M.——
WABC—Mike Malloy, Detective, Gerald Mohr.

——9:00 P. M.——
WNBC—Groucho Marx, "You Bet Your Life," Quiz.
WABC—Hollywood Airport, Cal York, Narrator.
WOR—News; Man From Times Square; News.
WCBS — Crime Photographer, Staats Cotsworth.
WOV—News; 1280 Club.

——9:30 P. M.——
WNBC—Big Story, Drama.
WABC—Mystery Theatre, Adventure Series, "The Deadly Nightshade," Play.
WOR—"Let George Do It," Bob Bailey, Virginia Gregg, Play.
WCBS—Crime Classics, "New Hampshire, The Tiger and Brad Ferguson—What Happened Then."
WNEW—News; Records.
WMCA—Music; Swing Music.
WNYC—C. C. N. Y. Adult Education Course, "The Enjoyment of Literature (Part I)—Panel Discussion.

——10:00 P. M.——
WNBC — Fibber McGee & Molly.
WABC—News.
WOR—News.
WCBS—Cathy & Elliott Lewis: On Stage, "The Crusade Of Stanley Finston."
WOV—News; Georgia Carr.

——10:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Can You Top This?
WABC—Lenten Series, From Chapel of The Intercession, Clinton Reed, Organist; Rev. Dr. Joseph S. Minnis.
WOR—Sports; Music.
WCBS—News; Music.
WMCA—Swing Music

——10:30 P. M.——
WNBC—News; Skitch Henderson Show.
WABC—Dr. Bruno Betteiheim, "Parent-Children Relationships, Normal vs. Abnormal Children.
WOR—The Cisco Kid.
WCBS—News; Music.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WINS—This Is Turkey, Travel Talk; Henry Mile.
WNEW—News.
WBNX—French Hour.
WOV—1280 Club.

——10:45 P. M.——
WINS—Musical Interludes.
WMCA—U. N. Today (Rec.)

——11:00 P. M.——
WNBC—News, K. Banghart.
WABC—News.
WOR—News.
WCBS—News.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WINS—News; Music.
WNEW—Music 'Til 12.
WMCA—News; Music (R).
WWRL—News; Jive Show.

——11:15 P. M.——
WNBC—Sports; Tex & Jim.
WOR—Ski Reports; Music.
WCBS—Galen Drake.

——11:30 P. M.——
WABC—Joe Franklin Show.
WOR—Weather; Music.
WMGM — "Dodger Dugout," Preacher Roe, Guest.
WCBS—Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther.
WOV—Recorded Music.

——12:00 Mid.——
WNBC—News; Stan Freeman.
WABC — Recorded Music; News.
WOR—News; Music.
WCBS—Music 'Til Dawn.
WMGM—Recorded Music.
WMCA—Commentary.
WNEW—Milkman's Matinee.
WOV — Life Begins at Midnight.

7¢ The Mirror SPORTS RED STREAK

Vol. VI—No. 129 4★ In Three Parts WED., MAR. 10, 1954 PART I 5★ MA-2311—145 S. Spring, Los Angeles 53

IKE BACKS ATTACK ON JOE M'CARTHY

His Temper Flares, He Stamps His Foot at Adlai's Criticism

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) — President Eisenhower said today Sen. Flanders (R) Vt., did a service by pointing up the great danger of party-splitting strife in his Senate speech critical of Sen. McCarthy (R) Wis.

Eisenhower said he wanted to make it clear he was not issuing any blanket endorsement of Flanders' speech, but also told a news conference:

1—It was "nonsense" for Adlai Stevenson to say the Republican Party is split—"half McCarthy and half Eisenhower."

2—He believes the CBS and NBC networks did the fair and proper thing in giving the Republican Party free network time for a reply to Stevenson while denying it to McCarthy as an individual.

Eisenhower commented that any political speaker might mention critically the names of 20 or more persons and that it would be impossible for the networks to give each of them time for rebuttal.

In the Senate, McCarthy told reporters he would have no comment on the President's remarks until he had had an opportunity to study a transcript of them.

Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic Presidential candidate, had questioned in a Miami party speech whether the "new look" military program with emphasis on atomic and other new weapons is really affording the country the best security.

Asked about that, Eisenhower stamped his foot in emphasis as he said that he is doing nothing in the Defense Department that he does not believe is for the best interest of the country.

He is not going to demagogue about it either, the President said, his face flushed.

Eisenhower said that there

Turn to Page 2

—MIRRORFOTO

NEWLYWEDS HAVE CAKE (5 TIERS, 200 POUNDS) SO THEY EAT IT
Papa Benny's eyes stray, reflect envy as violin softly plays in $25,000 background.

Benny's Daughter Wed in Splendor

Happy Couple Start Honeymoon on Hawaiian Isle

BY KENDIS ROCHLEN
Mirror Columnist

Joan Benny and her bridegroom, Seth Baker, flew to Hawaii today for their honeymoon, while Hollywood recuperated from their lavish wedding last night.

The hitching of Jack Benny's 19-year-old daughter and the wealthy 26-year-old stockbroker was a glamorous production. Benny said it cost $25,000 but other estimates ran as high as $50,000.

See "Confetti" Page 1, Part II

It had simply everything, from the thick red carpet at the Beverly Hills Hotel entrance to Waukegan's favorite son done up in white tie and tails.

But the famous comedian played a straight role as he gave his lovely young daughter in marriage. He wore his glasses, explaining, "I'd rather look not so good and wear glasses, than fall on my face."

Mrs. Benny (Mary Livingston), too, stood proudly by as Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin performed the double-ring ceremony. He advised the young couple to "forget about the tinsel of life and live for good things."

The wedding went off with precision under the direction of Designer Don Loper, who had a hand in everything from creating the bridal gown to decorating the huge Crystal Room with white flowers and green garlands.

Loper dashed about issuing orders like a movie director.

"Okay, cut it," he said with a wave of his hand as he sought to end the long reception line.

Though the full roster of Hollywood's Who's Who showed up for the reception, the real stars were the excited lovebirds. And they worked plenty hard meeting the demands of the script. They posed for hundreds of pictures. They stood for hours, smiling, shaking hands and receiving congratulations.

Baker, a slim New Yorker who addressed every woman there, including his bride, as "doll," kept shifting from one tired foot to the other, but never lost his smile or his manners.

"What do you think of big, fancy weddings at this point?" I asked and he grinned:

"You couldn't print it, doll."

MIRROR OFFERS FACTS ON BUSINESS OUTLOOK

Today The Mirror presents an important service to its readers—a comprehensive report on the business outlook.

Mirror experts turned to official figures from State and national agencies, reports from leading business statistical firms and direct interviews with leading businessmen. All the facts were carefully considered and evaluated. The complete picture is presented on Page 3 of today's Mirror.

You, Mr. Consumer, and you, Mr. Businessman, read the facts and decide for yourself. Is America's economy healthy and rugged, or are the gloom peddlers right?

Ike to Go on Networks in Fight Over Tax Cut

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) President Eisenhower announced today he will go on television and radio probably next week to discuss the administration's tax bill.

The President made no reference directly to a pending House bill to cut excise taxes by about $912,000,000 a year.

His announcement came against the background of a Democratic move to boost personal income tax exemptions by $100.

The administration has not endorsed the excise cut and the Treasury has indicated strong opposition to the exemption increase.

House leaders of both parties see close to unanimous approval for the excise cut.

Before action got under way in the House itself today, the Ways and Means Committee voted unanimously to reverse itself and make the extension of present rates on liquor, autos and other items for one year only.

The committee also approved an amendment which would give auto and truck dealers a tax refund on their unsold floor stocks, if the tax drops automatically on April 1, 1955, as now scheduled in the bill.

Here's an Idea That Works Both Ways

Good neighbors are a wonderful invention. And that goes for your neighbor businessmen as well as the people on the other side of the back fence.

Take your car dealer, for instance. With a stake in the goodwill of the whole community, he is going to be sure you are given a good deal, good service, good terms and a real interest in the right operation of the car you buy from him. Look in Mirror Classified Ads (Classifications 119 and 120) today for the ads and offerings of neighborly auto dealers . . . the dealers with a "deal" for you!

WEATHER BY POGO

Windy

Westerly winds up to 35 m.p.h. today. Partly cloudy, and cooler. High today: 66. Low tonight 50. Sunny tomorrow but continued cool.

C of C Official Finds Business Slump Leveling

SAN FRANCISCO, March 10 (AP) — There are some indications the down trend of recent months in business activity has moderated or leveled off, Carl F. Wente, first vice-president of the California State Chamber of Commerce, reported today.

He listed these indications in his current report on economic conditions within the State: Unemployment insurance claims have dropped, the value of real estate has been increasing, department store sales in most areas have moved above their January lows and farm prices are generally above the levels of last fall.

Wente said continuing unemployment claims have remained slightly below their high point reached in the week of Jan. 23 and that initial claims also have been slightly lower.

Nonfarm Jobs Down 900,000 From Year Ago

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) The Labor Department reported today nonfarm employment dropped 300,000 in February with total nonfarm jobs down 900,000 from a year ago.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said in an analysis of the figures that while the unemployment trend is continuing, there are signs it is "slowing down."

The 300,000 drop in nonfarm employment between January and February indicated the Census Bureau's February count of over-all unemployment, due in the next few days, will exceed the 3,087,000 calculation for January.

U.S. Sues Dad of McCarthy Aide

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) The Justice Department today announced the filing of criminal and civil contempt actions against Schine Chain Theatres, Inc., for alleged violations of a 1949 antitrust decree. The chain has headquarters in New York State.

The department said the contempt proceedings were brought in the Federal District Court at Buffalo, naming as defendants the theater chain itself, five of its subsidiary corporations, and J. Myer Schine, and others.

J. Myer Schine is the father of G. David Schine, former aide to Sen. Joseph McCarthy's (R) Wis., Senate Investigating Committee.

The younger Schine, 26, was drafted into the Army last November, and is now a private stationed at Camp Gordon, Ga.

Senate Group OKs FEPC Bill

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) The Senate Labor Committee today approved a bill to forbid discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed or ancestry. The measure lacks President Eisenhower's endorsement.

M'CARTHY AIDE TO SERVE UNDER MAN HIS BOSS PROBED

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP)—Roy Cohn, chief counsel of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee which Sen. McCarthy (R) Wis., heads, said today he has been ordered to report to Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, for training as a National Guard officer June 12-25.

Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, commandant of the camp, has been a storm center in the row between McCarthy and Secretary of the Army Stevens.

The Secretary has accused McCarthy of using abusive language in questioning Zwicker, a decorated hero of World War II.

—MIRRORFOTO by Neil Clemens

FIERY REDHEADED CUTIE'S AIM WAS GOOD?

Surprised when the "good-time Charlies" she and her girl friends were entertaining turned out to be raiding vice cops, Lydia (Candy) Clark, 23, made photogs her target. Glass of booze hit Mirrorfotog's camera, but didn't give negative a Mickey Finn. Lydia, five other cuties were booked on suspicion of prostitution. (See Pg. 14)

Public Backs TV Rap at McCarthy

NEW YORK, March 10 (AP)—Thousands of phone calls and telegrams poured in on the Columbia Broadcasting System today in response to a denunciation of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R) Wis., by Commentator Edward R. Murrow.

Immediately after the program last night, CBS reported 2365 calls were received in four hours, all but 151 approving Murrow's views. Also 1089 telegrams were received with only 14 upholding McCarthy, CBS said.

The calls were coming in too fast to total today but CBS officials said the reaction was overwhelmingly in favor of Murrow.

One CBS spokesman reported a 20-to-1 ratio in favor of Murrow out of 41 telephone calls he personally answered.

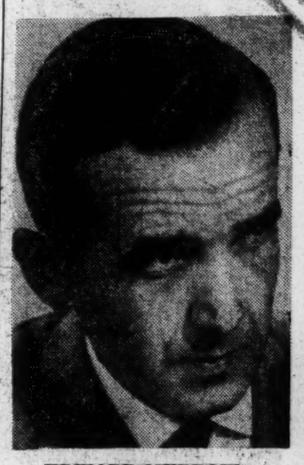
Another CBS spokesman said Margaret Truman and Sen. Mike Monroney (D) Okla., telephoned their congratulations to Murrow.

Murrow declared on his "See It Now" program last night that McCarthy repeatedly overstepped the line between investigation and persecution.

He offered McCarthy an opportunity to reply on a later "See It Now" program.

CBS said it had not yet received any indication from Mc-

Turn to Page 2



EDWARD MURROW
Backed by public, 20 to 1.

CBS in Los Angeles today reported receiving 828 telephone calls following Edward R. Murrow's television show on Sen. McCarthy. The network said 805 approved the telecast and 23 criticized it.

Of those favoring Murrow's presentation, 150 persons asked for a rebroadcast, a CBS spokesman said. Only four telegrams were received, all pro-Murrow.

FOOD PRICES HIT NEW HIGH

NEW YORK, March 10 (AP)—Wholesale food prices as measured by Dun & Bradstreet climbed to another three-year high this week.

At $7.25, the Dun & Bradstreet wholesale food price index was at its highest point since March 15, 1951, when it stood at $7.27.

IN YOUR MIRROR TODAY

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Rochlen	6	Vital Notices	5
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Stokes	15	Williams	3
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PART II		Comics	5
Amusement	3	Crossword	8
Cradle Roll	6	Finance	6
Food	2	Horoscope	8
Gwynn	4	Shipping	7
		Sports	1
		Stiles	2
		Ziff	1

LATE RACE RESULTS AT BAY MEADOWS

(EARLIER RESULTS, PART III, PAGE 4)

SECOND RACE

-TIGER JAY	7.60	4.60	3.30-
-VAL ZUN		28.20	9.00-
-WATCHHERSPIN			2.70-

-SCRATCHED: TAVISTOCK, SUN SPIN,
-PASS BELOW, VINOGAIL, STIMULATE
-ME, BURNING NIGHT.

WORLD in BRIEF

By HENRY FRANK

ALL OTHER THINGS failing, even Presidential warnings, Republicans may have decided to take Sen. Joe McCarthy out behind the barn for a little quiet "reasoning." That possibility developed today as the storm around the Wisconsin Senator grew more furious—after McCarthy got his first snub in attempts to get TV time to answer charges of Adlai Stevenson.

A highly placed Republican said today the new party strategy was to "get McCarthy out of the headlines and get our story across."

And Sen. Flanders (R) Vt., delivered the party's first open attack on McCarthy last night, declaring Joe was "doing his best to shatter the party." All McCarthy's efforts, Flanders said, had turned up nothing more than a "pink dentist" in the Army.

To this, McCarthy answered he didn't "have time to answer Republican heroes."

McCarthy does have time to answer one charge, however. Ed Murrow, CBS news commentator, offered the free time to answer his charges on TV last night that McCarthy had "overstepped the line between investigation and persecution" many times.

But it was on his demand for time to answer Stevenson that McCarthy took his major tumble. When the GOP announced that a reply to Stevenson was a party matter and that Ike had picked Vice-President Nixon for the job, McCarthy insisted that Federal Communications Commission regulations provided that he be given personal time.

To this Robert E. Lee, McCarthy's friend and new FCC member, pointed out that the law requires "candidates" be given equal time, and that McCarthy is not a candidate. Lee added that he thought giving the party, instead of McCarthy, the time was "a square deal."

McCarthy replied, "If that's the rule, the rule has got to be changed."

But he couldn't stir the networks, Lee or—it seems— anyone else.

CREPE FOR FEPC

VALIANT EFFORT to get a compulsory Federal fair employment practices act seemed doomed today as the Senate Labor Committee was slated to give approval to a bill by Sen. Ives (D) N.Y. But no one had any hope that the Senate—where southern Senators have killed such bills before—would give passage to the measure.

SHOWDOWN on the Hawaiian Statehood bill seemed certain tomorrow—with the Senate about evenly split on whether to attach Alaska to the bill or leave it for later, as Sen. Knowland has asked.

TAX CUT approval by the House appeared certain today as the measure slicing $912,000,000 from excise levies was due to come before that body. The bill would level off excises at 10%, except for liquor, tobacco and beer. Many price cuts will follow, observers predicted.

TROUBLE AHEAD?

"LOSS OF CHINA led to Korea and Indo-China, and loss of Indo-China may lead to the loss of Asia" to the Communists, Vice-President Nixon said last night in saying the United States "now could fight on its own terms."

But there was a disturbing sequel. Last night the French National Assembly gave Premier Laniel's government carte blanche on negotiating a peace in Indo-China. Laniel immediately said that the Geneva conference offers the best chance for a solution.

The Geneva conference, by including Red China, already has aroused fears that there might be a "Far Eastern Munich" with the Reds benefiting. Placing the fate of the Indo-China war on the same block only adds to those fears.

MEANWHILE, South Korean President Syngman Rhee, who got no reaction at all from earlier statements South Korea would boycott the April 26 meeting, decided his nation would attend.

Suicide's Friends Hope to Clear Her

Couple Tell Fear of Musician, Charge Alaska Police With 'Pressure'

BY PAUL ETTER, Mirror Staff Writer

Friends of beautiful Diane Wells, convinced she was innocent of a murder charge, today planned a campaign to clear her name in death.

They charged Mrs. Wells, 31, who faced trial April 5 for the murder of her wealthy Alaskan husband, was a victim of blackmail threats and police department "pressure tactics."

The young mother killed herself yesterday in the Hollywood Plaza Hotel rather than face a murder trial.

Death of Mrs. Wells, who swallowed 30 sleeping pills, leaves a Negro jazz drummer to face trial alone.

Mrs. Wells and the musician, Johnny Warren, who claimed he was her lover, were accused of the gun killing Oct. 17 of Cecil Moore Wells, 51, former president of the All-Alaska Chamber of Commerce.

Convinced Diane was innocent, two close friends—Allen and Joann Mansfield, 3928 Carmona Ave.—declared this morning:

"So many things went against Diane in this case. For one thing she lived in fear of that musician.

"Always Diane insisted there was no love affair between her and Warren. She saw him only once—after he telephoned to ask for a meeting—and she was afraid not to see him."

The Mansfields, who are caring for Diane's 3-year-old son Mark, also charged the police department in Fairbanks, Alaska, with "pressure tactics."

"A number of prominent Fairbanks men had been murdered shortly before Wells was killed and the police felt they had to make swift arrests in the case," Mansfield said.

Detectives refused to believe Mrs. Wells' story she was beaten senseless by two men who broke into their home and killed her husband before she regained consciousness.

"But she was beaten so badly she nearly died," declared the Mansfields, who were guests of the Wellses at the time of the murder.

The couple, who said Mrs. Wells lacked confidence in the attorney she retained when she was accused, continued:

"She never feared the outcome of the trial. She always said she was innocent but she hated and dreaded the scandal for the sake of her child."

McCarthy Rap Brings Hurrahs

Continued from First Page

Carthy, who is in Washington, as to whether he would accept the offer.

McCarthy's wife said he had gone to bed early and that he did not hear the program.

Murrow, who is a member of the CBS board of directors, rapped McCarthy in the midst of a fight by the Senator to force CBS and NBC to give him free time to answer a Saturday night speech by Democratic Leader Adlai E. Stevenson.

The two networks offered free time to the Republican National Committee, which chose Vice-President Richard M. Nixon to make the reply.

McCarthy, arguing that Stevenson attacked him personally as well as the Republican Party, said yesterday he intended to make a test of whether the networks had a right to refuse him time to reply personally, in addition to the Nixon speech.

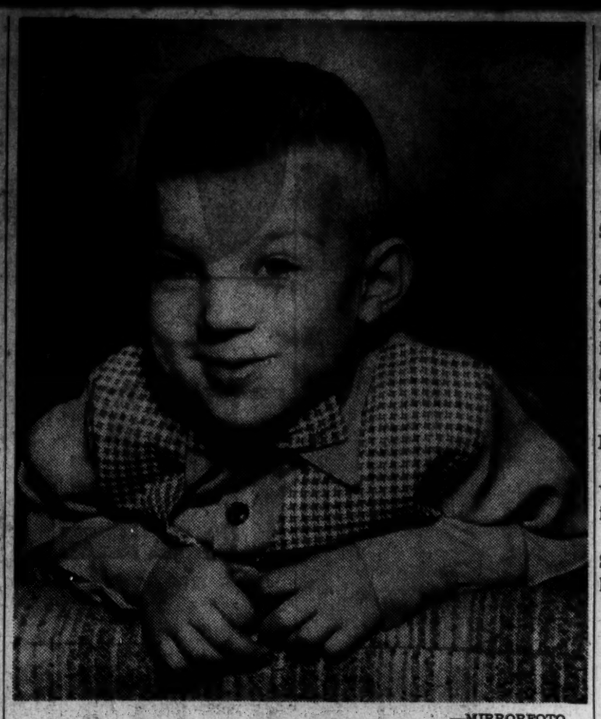
Murrow used films and tape recordings of McCarthy speeches and statements and declared that the Senator employed half-truths as a "staple."

He accused McCarthy of confusing the public between internal and external threats of Communism.

Murrow said in his program the need for investigation by Congressional committees cannot be denied.

HAL AIRS JOE'S 'ANSWER' RIGHTS

Is Sen. Joseph McCarthy within his rights in demanding time from the radio-TV networks to answer Adlai Stevenson's attack? Read Hal Humphrey's column today on Page 7, Part II.



—MIRRORPOTO

'DIANE IS SURVIVED BY A SON, MARK'
Only his happy face can describe tragedy of it all.

Ike Backs Flanders Blast; Angry at Adlai Criticism

Continued from First Page

had been no procedure change in operations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He said he always dislikes slogans and believes the "new look" tag is not truly descriptive of the military program.

The subject of Flanders' speech was brought up when a reporter asked Eisenhower whether he sympathized with what Flanders had to say.

The Vermont lawmaker contended in a Senate speech yesterday that McCarthy's tactics in pursuing internal subversion were diverting the country's attention from greater dangers from without. Flanders said, too, that McCarthy "by intention or through ignorance" was "doing his best to shatter" the Republican Party.

The Republican Party, Eisenhower commented, now is the party of responsibility, so charged by the people.

He added that when Flanders pointed up the danger of internecine warfare, in situations which magnify the danger of personal aggrandizement—those things which endanger the program of the administration—Flanders is doing a service in pointing up such situations.

Eisenhower said also that when a situation develops where you are going three or four directions at one time, well, then, it is just serious.

A reporter asked whether the President didn't feel that the positive aspects of the administration's program ought to be emphasized instead of having so much publicity about investigations.

Eisenhower replied that he doesn't believe negative things promote the happiness of the people. He said the spiritual, cultural and economic welfare of the people should be promoted.

Eisenhower backed up the decision of the Republican National Committee to have Vice-President Nixon answer Stevenson's speech on television and radio. The President said he had sat in on a meeting at which that decision was made.

McCarthy has demanded network time for his own answer to Stevenson and has threatened to take to the Federal Communications Commission the decision of CBS and NBS refusing him this time.

The President said he regards the network decisions as fair and just.

Asia Film Slated

"Have We Lost Asia?" first of a Film Forum on World Affairs, will be presented next Wednesday at 2:30 at 2127 W 6th St.

McCarthy and Symington Clash at Probe Session

WASHINGTON, March 10 (AP) Sens. McCarthy (R) Wis., and Symington (D) Mo., clashed angrily at a public hearing today when McCarthy accused a fellow Senator of misrepresenting facts on a television program. He did not name the Senator.

Symington said he assumed McCarthy's remarks were aimed at Sen. Jackson (D) Wash., who was absent from the hearing, and added:

"I suggest you wait until the Senator is present to defend himself."

McCarthy, presiding at a session of his Investigations Subcommittee, beat a glass ash tray on the table in an effort to silence Symington.

The exchange came during the appearance of a Clifton (N.J.) draftsman who refused to say whether he has ever been a Communist. The witness, Leo Kantrowitz, 36, testified he had been given security clearance to work on classified electronics projects for the government, but said he didn't recall that any of his bosses ever asked whether he was a Communist.

McCarthy asked Kantrowitz, "Would you consider yourself a current Communist or, as one of the Senators has suggested, an old warmed over biscuit?" McCarthy said the Senator had used the "warmed over" term in a television program, but did not name the Senator.

McCarthy and Symington, each gifted with a good, loud speaking voice, talked simultaneously some of the time, with the rapping of the ash tray adding to the clamor.

TODAY'S CHUCKLE

Husband: "If a man steals, no matter what, he will live to regret it."

Wife (coyly): "You used to steal kisses from me before we were married."

Husband: "Well . . . ?"

THE MIRROR

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M'CARTHY VS. THE REST
RUSSIA—THEN AND NOW

BY VIRGIL PINKLEY, Mirror Editor and Publisher

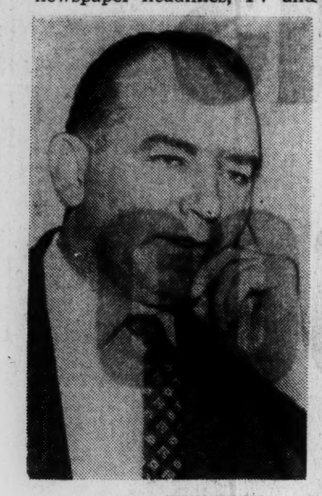
The McCarthy issue dominated the week's news, just as it has many times during recent months.

Whatever your viewpoint is about the highly controversial Wisconsin Republican Senator, two facts are plain:

1—Continuation of McCarthy's methods and his defiance of party leaders and policies will split the GOP wide open.

2—Unity of the country—desperately needed now in view of world conditions—is being rendered virtually impossible.

It has been evident for a long time that McCarthy loves newspaper headlines, TV and radio show spotlights and his own importance.



SEN. McCARTHY

He does not hesitate to use the most demagogic practices to make "news" or carry out a bulldozing quiz. His investigations are more like hazings than legal and fair hearings. His methods frequently verge on those employed in totalitarian and Communist countries.

He is quick to call anyone he disagrees with a Communist or fellow traveler. He induces his fanatical followers blindly to do likewise.

Many McCarthy supporters describe him as "the greatest American in our history."

Others say, "McCarthy really knows how to handle these Reds." For some time he has been the rallying point of extremely conservative and reactionary groups. But his tactics of the past several weeks have caused some of his previous supporters to doubt his sincerity or the necessity of his methods. This applies to several long-time Republican Senators with whom I personally spoke during this past week.

The Fabulous McCarthy Episode

Four years and 26 days ago the junior Senator from Wisconsin stood before a Republican audience in Wheeling, W.Va. Joseph R. McCarthy said:

"I have here in my hands a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who, nevertheless, are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Later, the Senator, in the book he wrote, reduced the figure to 57.

That was the beginning of the fabulous McCarthy episode. Events have developed so rapidly and gone so far that the President of the United States this week felt impelled to publicly deplore McCarthy's "investigation" techniques and demand a return to justice and fair play in such hearings.

Republicans as well as a growing number of Democrats and independents are speaking out against McCarthy and urging a reform in Congressional investigations.

Congressman Jacob K. Javits, a long-time Republican representing New York's 21st District in Congress, is typical. In a special article he writes:

"The question is not whether there is a need to investigate Communism and subversion; the question, rather, is of the methods employed. These methods greatly trouble millions of Americans who are sensible of our historic traditions of jurisprudence and who are concerned at the growing threat they pose to our civil liberties.

Traditional Concepts of U.S. Justice

"Some of these investigations have taken on the nature of prosecution of witnesses or persons mentioned by witnesses, resulting in subsequent loss of livelihood, reputation and social standing.

"It is clear that a reform of Congressional investigating committee methods is badly needed and that we must seek ways more in keeping with traditional concepts of justice to reach our objectives."

Javits suggests several alternatives, among them a plan to entrust such investigations to a joint committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives. He cites as an example the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He says:

"This committee has conducted in the utmost secrecy investigations of great moment to the security of this country and of the free world. This group, which is charged with as great a responsibility as Congress has ever given to any committee, could well be a model for the handling of subversion."

Perhaps at this late date somebody can convince Sen. McCarthy that he does not serve his party or this nation well when he divides and inflames American opinion. Certainly his objectives are laudable, insofar as they concern ferreting out Communists. Few men have been given a greater opportunity to serve us and the free world with more lasting results. But the quarrel that most fair-minded and deep-thinking citizens have with the Senator is the way in which he operates.

Pity the average individual called in by the Senator as long as he continues his present practices.

A Year Ago Joseph Stalin Died

A year ago Joseph Stalin died. At that time I wrote in this column:

"The death of Joseph Stalin this week emphasizes anew the vast difference between a democracy such as ours and a totalitarian state such as Russia.

"A republic governed through the supreme instrument of a constitution has flexibility and is vastly more responsive to the citizen. The American Constitution combines individual liberty with national strength. It is a marvelous balance between the individual and the state, but always the citizen is supreme."

Abraham Lincoln reiterated this fundamental American viewpoint in his magnificent Gettysburg Address:

". . . That this government of the PEOPLE, by the PEOPLE and for the PEOPLE shall not perish from the earth . . ."

On March 7, 1953, I wrote:

"Dictators come and go. Real democracies live on. They make it possible for their citizens to improve their living standards and strive for those higher ideals which enable men to reflect more of the image of their Creator."

A year ago Russia was carrying on an intensified cold war. A year ago the Soviets were stepping up their fiendish propaganda.

A year ago the Kremlin was fomenting strife and trouble. A year ago Moscow was working on the Communist plan to dominate and conquer the world.

Today these Red activities continue. The menace we faced then is as great as ever today. Our only recourse is to work, stay everlastingly on guard and pray. March 6, 1954.

(Hear Virgil Pinkley's news commentary on KHJ radio at 6:30 p.m., Monday through Friday.)

THISTLE INN
Cocktails Dinners Private Rooms
2395 Glendale Blvd., Los Angeles 26—27470
By the Beautiful Silver Lake

—MIRRORFOTOS

BRUSH WITH DEATH—TOO CLOSE—TOO OFTEN
Still shocked, Vivian Brown looks at shotgun holes.

YOUNG ARSENAL IN COUPLE'S GUN DUEL
Lieut. F. N. Coones, the guns and Burges Wiles.

'I Believe Everything Bad About You,' M'Carthy Told

STAMFORD, Ct., March 6 (AP)—A prominent industrialist said today he believes what former Sen. William Benton said about Sen. McCarthy (R) Wis., and is willing to say so on the witness stand.

McCarthy yesterday withdrew a $2,000,000 libel suit against Benton, a Connecticut Democrat. He explained that his lawyers had told him he could not prove damages because they could not find anyone who believed the Benton statements that McCarthy was guilty of perjury, fraud and calculated deceit on the American people.

Today, Walter H. Wheeler Jr., president of Pitney-Bowes, Inc., and former president of the New England Council, a private development organization, made public this telegram he sent McCarthy:

"The New York Times this morning reports you as stating you are withdrawing your $2,000,000 libel suit against ex-Sen. Benton because your lawyers had been unable to find anywhere in the United States anyone who would testify that he believed anything Mr. Benton had said.

"Your lawyers could not have looked very hard. I would be glad to testify for you that I believe what Sen. Benton has said about you and I am sure there are many millions of others in this country who would be happy to do likewise."

Pasadena Extortion Plot Foiled

Continued from First Page

either, as I will kill your loved ones and turn myself in.

"I want 500 10s and 250 20s. Wrap the bills in newspaper and tie it good."

Caspers was instructed to run an ad yesterday in the personal column of the Pasadena paper saying:

"John, please contact me." He was to sign it M. V. P.

The ad appeared and at 9 last night Caspers received a telephone call telling him to leave the money in a package at a big tree at Terrace Drive and Green St. by 10 o'clock.

With the help of deputy sheriffs, Caspers prepared a package containing some money wrapped on the outside of stacks of paper.

The package, marked with fluorescent powder, was left at the base of the tree, as ordered, and a patient watch by six detectives began.

About 1:30 this morning, Mrs. Heath, dressed in a pink housecoat, approached the tree and picked up the packet. As detectives followed her, she disappeared between a couple of buildings.

They began a house-to-house search and finally apprehended the couple at their home at 2 a.m.

The tree is less than a half block from the Heath house and three blocks from the Colorado St.-Orange Grove Ave. intersection known to Rose Parade viewers.

Utterly dejected, the couple told deputy sheriffs today they sent the note because their three children and Mrs. Heath are ill, the family is in debt and Heath is jobless.

"It was a crazy idea," said Mrs. Heath. "We were so much in debt. There didn't seem to be any other hope."

Their bewildered youngsters, Larry Thomas, 4½; David Carl, 3, and Connie, 4 months, were taken to Juvenile Hall.

Despite the ordeal of waiting out the climax of the plot that threatened their lives, Mrs. Caspar told The Mirror she pitied the couple.

Highland House
Incomparable Cuisine
1735 N. Highland Ave., HO. 4-7855

Fury, Fear Erupt---Pair Shoot It Out

Young Boy Sees Grandmother Wounded; Neighborhood in Terror

BY PAUL ETTER AND ROBY HEARD

Fifteen years of smoldering resentment exploded into violence late last night as a middle-aged Bell couple dueled with guns in their home.

Wounded critically in the crossfire—exchanged as her 11-year-old grandson cowered in terror in a bedroom closet—was Mrs. Dollie Wiles, 54, who had filed for divorce only yesterday.

Booked on suspicion of assault with intent to commit murder was Burges Clyde Wiles, 58-year-old gas meter reader.

Five policemen subdued and captured Wiles as he struggled with his wounded wife—apparently trying to choke her—in their bedroom.

The wild shooting spree, plunging a quiet neighborhood into terror, occurred at 11:35 p.m. in the one-story frame cottage at 6900 Sherman Way, Bell.

Police said Wiles fired at least seven times at close range with a 12-gauge shotgun. Mrs. Wiles, officers said, shot six times with a 32-caliber revolver.

A horrified witness to the gun battle was Vivian Brown, 30, daughter of Mrs. Wiles by a previous marriage, who sank to the floor of the bedroom as bullets fired by Wiles whizzed through the home.

Suffering from shock and given sedatives at the Bell hospital, Miss Brown said trouble began shortly after she and her mother returned home at 10:30 p.m. from a movie with her nephew, Frank Brown, 11.

"My stepfather, who had been drinking, was waiting for us in the living room — angry and snarling because we had gone out," Miss Brown told Chief Dep. Dist. Atty. Adolph Alexander.

"Trying to ignore him and avoid trouble, we all went into the bedroom. He turned on the television as loud as he could just to annoy us.

"Finally my mother declared, 'I'm not afraid of him, I'm going in and make him turn the TV off.'"

Picking up an antiquated Smith and Wesson 32-caliber, five-shot revolver she had hidden in the bedroom, Mrs. Wiles approached her husband who had armed himself with the shotgun he kept in the garage.

Her stepfather cut the telephone wires, Miss Brown said, and an argument broke out.

"Aiming the shotgun at my mother, my stepfather forced her back into the bedroom, step by step. She slammed the door — and the fireworks started.

"My stepfather ran out of the house and began firing at us through the bedroom window. I fell to the floor but finally crawled into the closet where little Frank was hiding.

"Later, after firing about four times through the window, my stepfather walked back into the living room, reloaded the gun and began firing again through the bedroom door.

"Mother, who had never fired a gun before in her life, was shooting at the same time.

Suddenly Wiles burst through the shattered living room door and lunged at his wife as she cringed in helpless terror on the bed.

That was the scene that greeted five Bell policemen—summoned by neighbors — as they burst into the room.

—AP WIREPHOTO

PEDRO CAMPOS
Nationalist chief seized.

Puerto Rico Raids Nab Boss, Aides

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, March 6 (AP)—Police seized Pedro Albizu Campos, chief of Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party, and five of his aides in a blazing two-hour battle of guns and home-made bombs today.

Gov. Luis Munoz Marin made plain the crackdown on the fanatical National Party was the result of the shooting of five U.S. Congressmen by Natoinalists in Washington last Monday.

He pledged all out effort to "stamp out this poisonous snake in our midst."

The Governor issued orders to police to arrest 38 Nationalist Party leaders. Within five hours, 36, including the 62-year-old Albizu and five women, were under arrest. Among the women was Doris Torresola, a party secretary. Her brother, Griselio Torresola, was killed by Secret Service police when the Nationalists tried to assassinate President Truman in Washington in 1950.

THE MIRROR
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MIRROR SPOTLIGHTS CARDINAL MONDAY

Coming in your Monday Mirror:

An exclusive Mirror Spotlight Interview with James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, leader of the 800,000 Catholics in the Los Angeles Archdiocese.

Why did Cardinal McIntyre condemn the Jane Russell film, "French Line"?

What are this eminent prelate's views on today's morality?

What does he think about the infiltration into our system of "a philosophy akin to Communism"?

Is the attitude of the Catholic Church on divorce and birth control unchangeable?

Read the answers in the Cardinal McIntyre interview in your Monday Mirror.

Sensational
DICK CONTINO
Two Shows Nightly
Mocambo
BR 23443

tonight
9:30 to midnight
hear these
LUCKY TEN TUNES
1—Oh, Mein Papa (Oh, My Papa)
2—Secret Love
3—Stranger In Paradise
4—Make Love to Me
5—That's Amore
6—Changing Partners
7—From The Vine Came The Grape
8—Heart of My Heart
9—Till We Two Are One
10—I Get So Lonely
presented on
KMPC DIAL 710
LUCKY LAGER DANCE TIME
EVERY NIGHT

Air Crash Heroine to Marry

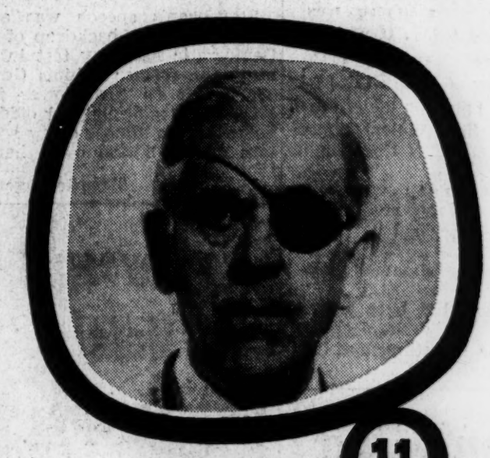
SANTA ANA, March 6 (AP) Miss Patricia Grivna, heroine hostess, will be married tonight in Capilla de San Antonio, six months after a plane crash in which her coolness helped save 26 persons.

Showing no evidence of the burns she suffered, she will walk down the aisle to become the bride of Raymond M. Cheseldine Jr. of Fullerton.

Miss Grivna's grit was credited with saving 26 passengers, including three babies, when a Northwest Airlines plane crash-landed at McChord Air Force Base minutes after taking off from Seattle.

SUNDAY
Go eating, step out and enjoy a delicious Southern meal. Choose from SEA FOOD, CHICKEN, ROAST BEEF, STEAK, etc. Full course dinners and luncheons. 5 beautiful banquet rooms.
CAROLINA PINES, 7315 Melrose Ave.
WY. 9122

TONIGHT
A GREAT NEW SHOW JOINS THE BIG SATURDAY
"COLONEL MARCH OF SCOTLAND YARD"



KTTV 11
starring BORIS KARLOFF
The veteran actor creates an entirely new characterization in this new series of scientific crime detection, based on material provided by John Dickson Carr. Karloff appears as Colonel March, a suave gentleman equally at home with Shakespeare and shakedowns, who heads Scotland Yard's famous "Department of Queer Complaints." Join him tonight as he matches wits with an exonerated murder suspect in the case of "The Invisible Knife."
9:30 p.m.
Presented by YEAKEL BROS.
Program uninterrupted by commercials

IT HAPPENED IN SAN GABRIEL!

KTTV 11
Remember the "Man from Mars" who terrorized San Gabriel residents? . . . the armed ex-convict who dressed in a weird Martian costume and robbed large markets in broad daylight. Chester Morris narrates this stranger-than-fiction true story on
CAPTURED
8:00 Tonight
Presented by BREW "102"

—Stay with KTTV for these BIG SATURDAY hits—
Bob Clampett's TIME FOR BEANY—6:00 . . . RAMAR OF THE JUNGLE (Co-sponsored by Mother's Cakes and Cookies)—6:30 . . . THE LIFE OF RILEY (Your Chevrolet Dealer)—7:00 . . . BADGE 714 (Your Chevrolet Dealer)—7:30 . . . KENT THEATRE (Kent Cigarettes)—8:30 . . . INNER SANCTUM —9:00 . . . TOWN HALL PARTY (Young Brothers)—10:00.

That good-looking channel eleven!

Good evening.

In a strong statement obviously aimed at Senator McCarthy, President Eisenhower has slapped at the disregard of fair play in Congressional investigations.

The President told his news conference no one in the armed services is required to submit to any kind of personal humiliation before an investigating committee.

A short time later, McCarthy said he will keep right on running investigations the way HE wants to.

He said: "If a stupid, arrogant, or witless man in a position of power, appears before our Committee, and is found aiding the Communist Party, he will be exposed.

"The fact that he might be a General, places him in no special class so far as I am concerned."

Eisenhower stated: "In opposing Communism, we are defeating ourselves if, either by design or through carelessness, we use methods that do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play."

I will discuss this situation in just a few moments.

# #

President Eisenhower has taken a public stand which should leave nobody in doubt about what he thinks of Senator McCarthy's methods.

The Chief Executive's press conference statement is his most forthright comment yet on McCarthy. Developments of the past week had made it imperative for him to speak, and he has done so in a typically balanced manner.

He avoided mentioning the Senator by name, this in accord with his previous statements that he would not engage in name-calling.

How will McCarthy re-act? Will he ~~meekly~~ accept the rebuke and follow the principles of fair play that Ike urged in his investigations? I doubt it.

The Republican Party must take positive action to control the rambunctious, headline-hunting Senator. He has shown no evidence of intending to do this on his own accord.

Ike's statement marks a turning point in GOP affairs. It hardens even further the lines of cleavage within the party.

The way the Republicans have been acting recently, you'd think they had set out to lose next November's election intentionally.

Seldom have we seen a ruling party so bogged down in bickering, cross-purposes, contrariness and just plain short-sighted operations. The GOP performance on Capitol Hill during the past month has been sad, indeed.

It seems that if there is any possible way to lose an election, the Republicans will try to find it. Too many GOP leaders forget that Eisenhower and many members of the Congress were elected, not only by the Republicans, but by a considerable number of fine Democrats and a large group of independents.

If the Party really wants to win the next election, UNITY must be achieved -- and quickly!

After 20 years out of power, at last the Republicans ~~take~~ took over the government behind a highly popular, gifted leader. Following months of preparation, he laid before Congress a very comprehensive, middle-of-the-road legislative program.[1:30] A charter of progressive Republicanism, in step with the times and with the national mood.

So what has the Republican-controlled Congress been doing with it? Hardly anything.

Instead of plunging into the program, the Senate got itself all snarled up in a fruitless quarrel over the Bricker amendment to limit the President's treaty-making powers. Day after day the Republicans bickered. They tied themselves in such legal knots that it took the combined efforts of all the Capitol's parliamentary experts to keep them in operation at all.

2:50

Finally the much-amended amendment lost, and passed into oblivion, at least for this year.

Far from being part of the President's program, the Bricker Bill was actually opposed by the White House. No wonder the Democrats in the Senate have been chortling to themselves. When some Republicans accused them of stalling on Ike's program, Senator Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic leader, very appropriately pointed out that it was the GOP themselves who brought up the Bricker amendment.

Far more dangerous from the party's standpoint, but fundamentally 2:30 springing from the same intra-party split, is the feud between McCarthy and Army Secretary Stevens.

The Army Secretary rightly got fed up with the unbearably rude way in which McCarthy browbeat a General in a closed hearing. He challenged the Senator to open debate, to the cheers of many other administration Republicans who have had a stomach-full of McCarthy's high-handed, arbitrary methods.

But the wheels within wheels turned, and a backstage truce was signed. There was no showdown. Once again McCarthy's open challenge to his own party's leadership was not met. Stevens came off second best in the encounter, through no fault of his own, and obviously is very disgruntled about it.

So are many other Republicans who think the moment has been much overdue, to cut McCarthy down to size. Eisenhower's statement is a long step in that direction.

We have been watching the spectacle of a man bidding for power, EVEN at the expense of TURNING ~~his own party~~ AMERICANS AGAINST AMERICANS. Many of his GOP colleagues are angry, embarrassed and alarmed by what's happening. But they have been hesitating to make an open break with the McCarthy wing of the party, ~~hesitating~~ because they are afraid it would give the Democrats a campaign issue.

They needn't worry about that - - McCarthy and his crowd are giving the Democrats plenty of issue, right on a platter.

I look for the Democrats to open fire soon - - and vigorously - - on the McCarthy issue.

~~Another, lesser fight - - again part of the same deep cleavage within the party - - was the firing of Clarence Manion as Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Operations Commission.~~

The truth is that many old-line Republicans, -- especially in the Mid-West -- still don't like the idea of Dwight Eisenhower in the White House.

in their books he isn't a true blue Republican. McCarthy has been their rallying point in his not-very-veiled challenge of Eisenhower. Their eyes are still fixed on the past, not the present and future. They fail to recognize that this country, in common with the rest of the world, has undergone tremendous changes in the past 25 years.

In their own minds, they reject all the changes from 1932 on because they were put over by the Democrats. The Eisenhower branch of the GOP takes the viewpoint, "let's accept the good in that program, and halt and undo the excesses."

I see little hope of a reconciliation between the far right wing and the rest of the Republican Party. The tension is getting worse.

Entirely too much lip-service has been paid to the Eisenhower administration recently, and far too little actual support.

Unless the GOP does something to untangle itself very soon, it will be in severe trouble next November.

# # #

5:15

My News Personality tonight comes from that fabulous world of show business. In fact, he's the man who wrote the song "There's No Business Like Show Business." Wrote it because he believes it.

He is Irving Berlin. By far the greatest of our American popular song writers, a man who has kept us singing and humming for decades.

The bouncy little grandfather, now 65, is about to burst forth with a new flurry of songs. We may all be whistling them soon. He's hard at work in Hollywood on two musical movies 30 built around songs of his - - "White Christmas" and the famous Show Business lyric.

He's still full of pep, ideas - - and an amazing knack for catching the public's fancy with his tunes.

After composing more than 8-hundred pieces, his well of ideas hasn't run dry yet. Remember some of his classics?

"In her Easter bonnet, with all the
frills upon it,
She'll be the finest lady in the
Easter Parade."

Or: "All alone, by the telephone. . . ."

And: "Blue skies, smiling at me. . . ."

1.00

Hundreds of others, too. Lines and tunes that linger. For unlike many less tunesmiths, Irving Berlin writes both the music and lyrics.

Right now he's wating to see how the public re-acts to some new ones coming up in the film "White Christmas."

Four in particular have a chance of becoming hits, he thinks. Make a mental note of the titles in your future book. "Snow, "Count Your Blessings Instead of Sheep," "Love, You Didn't Do Right By Me," and "The Best Things Happen While You Dance."

What makes a song click? If any man should know, it's Berlin. But he says he doesn't.

"You try to figure out why such-and-such a song was a hit or not, and you can't," he says. "No matter what a professional writer tells you, someone else is likely to come out and prove just the opposite."

His advice to beginning song writers is simple - - learn all the rules, and then forget about them.

He comments: "Today, with all the outlets for playing and listening, they'll get a very quick decision from the public."

Of course, first a beginner has to get a decision from a publisher to gamble the money on putting out his song.

As in any business, Berlin goes on, a song-writer develops tricks and a style. The beginner lacks these, so has to get by on his basic ideas.

The dean of composers adds: "A professional - - if he's good - - doesn't sit down with the thought, 'I'm gonna knock out a hit.' If he does, if he gets too careful, he's in trouble."

What Berlin is saying is that success in this uncertain business depends 2:30 upon a combination of ideas and style - - plus a "feel" for public taste.

He's been sampling that taste for a whole half-century. His first song, 50 years ago, was "Marie From Sunny Italy." Anybody remember it? I don't.

With the money he earned from it, he bought his mother a fancy rocking chair.

Many of Berlin's hits have been written on a trick piano. Able to play only in the key of F-sharp, he found an ancient piano which had a trick lever that would mechanically transpose 3:50 the melody into any other key. So all he had to do was keep playing in F-sharp and shift the lever into whatever key he desired.

He even took the piano to Europe with him several times as part of his regular luggage.

Irving Berlin is one of the many entertainers who came up to fame from the poverty of New York's East Side. He was born Izzy Baline, the son of a Cantor, in Russia. The family came to New York when he was only four, and was quite hard up. When he was eight his father died.

The boy roamed the Bowery and the wharves, selling papers. In his early teens, he was a singing waiter in a saloon, learned the piano and took a stab at songwriting. Eventually he drifted into Tin Pan Alley, and began to turn out hits. "Alexander's Ragtime Band" got him firmly established.

In the First World War, he was a sargeant, and produced the famous soldier's revue, "Yip, Yip Yaphank." In it was the unforgettable "Oh How I Hate to Get Up in The Morning." H.80

When the Second World War rolled around, Berlin got out his faded old uniform. It fit perfectly on his still wiry little frame. He then put together the notable wartime revue, "This Is The Army" in which he personally appeared to sing one number. "Oh How I Hate to Get Up in The Morning," of course.

The sentimental, rather shy songwriter has had quite an unusual and explosive romance of his own. In 1926, he married a socialite, Ellin Mackay, despite the furious protests of her father, the president of the Postal Telegraph H.30 Company.

The marriage was Page One news - - and very much a success. The happy couple had three daughters.

Berlin has always been ardently patriotic. At times he has turned over proceeds from his songs to such organizations as the Boy Scouts, Red Cross, and military relief organizations.

His "God Bless America" has become one of our most-sung patriotic melodies. Actually, he wrote it during the first war, but it wasn't published until 24 years later.

Irving Berlin is one of those men with a peculiar genius, hard to define, for catching the public's mood. He has added greatly to our pleasure for many years. It's nice to report that he's still going strong.

# # #

Now this is Virgil Pinkley
wishing you
GOOD LUCK and
GOOD EVENING.

File, Drawer I-H-4 File 7 Grace

RADIO AND TELEVISION

By JOHN CROSBY

NYHTrib-3/2/54

Salute to a Brave Man

At the very end of his "See It Now" program which was devoted entirely to Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Edward R. Murrow looked straight in the eye of his audience and delivered an editorial which was, in essence, a severe and searching criticism of his own listeners—or at least some of them.

John Crosby

Now it takes great courage to attack Sen. McCarthy in the first place (though why every one is so afraid of that bumbler I can't imagine), but it takes far greater courage to look you and me in the face and say it's our fault. But he put his finger squarely on the root of the true evil of McCarthyism, which is its corrosive effects on the souls of hitherto honest men.

* * *

"This is no time for men who oppose Sen. McCarthy's methods to keep silent. Or for those who approve. We can deny our heritage and our history—but we cannot escape responsibility for the result. There is no way for a citizen of the republic to abdicate his responsibilities. As a nation we have come into our full inheritance at an early age. We proclaim ourselves—as indeed we are—the defenders of the free world, what's left of it.

"We cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home. The actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin have caused alarm and dismay among our allies abroad and given comfort to our enemies. And whose fault is that? Not really his. He didn't create the situation of fear, merely exploited it, and skillfully. Cassius was right. 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves.' "

Right there television came of age. At least I can never recall any other time when a network—and Ed Murrow is a director as well as one of the chief spokesmen for the Columbia Broadcasting System—has told its listeners to straighten up and act like free men with the clear implication that they are not now doing so.

It was a great program in every sense that a program can be great, including plain ordinary showmanship. In tackling McCarthy, Murrow took on the most explosive and controversial guy in the country. He did it without even a pretense of impartiality. "If the Senator thinks we do violence to him, he can come on this program and answer," said Murrow—and then proceeded to do great violence to him.

McCarthy was shown as a liar, telling a witness that the American Civil Liberties Union is a Communist-front organization, which it certainly is not. (I heard the original broadcast of that statement, and I thought I wasn't hearing right.) McCarthy was shown as a teller of meaningless half truths. (McCarthy once tried to link Adlai Stevenson with Alger Hiss because Hiss had recommended Stevenson to attend the Mont Tremblant conference. Murrow pointed out that Hiss recommended some one from the office of either Stimson or Knox, two stalwart Republicans, and Stevenson was Knox's special assistant.)

McCarthy was shown telling newsmen that he was being attacked (after the Zwicker incident) only by "the extreme Left-Wing press" and radio commentators. Murrow then read excerpts from this "extreme Left-Wing press," which included the New York Herald Tribune, "The New York Times," "The Chicago Tribune" and "The St. Louis Post-Dispatch."

But the greatest witness against McCarthy was McCarthy himself. Sneering, truculent and wholly evil, he rumbled his evasions and hesitations and lies (the boys in the business call him Mr. Mumbles) in a way that must have been a little shocking even to staunch McCarthyites. A couple of times he was caught huffing and chuckling in a way that sounded as if he were just a little nutty.

* * *

McCarthy, of course, is following the Hitler technique. Hitler invented the Jewish problem in Germany. (The Jews were traitors, too, remember?) There is a Communist problem, all right, but the main problem lies outside the country, not inside it. Dividing the country, making Americans distrust other Americans, weakening our alliances and ruining the effectiveness of our State Department and our Army are hardly effective ways of combating Communism.

But I doubt that McCarthy will have Hitler's success. The difference is simply that Germany was a defeated country and a broke country. The United States is neither defeated nor broke, and, if you have faith in your countrymen—and Murrow obviously has—you can lick McCarthy by telling the people what a complete phony he is.

At this writing the response from the viewers is overwhelmingly anti-McCarthy, which only goes to show—as Abraham Lincoln once said—you can't fool all the people all of the time.

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John Crosby's column also appears on Sunday in Section 4 of the Herald Tribune.

MATTER OF FACT

By JOSEPH and STEWART ALSOP

McCarthy on the Run

WASHINGTON.

There is no longer any doubt about it. Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy is in very bad trouble indeed. Moreover, he knows it. McCarthy and his partisans are now making desperate efforts to negotiate some sort of deal in order to head off the forthcoming hearings on McCarthy's battle with the Army.

Last week, for example, Richard Berlin, a powerful executive in the Hearst newspaper chain, came to Washington on a special mission. Berlin is one of the original McCarthy backers, and he sponsored Roy Cohn as counsel of the McCarthy Committee. At a carefully pre-arranged dinner party, Berlin and McCarthy were brought together with Brig. Gen. A. J. Drexel Biddle, who is personally close to both Gen. Matthew Ridgway and Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens.

The pitch was made over the brandy and cigars. Surely, Berlin said, some reasonable way out of the mess could be found. Perhaps both Cohn and Army Counsel John Adams could be fired, and the matter then dropped. Or perhaps an arbitrator of national stature could be found, to adjudicate the whole matter privately. McCarthy said that this would be "O. K. with him." But Biddle, apparently, did not rise to the fly.

* * *

Other attempts to work out a deal have also failed so far but they still go on. Since the Berlin visit, there have been hints that Cohn might be fired, and that McCarthy would not even insist that the Army fire Adams in exchange, if only the whole affair could be buried. There have also been not very veiled threats to the effect that there is plenty of material in the McCarthy files to ruin certain highly placed Defense Department officials, if the Administration "really wants to play rough."

At the same time, an attempt to divorce McCarthy completely from the whole affair is also going forward. McCarthy himself always refers to the "Cohn-Adams hassle," and airily implies that he has nothing to do with this minor mixup. He says that he has "nothing against Bob Stevens or any one else in the Administration," the whole business is just trouble-making by "left-wingers." This line is being dutifully parroted by all those who still find it the better part of wisdom to sing whatever tune McCarthy calls.

Yet it is difficult to believe that any one will be fooled. McCarthy has in effect called Stevens a) a liar, b) a blackmailer, and c) so contemptible a poltroon as to offer to supply "dirt" on the other services in order to buy immunity for himself. Stevens, a naive but honorable man, is not so naive as to believe that all this is in the spirit of good clean fun. "This time," he has told friends, "I'm in it to the end."

* * *

This time, moreover, the whole Administration has its guard up. The most careful preparation has been made for the forthcoming contest. Complete substantiation has been found for everything in the Army report on the McCarthy-Cohn matter. For example, according to the report, McCarthy told Adams and Stevens that David Schine was a "pest" and a "nuisance," and then hastily asked them not to repeat these views to Cohn. At least two other individuals, who have precisely the same experience with McCarthy ("but for God's sakes don't tell Roy Cohn") have been found, and are available to testify.

The Administration forces thus believe that McCarthy cannot seriously shake the Army's story. They also believe that the McCarthy story can be shaken and shaken hard — there are even serious internal contradictions in the memoranda so hastily released by McCarthy. Moreover, the Administration has weapons in reserve.

As previously reported here, some very damning material was not included in the Army report. What is more, the Army has compiled another report, described as "devastating," on the effects on morale at Ft. Dix of the special favors for Schine demanded by Cohn and McCarthy.

* * *

All in all, it is not surprising that McCarthy and company are eager to come to terms. It is not impossible, of course, that the still numerous McCarthy appeasers in the Administration will agree to make a deal with McCarthy, "in the interests of party harmony." But, at least, the opportunity does now clearly exist to restore sanity to the country by defeating once and for all McCarthy's bid to seize control of the Republican party.

The final outcome, of course, depends on one man, as it always has. Here it may be worth recounting an incident which occurred during a recent correspondents' dinner in Washington. Television broadcaster Ed Murrow suddenly felt a strong hand on his back. He turned to recognize a familiar grin.

"Hello, Ed," said the President, "I was just feeling your back to see if there were any knives sticking in it." The reference was obviously to Murrow's brilliant broadcast on McCarthy. Both men laughed, and then Murrow said, "From here on out, it's up to you, Mr. President." No truer word was ever spoken. With McCarthy on the run, the President has a golden opportunity to show once and for all who is the real leader of the Republican party, and of the United States.

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Section 4 | REVIEW OF THE WEEK
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE
WEEK-END CABLES

The New York Times.

EDITORIALS
SPECIAL ARTICLES—SCIENCE
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THE NEWS OF THE WEEK IN REVIEW

AS A NEW McCARTHY CONTROVERSY ROCKS WASHINGTON—THE 'UNDERSTANDING' ON CAPITOL HILL

The New York Times (by George Tames)

Reporters and cameramen with Secretary Stevens (center), Senator Dirksen and Senator McCarthy (extreme right) after "Memorandum of Understanding" was read.

Tumultuous Issue

McCarthy vs. Eisenhower

Four years and nineteen days ago the junior U. S. Senator from Wisconsin—a former judge and Marine veteran, then a relatively obscure figure on Capitol Hill—stood before a Republican audience in Wheeling, W. Va. Joseph R. McCarthy said: "* * * I have here in my hands a list of 205 [the Senator in his book has since said he used the figure fifty-seven]—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

The Wheeling speech opened one of the most extraordinary chapters in U. S. political history. In the years since, the very name McCarthy has come to symbolize an issue of great force. The Senator has charged the Democratic Administrations with a record of "twenty years of treason." Now armed with broad investigating power in a Republican Congress, he has challenged the fronts, contending that it needs prodding to get Communists out of Government.

The McCarthy question has deeply divided and enflamed American opinion. On the one hand are those who cheer the Senator on with the cry that "McCarthy knows how to handle these Reds." On the other hand are those who deplore him as a demagogue who is imperiling American liberties.

Dispute Over Dentist

Last week Washington rocked with the most tumultuous controversy so far between Senator McCarthy and the Eisenhower Administration. The controversy grew out of a relatively narrow question—why the Army allowed a dental officer, whom it suspected of being a Communist, to leave the service with an honorable discharge. It gathered heat rapidly the week before last when the Senator scathingly rebuked Army personnel involved, and Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens moved for a showdown on the question of Executive versus Legislative authority.

At the beginning of last week Mr. Stevens seemed to be looking forward to the showdown with confidence. Then something happened. There were reports that Republican professionals were cautioning against the effect of an open row in the party in an election year. In midweek, the Secretary and the Senator came to what was called an "understanding." But its terms were widely interpreted as a "surrender," and a wave of shock went across the nation. The intensity of the reaction set in motion efforts in the White House and on the Hill to salvage the Secretary's position. Thursday he issued a statement claiming that he had not yielded, and President Eisenhower backed him up "100 per cent." But Senator McCarthy stuck to his guns also.

Thus at the week-end it appeared that a battle had been fought but the war would go on. In Congress Republican leaders talked of restraints on the Senator's investigative tactics. There were doubts that the party professionals, who have regarded Mr. McCarthy as a campaign asset, would be eager to curb him seriously. But at the same time the feeling was that the President would now be under pressure to draw a firmer line on Mr. McCarthy's incursions into the fields of Executive authority and Presidential leadership. In the apparent hope of giving full play to these conflicting forces within the G. O. P. most Democrats, all during last week's furor, were conspicuously silent.

The Setting

These are the facts in the case that led to the McCarthy-Army controversy last week:

In October, 1952, Dr. Irving Peress, a dentist from Queens in New York City, was notified he would be drafted under the medical draft law. He applied for and got a reserve commission as a captain. On Oct. 28 he was given a standard questionnaire on, among other things, his loyalty. In the space provided for answers on loyalty he claimed the privilege under the Fifth Amendment of refusing to answer. Army regulations did not then require complete answers.

On Jan. 3, 1953, Peress was called to active duty. A month later his refusals to answer were noted and the Army started a loyalty investigation as required by Army regulations. In June, 1953, as a result of the investigation, the Commandant at Camp Kilmer, N. J., where Peress was stationed, recommended that he be dismissed. The Army says that, in accordance with procedure, the case was referred to the Army personnel board, which notified Peress of the evidence against him and invited his reply. Many weeks passed in the interchange of communications. When Peress again cited the Fifth Amendment, the Army studied what to do next. In a separate action in October, 1953, Peress was promoted to major under automatic provisions of the law requiring advancement of medical men according to age and professional experience.

On Dec. 3, the McCarthy committee opened an investigation of Peress. On Dec. 30, the Army decided to discharge him. On Jan. 18 orders were sent to Peress' Kilmer commandant—now Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker—for his honorable discharge at his own pleasure within ninety days.

On Jan. 30, Senator McCarthy questioned Peress at a hearing in New York. Peress refused to answer most questions, citing the Fifth Amendment. The Senator demanded that Peress be held in the Army for court-martial. On Feb. 2, at Peress' own request, he was honorably discharged.

The discharge incensed Mr. McCarthy. He wrote Secretary Stevens demanding that the officers involved in the Peress promotion and discharge be investigated for possible court-martial. Mr. Stevens conceded that the Peress case had revealed defects in Army procedure, promised vigorous action if an inquiry disclosed anything irregular in the promotion and discharge, but argued that there had been no grounds for a court-martial of Peress. The Senator termed the answer "double-talk" and called a new hearing ten days ago.

Holds Secret Session

After wrangling with other Army officials, the Senator questioned General Zwicker in secret session. The record of that session was made public last Monday. It showed that the Senator hammered at the general on the questions of why Peress was honorably discharged and who ordered it, that the general replied repeatedly that he had to obey orders and was forbidden, under a Presidential directive, dating back to the Truman Administration, to reveal details of loyalty investigations. The Senator's tone grew sharp. Among the things he said to General Zwicker were:

> General, let's try and be truthful. * * * I cannot help but question either your honesty or your intelligence. * * * Don't you give me that double-talk. * * * Anyone with the brains of a five-year-old child can understand that question. * * * Any [general] who says, 'I will protect another general who protected Communists' is not fit to wear that uniform * * *.

The Senator wound up by ordering General Zwicker and the Adjutant General to appear the following Tuesday. But when word of the Zwicker questioning reached Mr. Stevens, he reacted sharply. He ordered the two officers not to appear Tuesday and said he would testify himself.

Out of the Peress case there had now emerged two main issues and two conflicting points of view. In the McCarthy view the main issue was why Peress was promoted and then honorably discharged despite the fact that the Army for many months had evidence that he was a Communist. The Senator insisted on the right of a Congressional committee to get all the facts.

The Army view was that the main issue was the Senator's tactics in "abusing" and "humiliating" a loyal officer and pillorying him and other officials for carrying out their orders. As to Peress, the Army contended that honorable discharge was the quickest way to get him out of the service. At the same time, Army officials acknowledged privately that the Peress case "looked bad" and was hard to defend—regulations or no regulations.

The Big Week

Thus was the stage set for what was widely billed as "The Showdown" between Senator McCarthy and the Administration. This was the tumultuous week:

SUNDAY

At the White House (the President was still on his golfing holiday in California) the staff was reported to be worried. There was little zest for the approaching battle. A New York Times correspondent sent this description of White House thinking:

"Stevens, of course, would want to talk about Zwicker. But McCarthy was going to talk about Peress, and being chairman, he would ask the questions, and the Secretary would have to answer them. By the time another Senator got a chance to ask about Zwicker, TV time would have been dominated by the Peress discussion."

On the Hill, Republicans were equally worried. They did not relish a public Republican brawl over communism—the issue that was to be used against Democrats. Thus there was growing feeling at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue that perhaps a compromise could be found.

MONDAY

At a Washington Birthday celebration at Valley Forge, Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, a member of the McCarthy committee, talked with Secretary Stevens on a possible patch-up. In Washington, Senator Everett M. Dirksen, another committee member, with the same idea in mind, asked Senator McCarthy to postpone the Stevens hearing until Thursday. Senator McCarthy was willing. He had another iron heating. He summoned Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, an Army employe.

TUESDAY

Mrs. Mary Markward, a former F. B. I. under-cover agent, told the McCarthy subcommittee that an Annie Lee Moss had been on Communist party lists until 1945. Senator McCarthy said that Mrs. Moss was employed as a "code clerk" in the Army message center in the Pentagon, and decoded "top secret" messages. The Army said that Mrs. Moss was merely a "relay machine operator" who fed perforated tape from receiving to transmitting machines; that the coded messages on the tape were unclassified, and that Mrs. Moss had no access to codes or the cryptograph room.

The Moss case gave added impetus to the feeling among Republicans that the McCarthy-Stevens bout should be canceled. According to reports, White House officials, in talking to Mr. Stevens, conveyed the impression that an accommodation should be sought, but there was no suggestion that he yield on principle. In any event, a luncheon was arranged with the Republican members of the committee for Wednesday. The three Democratic members were not invited.

WEDNESDAY

Just before noon Secretary Stevens met with H. Struve Hensel, Defense Department General Counsel, for a run-through on the questions Senator McCarthy would likely fire at the Secretary the next day. When he left, Mr. Stevens said nothing about his upcoming luncheon.

The luncheon—fried chicken—was held in the Capitol Hill office of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee. All the Republican members of the subcommittee were present—Senators McCarthy, Mundt, Dirksen, and Charles E. Potter of Michigan. The meeting lasted two hours.

The Senators, it was reported later, put tremendous heat on Mr. Stevens. According to accounts by his friends, the Senators told him that a public row would jeopardize the party's chances in November, that it would fuzz up the Communist issue, and that he owed it to the party to retreat.

For his part, Mr. Stevens was reported to have asked assurances that Army witnesses would not be mistreated in the future. He later insisted these assurances were given. Two of the Senators supported his account. Senator McCarthy denied that he made any promise.

At 2:55 the doors were opened. Reporters and photographers poured in. Mr. Stevens was poker-faced. Senator McCarthy sat beside him, all smiles. Mr. Mundt read a "Memorandum of Understanding." It was short—only five paragraphs. It made no mention of treatment of witnesses or other concessions. This was the critical paragraph:

> There is complete agreement * * * that the Secretary of the Army will order the Inspector General to complete the investigation * * * in the Peress case as rapidly as possible; and he will give the committee the names of everyone involved in the promotion and honorable discharge of Peress; and that such individuals will be available to appear before the committee.

When Mr. Stevens returned to the Pentagon, he found Roger M. Kyes, Under Secretary of Defense, Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, and H. Struve Heusel in his office. He told them he had got what he went for—a promise of fair treatment. General Ridgway shook his hand warmly. The meeting disbanded. But soon after, one of the officials secured the text of the memorandum. Another meeting was called—without Mr. Stevens. It was agreed that the Secretary was in trouble.

Mr. Stevens did not have to wait long to taste the ashes. It was reported to him that Senator McCarthy had told a reporter that Mr. Stevens could not have surrendered "more abjectly if he had got down on his knees." Then the late editions of the afternoon papers hit the streets. Across the nation, the headline verbs were: "SURRENDERS," "CAPITULATES," "RETREATS."

Mr. Stevens was reported "steaming mad" at the press interpretation. He contended that there had been no surrender. He leaked a statement which he had intended to read at the hearing. It said: "I am here today to defend an officer of the United States Army * * * who was humiliated at a hearing before this committee * * *. I feel that the integrity of the entire Army is involved."

On Wednesday night Mr. Stevens called James C. Hagerty, the White House Press Secretary for guidance. He also called several Senators. They told reporters later that he was sobbing, and said he would have to resign because he had "lost standing" at the Pentagon.

THURSDAY

Overnight things had come to a boil. The New York Times headline read: "STEVENS BOWS TO M'CARTHY." Across the country, editorials were protesting the "surrender" in angry words. The Administration had made "a public display of the white feather" (Los Angeles Daily News). It had ordered an "ignominious retreat" (Nashville Tennessean). The "disgraceful cave-in" was not Secretary Steven's responsibility alone—"It goes back to the President" (Washington Post). "[McCarthy's] assault * * * was a supreme test of the ability of men in high office to meet a threat which in other parts of the world has been fatal to liberty itself. They have failed to meet that test" (New York Herald Tribune). Even the pro-McCarthy Chicago Tribune rebuked the Senator: "It seems to us that Sen. McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel."

And the wits of Washington were up early. One said: "The Secretary didn't mean to surrender to the Senators; he merely thought they wanted to look at his sword." An old Western gag was revived—"Then inserting our nose between his teeth, we had him."

The feeling of the Army was vividly portrayed by the remark of a senior staff officer at the Pentagon: "Private David Schine is the only man in the Army today with any morale." (Private Schine, until drafted, was on the McCarthy committee staff.)

Plainly something had to be done to offset the reaction. But the White House staff still hoped to keep the President aloof from the fray. At Vice President Nixon's suggestion, it was reported, President Eisenhower sent for Senator Dirksen. A draft of a statement was given to the Senator. It made the points that Mr. Stevens had not surrendered and that the committee would give assurances that witnesses were to be treated with respect henceforth. The President asked Mr. Dirksen's help in getting the four Republican members to issue the statement.

Mr. Dirksen went back to the Hill. All day the Senators fussed over the language of the statement while the White House waited. Senator McCarthy objected to any language intimating that witnesses had been abused. Finally they agreed.

About 4 P. M. Vice President Nixon brought the Senators' amended version to the White House. A conference was assembled in the East Wing. Present were the Vice President, Mr. Kyes, Mr. Stevens, Sherman Adams, White House chief of staff, and several other Pentagon and White House officials. The President, who often finds release from tension in exercise, was practicing chip shots on the South Lawn.

The Senators' statement was not acceptable to Mr. Stevens. At 5:30 the meeting broke up. A smaller group then met for thirty minutes with the President in the second floor study. It was decided that Mr. Stevens should issue his own statement. He also carried his point—which he had been fighting for since the night before—that he must have the President's full support. A statement was drawn up. The President approved it.

In Hagerty's Office

At 6:15, reporters were admitted to Mr. Hagerty's office. Mr. Kyes, who as late as that afternoon, was reported as saying that Mr. Stevens had no other course but to resign, was standing beside the Army Secretary. Mr. Stevens began reading in a steady voice:

> I did not at that meeting [recede] * * * from any of the principles upon which I stand. * * * I shall never accede to [Army personnel] * * * being browbeaten or humiliated. * * * From assurances which I have received from members of the committee, I am confident they will not permit such conditions to develop in the future.

When Mr. Stevens returned to the Pentagon, his staff applauded him. Mr. Stevens was smiling broadly. He said: "We've certainly got a Commander in Chief. He stepped right up and hit a home run."

Up on the Hill, Senator McCarthy said Mr. Stevens had made a "completely false statement" about the assurances. He denied there had been any abuse. But, he said, he had made it clear to Mr. Stevens that if witnesses "are not frank and truthful * * * they will be examined vigorously to get the truth."

Now the issue was joined.

FRIDAY

Republicans began moving in behind the President. Senators Mundt and Potter said Mr. Stevens rightly claimed that assurances had been given against the abuse of witnesses. A meeting of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, hastily summoned by Chairman Homer Ferguson, unanimously voted a study of the rules for investigating committees. Republicans made no secret of the fact that the study had grown out of the latest McCarthy fracas and was aimed at curbing one-man inquiries.

Senator McCarthy himself mixed soft and tough talk. He said: "Eisenhower said he was against browbeating witnesses—I am too." But he said he was going to continue exposing Communists "even if it embarrasses my own party." He had no objection to the rules study. He wanted the Democrats to attend hearings.

SATURDAY

A high Administration source said Secretary Stevens would remain. The attorney of Annie Lee Moss said she had been suspended from her job, pending adjudication. Otherwise all was momentarily quiet on the Potomac.

The Outlook

This was the feeling in Washington after the volley and thunder of the hottest McCarthy-Administration battle had subsided:

The Senator, it was held, had not retreated. He had in fact thrown down a challenge to the Administration and the expectation was that he would put his toe over the line which the Administration had drawn. Therefore, the big question was, would the Administration meet the next challenge?

One school held the Administration must and would meet it because the risks of further concession were too great. It was pointed out that any further retreat would mean that the campaign, regardless of the President's desire to wage it on the Administration's program, would be largely dominated by the Communism-in-Government issue and Senator McCarthy's role as scourge.

The effect on the Republican primaries might be that McCarthy supporters would win over Eisenhower men. And if the Republicans won in the fall—as they well might—the McCarthy following in Congress would be larger than it is now, and the Senator would have a free hand in harrying the Administration.

Risk in Retreat

On the other hand, there was the opposite risk—that another retreat would so put off the independents and "Eisenhower Democrats," that the Republicans would lose. Therefore, this school figured that the Administration, reassured by the editorial reaction last week, would decide that the time had come to move, and would move hard.

The other school, however, held that many of the party professionals were unimpressed by the press reaction. McCarthy supporters might feel that "Joe had gone a little far this time," but they were still behind his campaign. It was further pointed out that many of the Republicans on the Hill were not very keen about the President's program, and with the Democrats preparing to make an issue of the economic decline and taxes, these Republicans would insist on pushing the communism issue to the limit. Thus, it was held, the President would be under great pressure to ignore a challenge.

On one thing, there was agreement. The Democrats were happy to hold the coats for a change.

THE WORLD

U. S. and China Issue

> The American people will not consent to a Far Eastern Munich.
> —Senator WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND.

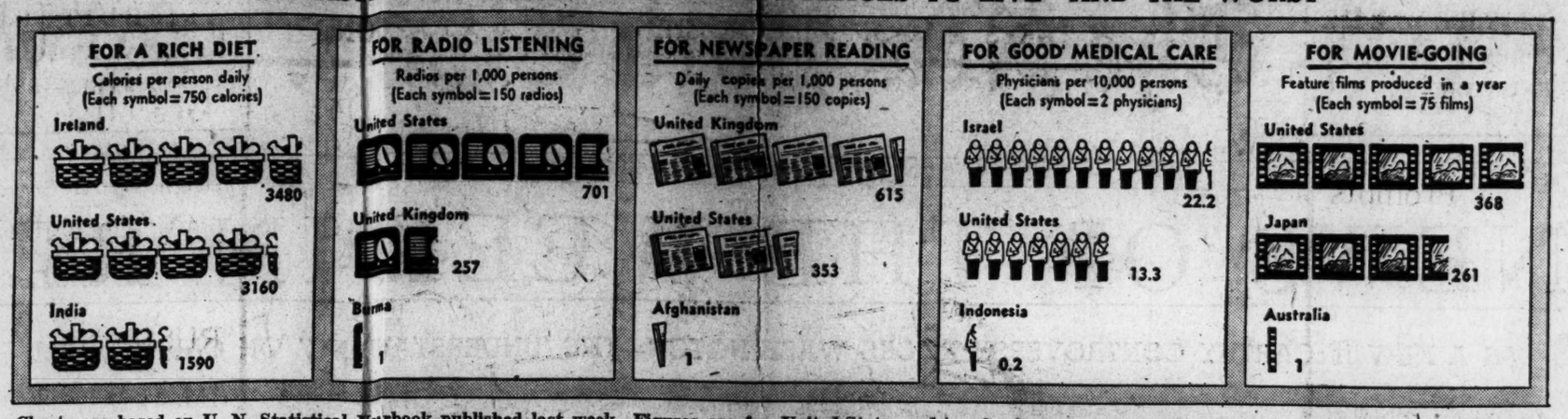
> We need not, out of fright, lay down the tools of diplomacy. * * * Our cause is not so poor * * * that our nation must seek security by sulking in its tent.
> —Secretary JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

These statements last week by the Senate Majority Leader and the Secretary of State reflected opposing points of view in a long-standing controversy that has welled up again in the aftermath of the Berlin conference of the Big Four. The central issue is the United States policy toward Communist China. In particular it revolves around the Big Four agreement to meet with Communist China in Geneva in April on the problems of the Far East.

In the U. S. the China question has gathered tremendous political force since 1949, when it became plain that communism would sweep over all mainland China. The political heat was generated at first almost entirely by Republicans attacking Democrats. Republicans charged that China was lost because of the Truman Administration's "blunders," or worse, its "softness" toward communism, or worse, "treason" in the Government. The China issue was the springboard from which Senator McCarthy leaped into national prominence.

With the Peiping Government's intervention in the Korean war, and its increased aid to the Vietminh insurgents in Indo-China, the bitterness of feeling against Communist China took a stronger hold on American opinion. The Truman and Eisenhower Administrations in turn took firm positions against concessions to Peiping as the price for Far Eastern settlements—specifically, for example, against Communist China's

STATISTICALLY SPEAKING: THE BEST PLACES TO LIVE—AND THE WORST



Charts are based on U. N. Statistical Yearbook published last week. Figures are for United States and two foreign countries—highest ranking and a typical low ranking one.

claim to diplomatic recognition. The policy was, as George C. Marshall first phrased it, that no aggressor should be allowed "to shoot his way into the United Nations."

There has been some difference of opinion, however, over whether this policy might change if Peiping were to come to terms in the Far East. Some Republicans—a group that has come to be called the "China party" in Washington, and which includes Senator Knowland—have scouted any such suggestions as "appeasement." These Republicans have been watching Secretary Dulles warily.

Question of Change

On the other hand, it is argued in some circles that a too-rigid American policy might block any settlements in the Far East and in the long run sour relations among the Western powers. Britain, which has recognized Peiping, is not pressing Washington on the question, but hopes eventually to have normal relations with Communist China, particularly in trade. More immediately, France yearns for an end of the Indo-China war and would be less reluctant than the U. S. to pay Communist China the price of diplomatic recognition.

It was against this background that Secretary Dulles ten days ago in Berlin joined in the agreement to negotiate with Communist China in Geneva on Korea and Indo-China. On his insistence, to which Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov yielded in the final hour of the Berlin meeting, the Big Four communiqué stipulated: "It is understood that [the agreement shall not] be deemed to imply diplomatic recognition in any case where it has not already been accorded."

In Washington last week it was plain that many Congressmen of both parties had serious misgivings about the agreement to meet in Geneva, notwithstanding the Dulles stipulation. There was much head-shaking and talk of possible "slips" in Geneva. Representative Lawrence H. Smith, a Wisconsin Republican, said, "I'm not so sure that we aren't going to be euchered into a position" of being forced to admit Peiping to the U. N. Senators Richard B. Russell and Walter F. George, leading Southern Democrats, spoke respectively on "a foot in the door" and an "entering wedge" for Communist China. The most outspoken criticism was Senator Knowland's, delivered Monday at a Republican dinner in New York. He said:

> The question the American people, as well as the Congress, will want answered is what price is expected to be paid. * * * Throughout the entire Far East the admission of Communist China to the United Nations would be looked upon as a Far Eastern Munich and a great victory for international communism.

Dulles' View

Mr. Dulles replied to these questionings in sessions with leaders of both parties on Monday, the House Foreign Affairs Committee Tuesday, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Wednesday. He pounded the table as he protested to the Senators against criticism of what he regarded as achievements in Berlin. That night, in a radio-TV report to the nation on the Berlin meetings, he dwelt at length on the Far East problem. He said:

> The Communist regime [in China] will not come to Geneva to be honored by us, but rather to account before the bar of world opinion. * * * I recognize, of course, that the Soviet Union would not have accepted, 100 per cent, our terms * * * unless it expected to benefit thereby. But so do we.

Despite Mr. Dulles' reassurances, the general attitude in Congress on the Geneva meeting still was distinctly reserved. There were predictions that both parties will keep a close watch on Geneva for any American "slips." Accordingly, the expectation is that the Administration will be under pressures that may severely test its political and diplomatic skill. Its problem will be to avoid political pitfalls at home—in an election year—while at the same time dealing with the pressures from the other nations of the free world for some progress toward settlements with the Communists.

Europe After Berlin

The controversy stirred by Berlin in the U. S. had a parallel in Europe. The Western foreign ministers came away from Berlin united in the conviction that Russia was unwilling to negotiate for a unified and sovereign Germany. In the absence of such willingness Western policy has been to rearm West Germany through the European Defense Community (E. D. C.) treaty providing for the integration of a West German force with the forces of five other West European countries in a unified command under NATO. In his broadcast last Wednesday Secretary Dulles threw new U. S. support to E. D. C., saying "Berlin cleared the way for * * * the unification and the strengthening of West Europe."

But last week developments in France, West Germany and Britain made it plain that though the Governments in power supported E. D. C. there was still a hard knot of oppostion to the treaty. These were the developments:

In *France* on Tuesday Foreign Minister Georges Bidault reported to Premier Joseph Laniel and his Cabinet on the Berlin conference. M. Bidault recommended strongly that the E. D. C. treaty, now in the committee stage in the French Assembly, be put to a vote without new delay or conditions. But in the Assembly there were indications of sentiment in all parties for delaying a vote on E. D. C. until the outlook for a truce in Indo-China could be determined at the Geneva meeting.

In *West Germany* on Friday the Bundestag (lower house of Parliament) wound up a three-day debate by giving the Government, 334—144, the two-thirds majority necessary for amending the Bonn constitution to permit rearmament under E.D.C. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, speaking in favor of the motion, declared that the Berlin conference made it "more than ever necessary * * * that the European Defense Community should become a reality." But the Social Democrats voted against the motion on the ground that E. D. C. would only deepen the division of Germany.

In *Britain* on Thursday and Friday there was a debate in Commons on the Berlin conference. Foreign Minister Anthony Eden declared himself strongly for E. D. C., saying that its early establishment was "of the utmost importance and urgency." His stand was endorsed by the official leadership of the Labor Opposition under Clement Attlee. But in a Labor caucus on Tuesday Mr. Attlee mustered only 112 votes, against 108 for a dissident faction, rallying under the standard of Aneurin Bevan, which opposes German rearmament and favors new negotiations on Germany with Moscow. And Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, though standing by E. D. C., gave new grist to the Bevanite mills by emphasizing the possibility of further negotiations with the Soviet, particularly on the matter of trade.

The upshot of these developments was to make it plain that the Western unity established in the face of the Communists at Berlin was still menaced by internal splits on E. D. C. That condition appeared to suit the Communists down to the ground. From the Soviet Union last week there came no new pronouncements on Berlin. The Russians, it seemed, were resting on their oars, presumably in the hope that the splits in the West would give them good openings for maneuver when the Geneva conference gets under way on April 26.

Turkey-Pakistan Pact

While the Western Alliance has been gradually strengthening its European defenses over the past three years, it has made much slower progress in closing "the Middle East gap"—the gap which stretches from the Caucasus to the Himalayas. In October, 1951, the West proposed a Middle East Defense Command, built around a core of the U. S., Britain, France, Turkey and Egypt. The plan quickly foundered in the political cross-currents of the Mideast—Arab hostility to the French in North Africa, the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over Suez, and Arab-Israel suspicions.

Last November, U. S. planners broached a new plan—the granting of military aid to Pakistan so as to strengthen the eastern end of the gap. (U. S. military aid to Turkey has already stiffened the western end.) Exploratory conversations were held in Washington and Karachi. There were reports that Pakistan was to give bases to the U. S. Moscow protested to Pakistan. So did New Delhi. Karachi denied that any bases were involved, or that it intended to enter an "aggressive alliance" against the Soviet Union or any other power. But Prime Minister Nehru strongly objected to any U. S. military aid for Pakistan, holding that it would upset the balance of power between India and Pakistan, bring the cold war to the Indian frontier, and pave the way for the return of colonialism.

A month ago came reports, leaked in Karachi, Istanbul and Washington, of still another plan for Middle East defense. This was a Turko-Pakistani military and economic pact. These reports were confirmed ten days ago when dispatches from Karachi said that negotiations were already under way with a Turkish delegation. Last Tuesday, in anticipation of the signing of the pact, Pakistan made formal application for U. S. military assistance.

On Thursday President Eisenhower said that the military assistance would be granted. He did not say how much aid Pakistan would get but reports were that it would be substantial. A U. S. military assistance team will go to Pakistan to determine what kind of aid is required to turn Pakistan's army—partly demobilized last year for lack of funds—into an effective fighting force.

Although the precise terms of the U. S. agreement were not disclosed by the President it is known that, in contrast to the agreement with Spain, Pakistan will make no bases available to the U. S. in exchange for aid.

Before announcing the grant to Pakistan, President Eisenhower sent Prime Minister Nehru a letter assuring him that "this step does not in any way affect the friendship we feel for India." As the week ended, Indian reaction to the move was at a lower pitch than previous protests had indicated. Most Indians were skeptical about American assurances that Pakistan bases would not be used for American planes. On the other hand, President Eisenhower's personal assurance to Prime Minister Nehru that he would take all measures to prevent American arms from being used against India was reported to have had a calming effect. Statements made during a visit to New Delhi in midweek by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent of Canada, fellow member with India in the Commonwealth, were also believed to have provided some reassurance to Indian public opinion. Mr. St Laurent did not comment directly on the U. S. agreement with Pakistan, but he declared, "I am sure the desire of the United States is to lessen tension [in Asia]." Although there is still agitation in the Indian Parliament to expand Indian forces as a counter-move to the Pakistani gain from the U. S., observers in New Delhi reported no signs of such expansion yet.

Turmoil in Near East

The U. S. decision to base Near Eastern defense on the pacts with Turkey and Pakistan pointed up the political instability prevailing in the other Moslem countries of the area. Behind this unrest lie a multitude of popular discontents—with defeat in the Palestine war; with grossly uneven distribution of wealth; with prevailing political corruption. In these circumstances, parliamentary government, never strong in the Middle East, has tended to be discredited. It has been relatively easy for military juntas to stage successful coups. But the soldiers, though evidently sincere proponents of reform, have come up against the problem of winning popular support for their regimes.

Last week that problem appeared to be at the root of political turmoil in Egypt and Syria. These are details of the developments:

EGYPT

The chief figures in the trouble were Lieut. Col. Gamel Abdel Nasser, 36, and Maj. Gen. Mohammed Naguib, 53. Colonel Nasser was the head of a group of younger officers, the Military Revolutionary Council, which organized the coup forcing King Farouk from power in July, 1952. But immediately thereafter he took a back seat—by title at least—as Deputy Premier. As Premier of the new regime the officers' council named General Naguib. Though not a party to the coup, General Naguib had achieved wide popularity in the war against Israel.

For months it appeared that the general and the colonel were working smoothly together. General Naguib toured the country repeatedly, drawing large enthusiastic crowds. At the beginning of last year Egypt was declared a republic, and Naguib was named its first President. Meanwhile, Colonel Nasser did the work-a-day business in the Military Council.

Naguib Resigns

Last Thursday the Military Council suddenly announced that three days earlier General Naguib had resigned as President and Premier and been replaced in the latter office by Colonel Nasser. The announcement said that for the past ten months the Council had been resisting demands by General Naguib for veto power over all decisions; that over the last week-end he had made his tenure of office conditional on these demands; and that the Council, rather than give way, had accepted the resignation. It indicated that General Naguib had been placed under what was, in effect, house arrest.

Almost immediately there were signs of trouble. In Cairo armed troops patrolled the streets as an obvious precaution against popular protests. Rumors flew that a pro-Naguib faction inside the army was plotting a counter-coup against Colonel Nasser. Yeterday, in the face of this pressure, it appeared that Colonel Nasser had given ground. A spokesman for the Council said that a compromise had been struck whereby Naguib would continue as President and chief of state, and Nasser would move up to Premier.

SYRIA

The chief figure in the shake-up was Brig. Gen. Adib Shishekly. Long a power behind the scenes, he emerged as top man in Syria after a military coup in December, 1951. At the outset, he clamped down hard, dissolving Parliament, putting political leaders in jail. But in the face of popular grumbling, General Shishekly began to make concessions. Early last year he issued a new contitution, re-establishing parliament. In July, there were Presidential elections in which General Shishekly was returned with over 99 per cent of the vote. From the army there came grumblings that the "strong man" was going out of his way to curry popular favor.

For a brief time, at the beginning of this year, it appeared he might have to get tough again. In January, a revolt of the Druse, a tribe long disaffected from the central government, broke out, and the President declared martial law and ordered the army to crush the dissident tribesmen. But as soon as the revolt subsided, General Shishekly returned to his mild ways. Two weeks ago he began negotiating with the jailed political leaders, presumably on terms for their possible return to politics.

That evidently was the last straw for the army. On Thursday a military revolt broke out. In quick order the army seized most of northern Syria, and, threatening a march on the capital at Damascus, demanded the President's resignation. Before the day was out President Shishekly had resigned and taken refuge across the border in the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Lebanon. He left political chaos in his wake.

Pick New President

On Friday the Syrian Parliament elected its speaker, Dr. Mohammed al Kuwatly, as President, [illegible] shekly constitution. [illegible] was supported by the army garrison in Damascus. But the old political leaders, released from jail, met outside Damascus and demanded a return to the pre-Shishekly constitution. The army rebels in the north, insisting on a brand new regime, demanded that Dr. Kuzbari resign immediately. Yesterday they sent planes over Damascus and inside the city violent struggles raged.

At the week-end, in both Egypt and Syria, it was still touch and go as to who would secure control. Whoever wins, however, will be faced with the problem of building public support. And in the West there is some fear that this may produce an attempt to tap popular nationalism by anti-Western measures or new ventures against Israel.

Concern Over Pope

Fifteen years ago this Tuesday, a Cardinal proclaimed to a multitude before St. Peters, "We have a Pope"—the announcement of the election of Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli as Pope Pius XII. It was the new Pope's birthday, his sixty-third. Since then, as spiritual sovereign of 375 million Catholics throughout the world, he has worked tirelessly, sixteen to seventeen hours a day.

About a month ago the Pope's labors were interrupted by a severe attack of what was described as gastritis. Later he appeared to be recovering and, against his physicians' advice, went back to work. Last week there was new anxiety in the Vatican over the Pope's health. The Secretariat of State announced that, contrary to previous optimistic reports, the Pope's convalescence was not complete. He had been ordered back to bed, the bulletin stated, and continual treatment remains "indispensable."

As the week drew on, the Pope's condition appeared "slightly improved," and he insisted upon getting into his arm chair to work on a mass of Vatican documents. At the week-end it was reported from the Vatican, however, that he was still not well enough to hold the barium fluid necessary for radioscope examination to determine the real cause of his illness.

FIRST ROUND: In Italy last week a democratic coalition government, the first since elections last summer, scored an initial triumph. In Parliament Prime Minister Mario Scelba, a Christian Democrat, sought a vote of confidence for a Government that promises economic and social reforms and early ratification of the European Defense Community (E. D. C.) pact. On Friday night, after a week of Senate debate, Mr. Scelba won. The count was 123 in favor, 110 against. On Tuesday the debate will move to the Chamber of Deputies where the critical test of Government strength will take place. There another Scelba victory, but by a narrow margin, is expected.

POLES OUT: The normal function of consulates is to protect the interests and foster the commercial affairs of their nationals resident in a foreign country. They are maintained at the discretion of the host country. Over the past five years, the U. S. has been gradually closing down the consulates of Iron Curtain countries in the United States. State Department officials have pointed out that the consulates have ceased to serve any legitimate purpose since virtually all relations between the U. S. and Iron Curtain countries are now on the Government level and thus are handled by the embassies and legations in Washington. Moreover, they have charged the consulates with carrying on propaganda and espionage activities in abuse of their diplomatic privileges. The only remaining Soviet or satellite consulates in the U. S. are the Polish consulates general in New York, Chicago and Detroit. Last week Secretary of State John Foster Dulles asked Polish Ambassador Josef Winiewicz to close the three offices as soon as possible.

THE NATION

Bricker Beaten

A few minutes before 7 P. M. last Friday, the final vote apparently had been tallied in the Senate on a proposal to change the President's treaty-making powers under the Constitution. The count stood at 60 to 30 for the proposal, precisely the two-thirds majority required to set the Constitution-amending process in motion. To delay momentarily announcement of the result, a Senator rose to ask the clerk how his vote had been recorded. At that moment, Senator Harley Kilgore, Democrat of West Virginia, strode into the chamber and cried out "No!" With that vote, a two-year effort to amend the Constitution went down to defeat.

The long controversy over a treaty amendment has ranged from scholarly Constitutional debate, to violent partisan conflict and name-calling. The original proposal, put forward in 1952 by Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio, would have amended the Constitution to make a treaty effective as internal law in the United States "only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of [the] treaty." Initially, the Bricker amendment had the endorsement of sixty-four Senators, many of whom were genuinely concerned about possible encroachment of the Executive on the legislative powers of Congress and the states through treaties and executive agreements. But it also had the support of extreme nationalist and isolationist groups who campaigned for it under such slogans as "Get the U. S. A. out of the United Nations! Get the United Nations out of the U. S. A.!"

The original Bricker amendment died an early death when the Senate opened debate on the issue five weeks ago. Supporters fell away in the face of a firm White House stand opposing the amendment on grounds that it would imperil the President's power to deal with critical questions in foreign affairs and subject treaties to possible veto by each of the forty-eight states. In place of the Bricker draft, a variety of substitutes were put forward. The two main ones were an amendment sponsored by Majority Leader William F. Knowland, which the White House was willing to "accept," reaffirming that treaties must be made "in pursuance of the Constitution;" and an amendment sponsored by Senator Walter George, Democrat of Georgia, which the White House opposed, making executive agreements—but not treaties—effective as internal law only through acts of Congress.

Take Final Vote

By last Friday evening, the only proposal still alive was the George amendment and the stage was set for the final vote. Thirty-two Republicans, including Mr. Knowland who left his leadership seat to cast his ballot, and twenty-eight Democrats, voted for it; fourteen Republicans and seventeen Democrats, including Mr. Kilgore's last-minute decisive ballot, were opposed.

While the result itself was a "victory" for the White House, there was little disposition to cheer in Administration circles. On a major issue, the Administration's own Senate leadership had deserted it and substantial help was required from the Democrats to offset the opposition of three-fourths of the Republicans. Thus possible large problems were foreshadowed for the Administration in getting Congressional backing on other foreign and domestic issues. Moreover, the fact that sixty Senators voted in favor of curbing the President's treaty powers indicated that the issue was far from dead in the country. Senator Bricker said the issue would be "in every * * * Senate and Congressional campaign next fall."

Congress and Taxes

One of the rudimentary precepts on Capitol Hill is to think twice before voting on a tax question in an election year. This election year Congressmen are likely to think twice and twice again. To the normal potency of the tax issue has been added the fear of recession, in which controversy over tax policy is a key factor.

The controversy centers on the question of whether the best way to give a boost to the sagging U. S. economy is through tax measures designed to stimulate business activity and investment, or to increase consumer purchasing power. The Administration's tax program inclines toward the stimulate-business school. Two key measures in its tax reform bill now in the hands of the House Ways and Means Committee would permit more rapid tax write-offs for capital investment, and tax credits on dividend earnings for stockholders.

The Democrats, on the other hand, have lined up in support of a proposal by Senator Walter George of Georgia to raise personal exemptions on income taxes from the current $600 to $800 this year and to $1,000 in 1955. They argue that the 10 per cent cut in personal income taxes that went into effect Jan. 1 did not materially increase consumer purchasing power because it was canceled out for the lower income groups by the increase in social security rates.

Apart from the merits of the economic argument, the George proposal has great political magnetism, and more than one Republican has bent to the pull. Last week, however, the Administration made plain that it was against any such step now.

Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, in a formal statement Thursday, said the Administration would "vigorously oppose blanket increases in exemptions that will throw us back into substantial deficit financing." It has been estimated that the George proposal would cost the Government $5.6 billion the first year and upwards of $10 billion when the exemption went to $1,000. The President has estimated the deficit next year under his own tax program at $2.9 billion.

The Ways and Means Committee last week was putting the finishing touches on a tax reform bill along the general lines proposed by the Administration. But it had under preparation a measure calling for a $1 billion reduction in excise (sales) taxes on a variety of items, principally those classified as "luxuries." The Republican leader's strategy apparently will be to bring the excise bill to the House floor before the reform bill. Their hope is that passage of the excise cut will help to forestall Democratic efforts to attach the George proposal to the reform bill, since Government revenues will already have been reduced by $1 billion.

Most Republicans concede that the strategy is not without its dangers. They fear that if the George proposal is defeated and then subsequently proves necessary because of a continued business decline, the Democrats will reap the benefits at the polls next November.

Warren Approved

There never has been any serious doubt that Earl Warren eventually would be confirmed as Chief Justice of the United States. But for the past seven weeks, a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, headed by William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, has been holding up confirmation while it investigated "charges" against Mr. Warren. Two weeks ago Mr. Langer caused a storm of protest when he made the charges public. They consisted of ten unverified and unsworn statements accusing Mr. Warren of derelictions ranging from corruption to subversion.

Last Wednesday the man chiefly responsible for making the charges, Roderick J. Wilson, a self-styled candidate for Governor of California, showed up in Washington to testify before the full judiciary committee. At the conclusion of his testimony, he was arrested on the basis of a telegram from the San Francisco police stating that they had a felony warrant against him for perjury in connection with an automobile accident. By the end of the day, Mr. Wilson had been released (a Washington court ruled that the telegram was insuficient evidence to hold him) and Mr. Warren had been approved by the Judiciary Committee, 12 to 3. The Senate is expected to vote on the nomination tomorrow.

New Ship Charges

Under an administrative decision of the U. S. Maritime Commission in 1947—subsequently made law by Congress—foreigners were prohibited from purchasing and operating U. S. war surplus ships. For the past three years, a number of surplus ship deals have been under Congressional and grand jury scrutiny for possible violation of the 1947 ruling. At issue has been the question of whether the individuals who purchased the ships falsely swore that they represented American interests, whereas real ownership of the vessels was in the hands of foreigners, mainly Greeks. Three weeks ago, Joseph E. Casey, former Democratic Representative from Massachusetts, nine other persons and six corporations were named in indictments of conspiring to defraud the Government on ship deals.

Last week a second series of indictments—numbering twenty-five, some of them including Mr. Casey—was disclosed in connection with the ship transactions. Among those named was Julius C. Holmes, former U. S. Minister to London and now special assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on the Trieste dispute. Mr. Holmes, who asked for a leave of absence from his State Department post when he learned of the indictment, called the charges against him a "ghastly mistake."

VOTES FOR YOUNG: There was talk around Wall Street last week that any connection between the unusual amount of trading in New York Central stock and the fact that Robert Young was trying to get control of the railroad was hardly coincidental. Mr. Young launched the fight a month ago when the Central's directors turned down his request that, as the road's largest single stockholder (he owns an estimated 2 per cent personally), they make him a director and chairman of the board. His objective is to get by proxy or ownership, the control of a majority of the road's 6,000,000 shares of stock, owned by some 40,000 individuals, in preparation for a stockholders' meeting in May. Last week his cause apparently got a big boost. Two Texas oil men acquired 800,000 shares of Central—12½ per cent of the total—from the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad for $20,000,000. Mr. Young acknowledged that the Texans were "good friends" of his.

MR. BASKETBALL: After Nat Holman became basketball coach at the College of the City of New York in 1919, his teams piled up a record of 395 wins to 139 losses. This earned sports fame for C. C. N. Y. and the title of "Mr. Basketball" for Nat Holman. C. C. N. Y.'s best year was 1950, when a team captained by Ed Warner became the first to win the National Invitation and National College Athletic Association championships in the same year. A year later, Warner and seven team-mates were convicted of "fixing" scores for bribes. In subsequent investigations it was charged that Holman and his assistant coach, Harry Sand, knew that their boys were being exposed to temptation, but did nothing about it. Both coaches were suspended in November, 1952. Last week a special trial committee of the Board of Higher Education, governing body of the four municipal colleges, exonerated Holman on all charges. Sand was found guilty of conduct unbecoming a teacher in arranging opportunities for team members to play for money. The committee recommended that Holman be reinstated as associate professor at an annual salary of $9,000 retroactive to the date of his suspension. C. C. N. Y. officials said it was doubtful that he would coach again.

Who's Who? FIFTEEN NEWS QUESTIONS What's What?

1. What momentous event took place a year ago this Friday?

2. Prominent figures in the McCarthy-Army controversy last week were Mary Markward, Ralph C. Zwicker, Irving Peress and Annie Lee Moss. Which of them is (a) an officer sharply rebuked by Senator McCarthy; (b) an Army civilian employe accused of being a Communist; (c) a former undercover informer for the F. B. I.; (d) an officer whose honorable discharge was criticized?

3. Pair these figures in the McCarthy-Army controversy (Senator McCarthy, Secretary Stevens, General Zwicker) with these statements: (a) "The American people do not believe in unwarranted abuse of our loyal officers * * *;" (b) "There are certain things I'm not permitted to do"; (c) "Anyone with the brains of a 5-year-old child can understand that question."

4. Senator William F. Knowland warned last week that the coming Asian conference in Geneva could lead to a "Far Eastern Munich." At the famous Munich conference in 1938 the Western Powers gave in to Hitler on the question of (a) the Saar, (b) the Czechoslovakian Sudetenland or (c) Danzig. Which?

5. Besides themselves and Communist China, the Big Four at Berlin specified only two other governments by name to be invited to Geneva to talk about Korea. What two?

6. The defeat of the Bricker amendment last week means that there will be no Twenty-third Amendment—for a while, anyway. What does the Twenty-second deal with?

7. The Inter-American Conference opens tomorrow at Caracas, capital of Venezuela. Of which other participating countries are these the capitals: Santiago, Montevideo, Quito?

8. At the Caracas conference the United States is expected to bring up the question of "Communist influence" in the Guatemalan Government. Is the President of Guatemala Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, Carlos Ibañez or Getulio Vargas?

9. An analysis of Russian imports from the West published last week snowed that the Soviet had imported large quantities of herring, meat, textiles and citrus fruits from Argentina, Belgium, Iceland and Italy. From what you know of their national economies, pair the countries with the commodities.

10. Gen. Mohammed Naguib, central figure in the Egyptian political crisis last week, first came to power as a result of national elections, interim appointment, or an Army coup. Which?

11. Fifteen years ago Tuesday Eugenio Pacelli was elected to a high office. What office?

12. Last week Ayatollah Sayed Abolghassem Kashani, a religious leader, attacked the Government of Fazlollah Zahedi, a general. In what country?

13. Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith last week said he personally favored establishment of diplomatic relations between the U. S. and the Vatican. From 1940 to 1950 Thomas J. Watson, Myron C. Taylor or Mark Clark was a Presidential envoy to the Pope. Which?

14. In the Panama Canal Zone last week it was decided to make Spanish a second language in the elementary schools. What is the first language?

15. According to the 1953 Statistical Yearbook released by the United Nations last week, the country with the world's lowest infant mortality rate is a European constitutional monarchy, with a tradition of neutrality, lying north of 55 degrees N. Lat. What is the country?

Answers will be found on Page 9.

SENATOR M'CARTHY VS. ARMY SECRETARY STEVENS—EIGHT CARTOONISTS' VIEWS ON THE WEEK'S RAPID-FIRE DEVELOPMENTS

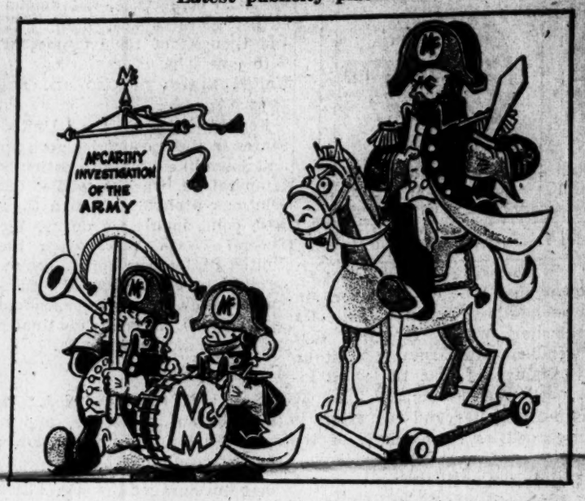
Herblock in The Washington Post
"Okay, Bud. When I want you again I'll send for you."

Poinier in The Detroit News
"Latest publicity platform."

Little in The Nashville Tennessean
"Rather balky."

Loring in The Providence Bulletin
"'Bomb drill?'—'No, McCarthy'."

Warren in The Cincinnati Enquirer
"What do you think of Dr. Peress?"



Haynie in The Greensboro News
"Charge of the fright brigade."

Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times
"Haven't you heard? McCarthy's declared war on the Army."

Yardley in The Baltimore Sun
"A noticeable stiffening of attitude."

PRESIDENT LEANS HEAVILY ON STAFF

Top-Level Conference Drafted Statement McCarthy Rejected

By ANTHONY LEVIERO
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—When the fog of war had cleared this week-end in the McCarthy-Stevens dispute, the feeling here was that the White House had contrived an uneasy truce. President Eisenhower had been drawn into the conflict, but the outcome was still in doubt.

The attention of the entire nation was focused on the President, for the issue was one of the [illegible] in many years, and [illegible] Stevens had abated but not resolved his quarrel with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy over the issue of Communists in the Army.

Administration View

In working out the shaky settlement the Administration took the view that it was dealing primarily with an intra-party dispute. But editorial reaction across the country indicated the public regarded the issue as far broader than that.

Many observers saw the honor of the Army compromised, and the Army consists of a big bloc of Americans. Considerable sympathy centered on Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, a war hero, after Senator McCarthy gave him a rough going-over.

Questions of moral standards were raised. Why did Mr. Stevens capitulate after his stanch defiance of Senator McCarthy in defense of the Army's officers? Did the President lead or was he pushed into a solution for reasons of political expediency? When was the Senate going to begin exercising some self-discipline? Would the President ever force a showdown with the rambunctious Senator from Wisconsin?

Staff Work

In dealing with problems as complex as this the President of necessity must rely to a great extent on his political and staff advisers. These advisers inevitably exercise considerable influence on public policy, especially if the President is unsure of himself in the political arena.

In some instances, when the issue is crystal clear, the President sees the answer largely as a matter of instinct. In those cases the advisers serve mostly to implement whatever action he decides on.

Swift Action

It was done the other way this time. A task force was formed at the White House. This group came up with what was essentially a staff recommendation and the President accepted it. The settlement left Mr. Stevens in office as Secretary of the Army, though the Army was now resentful of him.

In the ordinary course of business at the White House a problem is submitted to a more or less routine treatment. One or more specialists tackle it under the direction of Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President, who is essentially a chief of staff. Public opinion, political factors, the general welfare and legal questions, are weighed before a proposed solution is handed up to the President.

The present dispute created an extraordinary situation, requiring swift action. Secretary Stevens was threatening to resign if he did not get public support from the President. On the other hand, there was a clamor demanding that the President fire Mr. Stevens for capitulating.

From the beginning it was apparent that the attitude of the President's immediate advisers coincided with that of Congressional Republican leaders. The aim was to keep Mr. Stevens from resigning and to bring him into some kind of face-saving agreement with Senator McCarthy.

President Eisenhower [illegible] President's behest, Senator Dirksen sought and failed to get a new edition of the "Memorandum of Understanding" that was mutually acceptable to Mr. Stevens and Mr. McCarthy.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who had intervened on other occasions as a pacifying agent between Senator McCarthy and the White House, also paid an unannounced visit to the White House on Thursday morning, trying to bring about a solution.

'Task Force' Formed

Having failed in this first effort to resolve a fight that threatened to shake the Republican party, the President turned to his staff again.

A special "task force" was formed and it went into seclusion in the east wing of the White House, away from the intensely curious press.

It was late afternoon by then. Mr. Adams, as usual, was at the center. The armed forces were represented by Mr. Stevens and his superior, Roger M. Kyes, Under Secretary of Defense. Much of the President's political guidance comes from the so-called Thomas E. Dewey faction of the Republican party. Its chief representative in the Administration is Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, and he sent his deputy, William P. Rogers, to the conferences. James C. Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, was present; his political derivation is from Governor Dewey, too, and, of course, he was looking out for the public opinion factors.

Fred A. Seaton, a former Senator and now [illegible], and now [illegible] was [illegible] also joined the group.

"Kitchen Cabinet"

And to complete the group there were three members of the President's kitchen cabinet who specialize in Congressional liaison; Maj. Gen. Wilton B. Persons, a retired regular, who formerly represented the Army on Capitol Hill; I. Jack Martin, who received considerable indoctrination in Congressional affairs as executive assistant to the late Senator Robert A. Taft; and Gerald D. Morgan, who has been consultant to Congressional committees.

Apart from the dominating concept that party unity should be preserved, this group was also motivated by a conviction that, commendable as Mr. Stevens' defense of General Zwicker was, the Army Secretary had not selected a "good" case for a showdown fight. That was the cause of the promotion and honorable discharge of Maj. Irving Peress, who had declined to answer certain questions about his affiliations in his loyalty questionnaire.

The consensus was that Mr. Stevens ultimately would have to tell the full story of Major Peress to the subcommittee, as a matter of fact [illegible] balls on the [illegible] White House. It was a nice day for his favorite game, but he probably was working off steam. He works at high intensity anyway, and his doctor thinks he should take frequent breaks from his work. It was known that he was boiling mad at Senator McCarthy, primarily for his treatment of General Zwicker, who was personally known as a hero of the Battle of the Bulge to the former Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in World War II.

The task force, after ninety minutes of intensive work, produced a five-paragraph statement. This was taken to the President in his study, after his practice golf was finished, by Vice President Nixon, Acting Secretary Kyes, Secretary Stevens and Mr. Adams. They emerged after a half hour, the statement approved by the President.

In this statement Secretary Stevens said he would "never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstances, including committee hearings." He also said he had assurances from subcommittee members that they would not permit such abuses in the future.

[illegible] that he would remain [illegible] At the week-end, however, it was generally acknowledged that Mr. Stevens was in a shaky position and that the actions of Senator McCarthy may yet toss him out of it.

The subcommittee chairman, who had denounced General Zwicker as "a disgrace to the uniform" and as one who was "shielding Communist" suspects, denied that he had browbeaten or humiliated witnesses. Therefore, he said, he could not give assurances against that because he would not agree that anybody had been badly treated in the past.

Thus any hazing of an Army witness before the McCarthy committee would appear to call for Mr. Stevens' resignation. That would leave continuance of the conflict up to General Eisenhower. For in endorsing the stand taken by Mr. Stevens, the President had committed himself to battle, but Senator McCarthy has chosen the terrain.

THE McCARTHY SUBCOMMITTEE

Last week's developments in the McCarthy-Stevens controversy served to focus new attention on the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations which is headed by the Senator from Wisconsin. Other members of the subcommittee are:

Karl E. Mundt	Republican	South Dakota
Everett M. Dirksen	Republican	Illinois
Charles E. Potter	Republican	Michigan
John L. McClellan	Democrat	Arkansas
Henry M. Jackson	Democrat	Washington
Stuart Symington	Democrat	Missouri

PROBLEM OF 'UNEVALUATED CHARGES'

McCarthy and Langer Inquiries Sharply Raise the Issue

By LUTHER A. HUSTON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—New controversy flared in Washington this week over the use of "unevaluated" material in Congressional investigations.

The issue arose sharply in Senate Judiciary hearings on confirmation of Earl Warren as Chief Justice of the United States. Less directly, it was involved in the dispute between Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army, and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy over the treatment of Army officer [illegible]

[illegible] man of the [illegible] committee, permitted [illegible] against Chief Justice Warren to be introduced at a public hearing. It was acknowledged that the material from which the "charges" were drawn had not been "evaluated" by the committee's staff.

Procedure Criticized

The procedure was assailed as an unwarranted "smear" of the Chief Justice by the admission of statements unsupported by sworn testimony or credible evidence.

In the McCarthy-Stevens row it likewise was pointed out that Maj. Irving Peress had been called a Communist by the Wisconsin Senator without public proof of the charges. Senator McCarthy then had berated a general for answers he deemed unsatisfactory to questions regarding the Army's actions in promoting Major Peress and granting him an honorable discharge.

These controversies focussed attention on bulging files of the Executive departments and agencies and of Congressional committees, containing the data used to determine the loyalty of a Government employe, the fitness of an appointee to a Government office or the right of a Federal worker to hold his job.

Differing Methods

When it comes to the Govern[illegible] group and the Executive departments and agencies, there is no [illegible] the case of the Federal Bureau of Investigation there is no mandatory uniform procedure.

In cases involving internal security, the subversive cases, all material that is received by the F. B. I., except for the obviously unreliable, is sent to the Internal Security Section of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice. There it is "evaluated" to determine if criminal prosecution is warranted.

If such prosecution is decided upon that takes the matter out of the hands of the F. B. I., or the department or agency involved.

If a Law Is Broken

Most of the data that goes to the F. B. I. is studied somewhere in the Department of Justice. If it involved a violation of the anti-trust laws, for instance, it would go to the Anti-trust Division.

The F. B. I. screens everything, discards nothing but the patently trivial. That is not necessarily so in other branches of the Executive Department. And it is to the employe's department or agency that a derogatory letter, telegram or formal statement about the employe is usually sent by the accuser. (If it is Congressional confirmation of an appointment that is involved, the communication might go to a Senator or Representative, but eventually it would find its way to the committee to which the nomination was referred.)

If the security officer of an Executive department or agency should want to, he may toss aside a letter impugning the loyalty or fitness of an employe [illegible] communications that are sent direct to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In the case of those sent originally to Executive departments or agencies, most of them eventually wind up in the F. B. I.

Role of F. B. I.

"Evaluation," however, is involved in this process. In any Executive department all communications pertaining to employes or prospective employes are sent to the departmental security officer. The law requires that if they contain derogatory information, that data must be sent to the F. B. I.

When the question of motives arises, a question of "evaluation" also intrudes. Who is to say, for sure, whether a man who writes that a certain individual is unfit to be a United States Attorney is concerned with the country's welfare or is nursing a grudge? Who is to balance the merit of a signed communication against an anonymous letter?

In sorting out the derogatory matter, however, the security officer is not "evaluating" it in the accepted sense of the term. That sifting is merely a mandatory step in the over-all procedure.

The F. B. I., however, does not "evaluate" in the sense that it makes a formal appraisal of the material it assembles. When the F. B. I. has completed its investigation it sends a report to the unit of the Executive department from which it originally came.

The "evaluating" process begins when the F. B. I. report is turned over to the Executive department in which the accused individual works or is applying for work.

President Eisenhower's Executive Order establishing the current personnel security system set minimum standards. The methods to be used in applying those standards are mostly at the discretion of administrative officials.

Elements of Danger

Officials acknowledge that this procedure has elements of danger. Injustices are possible and some have occurred.

Officials assert, however, that the requirement that an employe be told what the charges against him are and have a hearing at which he may answer the charges, coupled with Civil Service regulations, afford a reasonable protection against injustice. This view is not shared by all critics of the Government's security program.

The procedure in the Executive departments does not apply to the legislative branch. Information received by Congressional committees does not go to the F. B. I., automatically, nor do F. B. I. reports go to Congress except upon special request and upon the authorization of the Attorney General.

In such matters, Congressional committees and their staffs are a law unto themselves, and do their own "evaluating."

M'CARTHY: A CHRONOLOGY SINCE 1950

1950

Feb. 9—At a Lincoln Day dinner in Wheeling, W. Va., Senator McCarthy tells his audience: "* * * I have here in my hands a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Feb. 20—Because some Democrats had challenged him to "put up or shut up," he reiterates his Wheeling charges in a six-hour speech on the floor of the Senate but in much more temperate terms. The number of names has been reduced to eighty-ones. (Later he cut it to fifty-seven.)

Feb. 21—Senate approves resolution asking Foreign Relations Committee to investigate McCarthy charges. Senator Millard E. Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, is named chairman of the special subcommittee.

March 8—Public hearings begin in Senate Caucus Room before overflow audience. Among ten persons named by McCarthy at that time as being tinged by varying degrees of communism are Ambassador at Large Philip Jessup, Prof. Owen Lattimore, Prof. Harlow Shapley and Foreign Service Officer John Stewart Service.

June 28—Service is cleared on both loyalty and security counts by State Department loyalty board.

July 18—Tydings subcommittee files its final report with the Foreign Relations Committee. It clears all persons charged with Communist sympathies by McCarthy, and excoriates him for "irresponsible" and "untruthful" accusations.

Nov. 7—Tydings is defeated for re-election by 43,111 votes by John Marshall Butler, Republican unknown, who has received massive support from Senator McCarthy.

1951

Jan. 22—Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections agrees to investigate charges of corruption by Butler forces in defeat of Tydings. Testimony, extending over period of two months, identifies Senator McCarthy and several members of his staff, as "master-minding" the Butler campaign.

April 10—Mrs. Esther Brunauer, whose loyalty has been publicly questioned by McCarthy, is suspended from her job in the State Department.

June 14—Reads 60,000-word Senate speech attacking Gen. George C. Marshall. "I ask in all gravity," he says, "whether a man so steeped in falsehood, who has recourse to the lie whenever it suits his convenience, is fit to hold so exalted a place * * * "

Aug. 6—Senator William Benton, Democrat of Connecticut, introduces resolution calling for further investigation of McCarthy's participation in the Butler-Tydings campaign and "into his other acts since election to the Senate." He accuses McCarthy of perjury.

Aug. 10—In Senate speech McCarthy gives the names of twenty-seven persons currently employed at the State Department whose loyalty, he says, is open to question. Among them are Ambassador Jessup, John Paton Davies, Minister to Tangier, John Carter Vincent, career foreign service officer.

Sept. 27—Makes first of two appearances before Foreign Relations subcommittee in opposition to Jessup's nomination as United States representative to the United Nations.

Oct. 18—Subcommittee rejects the Jessup nomination. This is widely regarded as a triumph for McCarthy. (Jessup receives a recess appointment from President Truman on Oct. 22).

Dec. 13—John Stewart Service is dismissed from the State Department on loyalty grounds.

1952

March 26—Brings $2,000,000 libel suit against Senator Benton for corruption charges which Benton made in Senate under waiver of immunity.

May 12—Privileges and Elections subcommittee begins hearings on Benton's ouster charge against McCarthy.

Sept. 10—Wins smashing primary victory in Wisconsin with margin of 100,000 more votes than other five candidates combined.

Nov. 4—Re-elected to Senate (by 54 per cent of total vote as opposed to about 70 per cent in the primary contest). Benton, against whom McCarthy campaigned in Connecticut, is defeated by 40,000.

1953

Jan. 3—In organization of the Repu[illegible] controlled Eighty-third Congress [illegible] McCarthy gains the most powerful post of his career, chairmanship of the Permanent Investigations Committee with jurisdiction to "police" the executive agencies.

Feb. 12—Starts investigation into alleged Communist influence in the State Department's United States Information Service. His attention focuses primarily on books by Communist authors in overseas libraries.

Feb. 23—In wake of this controversy, Secretary of State Dulles asserts, in what is generally taken to be an expression of Administration policy, that the responsibilities of running the department are his own, "and I expect to exercise them." This has no observable effect on the vigor of Senator McCarthy's examination of Information Service officials.

March 2—Senator announces that he will oppose nomination of Charles E. Bohlen, career diplomat, as Ambassador to Moscow.

March 20—Asserts in Senate speech on Bohlen nomination that Secretary Dulles' statement that he had examined the F. B. I. files on Bohlen "would appear to be untrue." (Bohlen is confirmed on March 27. This is heralded as a "defeat" for McCarthy in his conflict with President Eisenhower).

March 27—Announces on television program that his committee has "negotiated" with group of Greek shipowners to stop carrying cargoes to Communist China.

March 28—In committee hearing, Foreign Operations Administration Director Harold E. Stassen complains that McCarthy's deal with the shipowners is "undermining" the Administration efforts to cut off trade with China.

April 2—Following a Cabinet meeting Mr. Stassen recants, saying he supposes he meant that Senator McCarthy was "infringing," not "undermining," the Administration's position.

May 11—Theodore Kaghan, Deputy Director for Public Affairs to the United States High Commissioner for Germany, resigns after a long series of stormy hearings before the McCarthy committee. He says he was forced to resign in spite of the lack of any substantial evidence of disloyalty or unfitness.

[illegible] three Democratic members of McCarthy's subcommittee quit in protest over the chairman's insistence that he has the sole right to hire and dismiss committee personnel.

Oct. 14—The Senator gives the first of a long series of "briefings" to New York reporters on information he says is being extracted from witnesses in closed hearings on espionage at Fort Monmouth, N. J. His allegations are soon followed by announcements that twenty-seven employes at the great signal center have been suspended.

Nov. 13—Secretary Stevens says in Washington: "We have been unable to find anything relating to espionage" in the Army's own investigation at Monmouth. Senator McCarthy retorts: "More detailed hearings will begin around December 1." However, they never come off.

Nov. 24—In a national television broadcast (answering former President Truman's comments on the Harry Dexter White disclosures) McCarthy assails the Administration's conduct of foreign policy and, in effect, challenges President Eisenhower to a "popularity contest" over whose position is better on the Communist issue.

1954

Jan. 25—He agrees to all terms demanded by the Democratic former members of his committee for their return to the committee.

Feb. 5—Sets out on a week-long Lincoln Day speaking tour using the theme of "Twenty Years of Treason" to belabor the Democrats.

Feb. 18—In New York hearings, sitting as a one-man subcommittee in the case of Maj. Irving Peress, the Senator castigates Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, Peress' commanding officer, saying he "should be removed from any command."

Feb. 21—Secretary Stevens strikes back indignantly at such "unwarranted abuse" of Zwickes. He says he is willing to appear, himself, at a session of the McCarthy committee to answer questions about the Peress case. At the same time he issues instructions for other officers to disregard Senator McCarthy's request for testimony.

Feb. 24—After a two-hour luncheon at the Capitol, Senator McCarthy and Secretary Stevens called in the press for a session at which the now-famous "Memorandum of Understanding" was read.

SENATE TO INVESTIGATE INVESTIGATING METHODS

Latest McCarthy Conflict Prompts G. O. P. Efforts to End Inquiries By One-Man Subcommittees

HOPE TO AVOID PARTY SPLIT

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—One direct and constructive effect of the controversy between Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Department of the Army was the decision of the Senate Republican Policy Committee to review the methods of Senate investigators with the object of improving them—notably by ending inquiries by one-man subcommittees. Examination of witnesses by one Senator, particularly McCarthy, is a principal source of the abuse of individual rights to decent treatment that precipitated the immediate controversy.

The Republican party members in Congress have been slow to attempt the policing of their own ranks that McCarthy's inquiry tactics, culminating in his denunciation of Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, made it their obligation to undertake long ago. This is partly attributable to fear of reprisals from the Wisconsin Senator in which many Senators, especially Republicans facing a re-election campaign, stand in dread. It is partly attributable also to a Republican conviction and a Democratic apprehension that McCarthy is the effective political symbol of the effort to expose and root out Communist infiltration in government, an issue to which Republican politicians look for victory in the Congressional elections of 1954. But the other factor which produced the long delay of the Senate in tackling the problem of inquiry methods typified by McCarthy is the disinclination of a Senator to curb another lest he be curbed in return. That attitude is what has made the Senate known as "the most exclusive and fraternal club in the world."

Langer's Action Cited

The power of a single Senator under the free-and-easy regulations of that body has recently been illustrated in a way to explain why his colleagues are loath to attempt discipline. Senator William Langer, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, was able by that authority to delay unconscionably a report on the nomination of the Chief Justice of the United States and to spread on the public record a series of unsupported attacks on the character of Earl Warren. Senator Wayne Morse has frequently demonstrated that one member of the body, acting on whatever motive, can halt the entire Senate machinery. Hence the Senate attitude of I-tickle-you-you-tickle-me is founded on experience.

So deeply founded is it that the current attempt to reform inquiry procedures and curb McCarthy in especial would never have been launched by the Republican Policy Committee if the McCarthy-Stevens episode had not presented to the people an unmistakable Republican picture of weak administration and low legislative standards. Plainly, the reputation of the President, his regime and the party was impeached by the episode, and under the urging of Vice President Nixon the Republican leaders flogged themselves into doing something to redeem it.

The situation had developed to a point where a statement of fact and intent by the Secretary of the Army, accepted "100 per cent" by the President and carefully staged against the background of the White House, was declared by McCarthy—though he took it back after reading the statement—to be "completely false." And as the situation had developed Secretary Stevens, the responsible head of a great Government department, was revealed as, at the best, feeble and naïve, and, at the worst, a deserter under fire from the very battlefield he had chosen.

Party Position

The party position then was this: The Republican Administration was humbled by a Republican Senator, and the President's former colleagues in the Army were surrendered to the same outrageous treatment McCarthy gave Zwicker.

Two facts then became incontrovertible to the Republican leaders in Congress and the managing party politicians. One was that the President and the party could not be left in this position without heavy risk of repudiation of the party by the people. The other was that, if no disciplinary move against McCarthy were made at the Capitol, the President might take the field against him in person, involving the heavier risk of a Republican split that could not be mended by election day.

Under Surface Moves

In an effort to correct the one and forestall the other, Republican Senators led by Homer Ferguson of Michigan made their move and made it with unexpected promptness. After the resolution adopted by the Policy Committee Ferguson prepared letters to all committee chairmen, asking for their ideas on the proper procedures of inquiries. And beneath the surface these further moves were made:

(1) The other Republicans on McCarthy's subcommittee that is inquiring into Army matters were urged to view it as their duty, and in their self-interest as well as in the interest of the Senate as a whole, to restrain McCarthy from such outbursts as that against Zwicker. They were urged hereafter not all to absent themselves from the subcommittee hearings, thus allowing it to be a one-man show by McCarthy. On these counsels progress was reported.

(2) The leaders further proposed that steps be taken soon to sever Roy Cohn from his post as counsel to the McCarthy subcommittee. They justified this on the ground that he has encouraged his chief in his attacks on the Army, and traced Cohn's animation to his differences with the Army over David Schine, Cohn's young associate who was drafted some time ago. The other Republican subcommitteemen were told that there is a record of Cohn's interventions with the Army with respect to Schine that will become public and will certainly be no asset to them. This record, it is said, shows that McCarthy took care to have no part in Cohn's efforts for Schine. But a chairman and his group cannot wholly disassociate themselves from criticism of their counsel.

(3) Progress on the plan to remove Cohn from his subcommittee post was also reported by the leaders to representatives of the Administration.

Burke's Advice Recalled

In these and other ways the Republican leaders, working to repair the damages inflicted by the Stevens affair on the Administration and the party, are following Edmund Burke's prescription—ignored by George III—for avoiding the war between Britain and her American colonies: "Cure the condition by removing the causes." And it was Stevens' misadventure and the storm of criticism it evoked that will deserve the credit for whatever good may come of the work of the reparations crew.

Two things, however, are beyond their power to achieve. McCarthy, a chief "cause" of the "condition" they seek to cure, cannot be "removed" by them: they can only hope to tame him by a proof that reform is in his interest. And they cannot restore the prestige of Stevens; only he can do that, and it will be a difficult task.

MR. LOW TAKES A LOOK AT OUR CHINA POLICY SITUATION

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"Preparations for meeting China."

M'CARTHY VS. EISENHOWER: SHOWDOWN AGAIN OFF

Senator Gains Power by Frequent Challenges to the Administration

By W. H. LAWRENCE

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27—It is a long way from Peoria to the Pentagon, but a lot of politicians here are convinced that there is a close connection between the two places in any complete story of the relations between President Eisenhower and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican.

They think that a chain of events which began at Peoria on Oct. 2, 1952, pre-ordained the stunning decision that was taken this week for Robert T. Stevens, the Secretary of the Army, to drop suddenly his defiance of the McCarthy investigating committee after it had been built up into a national issue. Surrender was the harsh verdict of most of Mr. Stevens' friends as well as his enemies.

Peoria is important because it was the scene of the first showdown between General Eisenhower, then the Presidential candidate headed for a landslide victory, and Senator McCarthy—and when the quarrel was over it was General Eisenhower, not Senator McCarthy, who gave ground.

General Eisenhower, at that time, was heading into Wisconsin to give what his campaign aides called a reluctant endorsement of Senator McCarthy for re-election. He wished to couple this endorsement with an attack upon Senator McCarthy's methods.

A Speech for Milwaukee

Some of the Eisenhower supporters in the East, who detested Senator McCarthy as well as his methods, believed the General best could dramatize his distaste for Senator McCarthy's record by including in his Milwaukee speech the following night a glowing endorsement of his old friend, General of the Army George C. Marshall.

Senator McCarthy had charged on the Senate floor that General Marshall had been responsible for an "unbroken series of decisions and acts, contributing so greatly to the strategy of defeat" for the United States and global supremacy for the Soviet Union.

In a hotel room that October night General Eisenhower read to Senator McCarthy what he proposed to say at Milwaukee. Defiant as always, the Senator told the Republican nominee he could say whatever he wished, but he suggested Milwaukee or Wisconsin wasn't the place to say it. He said the candidate might, in fact, be booed.

The two men were closeted over this problem with Arthur E. Summerfield, now the Postmaster General but then the Republican National Chairman, for about an hour. Their meeting broke up on an indecisive note.

Some of Eisenhower's exuberant aides were telling newsmen through the night that the nominee had a first-rate speech for Milwaukee which included the high praise to Marshall as a direct rebuke to Senator McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy kept his silence publicly but mobilized his powerful political friends in the state to put new pressure on General Eisenhower to remove the offending paragraph.

When the speech was made the Marshall paragraph was missing. General Eisenhower claimed later it was omitted at the suggestion of Gov. Walter J. Kohler and other party leaders who were his hosts in Wisconsin.

Later, it was learned that Senator McCarthy had suggested that if General Eisenhower wanted to praise General Marshall again he would find it politically more profitable to do it in New York or New Jersey. Later, in fact, General Eisenhower did praise General Marshall in New Jersey.

Senator and President-Elect

From that time on, McCarthy had little fear of Dwight Eisenhower. The landslide election victory the general scored and the fact that he ran well ahead of Senator McCarthy in the Senator's home state of Wisconsin didn't change McCarthy's attitude.

That Senator McCarthy has gone on from there to one victory after another over the Eisenhower Administration has convinced quite a number of Republicans and Democrats (a few publicly, but more privately) that appeasement doesn't pay any more dividends in intra-party politics than it does in international power politics.

Certainly each new concession has only whetted Senator McCarthy's appetite to a point where he does not hesitate to say that a White House-approved statement is "completely false."

There is little doubt that McCarthy truly is a powerful influence in and out of the Senate, especially in the "right wing" of the Republican party.

Few men have the courage to take him on publicly. The Eisenhower wing of the party, so far at any rate, has been unwilling to curb his excesses or to slap back at him when he tackles the President personally or any other high official of the Republican Administration.

Viewed in its broadest [illegible] tween Senator McCarthy and Secretary Stevens raised these main questions:

When, if ever, will the Administration have a genuine and decisive showdown with Senator McCarthy?

Can another Administration "surrender" to Senator McCarthy have any effect other than to add to his already powerful position in Congress?

Will the 1954 Congressional election campaign be fought, as the President hoped, on the main issue of his legislative program, [illegible] Senator McCarthy's Communist-hunting issue?

There are quite a few politicians who believe that the Administration rapidly is running out of opportunities on which it can grasp the initiative and fight it out once and for all with the junior Republican Senator from Wisconsin.

There certainly was nothing in Congress this week either in the handling of the Stevens affair or even in the defeat of the Bricker amendment that added appreciably to the strength of the so-called Eisenhower wing of the Republican party.

There was, on the contrary, clear evidence that the Republican "right wing," of which Senator McCarthy is an increasingly powerful leader, was gaining in strength. A certain result is to put him in the forefront of the fall campaign. A majority of the Republicans in Congress have indicated unquestionably that they would rather wage the campaign on their kind of issues than to stress the Eisenhower program.

Communism in Government

With Senator McCarthy out front, these Republicans certainly will stress the issue of "communism in Government" and hammer at the theme that the preceding Democratic Administrations added up to "twenty years of treason," to a far greater extent than the less partisan President Eisenhower would prefer.

Such a campaign, if it is popular in party primaries as well as in the November elections, might produce a Republican group that is even more anti-Eisenhower than the present crop, most of whose members in 1952 backed the Presidential aspirations of the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

Some of these conservative Republicans now talk about President Eisenhower in the extravagant terms [illegible] once has been a "traitor" to the party that nominated him, both because of the policies he has advocated and the civil servants he has declined to remove from office.

Yet, it is equally true that nothing the Administration did in the Stevens case was calculated to encourage Democrats to move into an exposed position and stick out their necks to help out either the President or his high appointees when they come under heavy Republican attack in the future.

Late last week, and early in this one, Secretary Stevens actively was soliciting help from the Democratic members of Senator McCarthy's subcommittee when it seemed certain he would publicly go to the mat with the Wisconsin Republican in a no-holds-barred showdown.

The Democrats were willing to give him this support. Yet the minority members were not invited to the luncheon where the issue finally was settled, and Mr. Stevens did not give them even the courtesy of a warning before he pulled out of the fight.

It is not likely, therefore, that any Democrat will burn his hands in the future reaching for Republican chestnuts in a fire—especially when the Administration may decide suddenly that it does not want those particular chestnuts rescued anyway.

Republican Problem

At the week's end, the official Democratic view was that Senator McCarthy was more than ever a problem peculiar to the Republican party and one with which that party would have to deal by itself.

There were, on the other hand, a small group of persons who felt that the McCarthy victory was not as sweeping as it seemed at first, and that overstatement of its true meaning — as Senator McCarthy was doing—might in the long run boomerang on him and produce a larger measure of support for the Administration than had seemed possible Wednesday when the deal was made.

Some who saw it this way admitted quite frankly they were engaging in wishful thinking. Others thought there was a more realistic basis for believing that steps finally were under way to curb Senator McCarthy in the decision of the Senate Republican leadership to consider a revision of the rules to end one-man subcommittee investigations.

Time alone can tell whether Senator McCarthy's greatest victory may turn out in the long run to be a prelude to a big defeat, but the road that has been traveled from Peoria to the Pentagon contains no evidence that such will be the case.

Roche in The Buffalo Courier-Express

E. D. C. ACTION UNLIKELY BEFORE GENEVA TALKS

Indications Are That Italy, France Will Defer Decision Until Moscow Shows Hand at Conference

RUSSIANS' AIM IS TO STALL

By C. L. SULZBERGER

FLORENCE, Italy, Feb. 27—It is now beginning to look as if Soviet diplomacy has managed to stave off once again enactment of the European Defense Community, that essential aspiration of Washington's present diplomatic policy and therefore Moscow's bugbear.

The ultimate decision as to whether the Western Continental countries shall unite militarily must be taken in Italy and France. But there appears to be an increasing likelihood the matter will be deferred anew, until the Geneva conference on Far Eastern affairs indicates whether the Kremlin is or is not interested in Asian peace.

Early during the recent Big Four talks in Berlin, Secretary of State Dulles warned Mr. Molotov that the democratic powers had not come to the council table merely for the purpose of calling another conference. Yet this is precisely what they did do in the end.

They were unable to budge the impassive Soviet representative from his unyielding position on Germany and Austria. Finally, for a variety of reasons, they agreed to the Geneva conference commencing on April 26—the only agreement of Berlin.

Nobody has any idea how long the Geneva discussions are likely to last. Yet their duration is bound to be a point of exceptional importance. It is clearly to the advantage of the Kremlin, so earnestly intent on preventing ratification of E. D. C., to draw out for as long as possible any maneuver that stands a chance of holding that project up.

Mr. Molotov may have concluded that if he cannot rely upon killing the E. D. C. in a frontal assault he can, at any rate, do his best by delaying and stalling maneuvers to try to let time nibble that bold project to death. This strategy is being fostered by the Kremlin's faithful servants, the Italian and French Communists.

Outlook For E. D. C.

In Italy the actual parlimentary outlook for ratification of E. D. C. is statistically good. That is to say, political experts calculate that if the uneasy Government of Signor Scelba lasts long enough and is skillful and persevering enough to bring the matter to a vote, it will pass with the necessary majority.

But neither goodwill nor fortune is going to suffice to make the process speedy. The parliamentary procedure still necessary for ratification—almost two years after Italy, France, West Germany and the Benelux nations initialled E. D. C. in Paris—will be drawn out. It is certain that Signor Togliatti's large Communist bloc of Deputies will conduct a time-consuming filibuster, hoping in the end to divide the Government's uneasy ranks.

On paper the prospects of Italy's ratification are improved despite the paradox that Rome's Government is getting weaker while the Communist opposition to it and E. D. C. is getting stronger. The project has been placed at the top of the legislative program. Even without the backing of the Monarchists and the neo-Fascist M. S. I., it appears to have enough voting support. And the right-wing Deputies, bitterly anti-Communist, may vote for it in the end even if their stated conditions are not fully satisfied.

Secret Understanding

For months there had been suspicion in many chanceries—above all that of the West German Republic—that a secret understanding existed between France and Italy whereby Rome promised not to act on E. D. C. until Paris had done so, in exchange for French support on Italy's Trieste claims.

Despite denials, some observers saw confirmation of such a deal—designed to keep France from diplomatic isolation in the eyes of the United States Congress—in Rome's expressed view that no approval for E. D. C. could be expected until Italian claims on Trieste had been met.

Signor Scelba's coalition has, however, dropped this disturbing precondition. Furthermore it does not appear to be insisting, as does France, on revision or modification of the agreements initialed by the six E. D. C. Governments.

Thus, in appearance, the European army's chances seem to be in good shape so far as Italian politics go. But not even the most optimistic analyst of Rome's Parliament thinks the agreement will be ratified until after the Geneva conference because of Communist filibustering.

The key to the destiny of E. D. C. and therefore of the relationship of Western Europe to the United States, still remains in France. There, as has so often proved the case under the Fourth Republic, prospects remain confused.

French Debate

Unlike the Italian Government, which has abandoned insistence on a prior Trieste settlement, that of France has not relinquished claims to a Saar agreement with Germany preceding E. D. C. ratification. Likewise, the French, despite the brave and sometimes brilliant talk of M. Bidault, are still arguing about the need to modify the present European army statute and to extract further assurances of support and association from the United States and Britain.

By his obduracy at Berlin, if Mr. Molotov lost some support from the ranks of non-Communist opponents of E. D. C. in the French Assembly, he gained two valuable tactical points. He induced Messrs. Dulles, Eden and Bidault all to spell out promises that when Germany is eventually reunited it will not be bound by any prior commitment of the Bonn Federal Republic—a thought which scares many worried Frenchmen, reluctant to give the Germans guns. And he secured agreement for the Geneva conference on Asia. Already various currents of French opinion are saying it would be a poor idea to ratify E. D. C. until after the Geneva meeting—for fear of irritating Moscow and spoiling whatever hopes exist for peace in Indo-China.

Fears for Indo-China

Whether this new whisper demanding delay had been anticipated by Mr. Molotov cannot be known. Nevertheless, it is having an influence. Furthermore, some far-sighted diplomats fear Geneva must ultimately produce failure, as far as France's Indo-China hopes are concerned; that a resulting French defeatism would react badly in Washington, inspiring tension in the relationships of the United States and France.

The long-postponed E. D. C. cannot stand the strain of quarrels between the French, who invented it, and the Americans, who are pressing so hard for its realization. Europe has not forgotten Mr. Dulles' warning that failure of the plan might force an "agonizing reappraisal" of United States policy. But Europe, the slave of France's parliamentary paralysis, does not know what to do about it.

Through the irritations that might result from this delay, Moscow hopes to promote its great objective—the withdrawal from this continent of American armed forces and political influence.

'SORRY—WE'VE GOT BIGGER FISH TO FRY'

'FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE—BEFORE AND AFTER'

Dr. Roberts Is Right

Dr. Warren Roberts, Wabash College professor, put his finger on an important educational principle at a meeting of the Indiana State Board of Education's Commission on General Education. He proposed to fellow members that teachers be encouraged to take more training in the subjects they teach instead of in unrelated subjects. Specifically he proposed that state regulations be changed to require that the commission for a first class school be given to schools whose teachers have the equivalent of a college major in the subjects they teach. He also proposed that the masters degrees of the required 50 per cent contain at least a minor in such subjects. He pointed out that a teacher of government in public school could have a master's degree and yet have spent a total of only three semester hours in political science in college.

Dr. Roberts brings up an issue that involves the whole philosophy of what a good education and what a good teacher is. The M.A. degree entitles a teacher to higher pay. But if a teacher takes an M.A. in physical education or in the theory of education, that does not necessarily make him a better teacher in his field. Isn't the best way for a teacher to improve his teaching to advance his knowledge and understanding of his subject? Doesn't a teacher get more than enough educational theory in courses in educational psychology, philosophy, history and educational methodology in the multitude of such courses in undergraduate study? Should not undergraduate teacher training stress subject matter more than methodology? Good teachers are not necessarily those who have become expert in the theory of teaching. Good teachers are those who become expert in the practice of teaching. Surely continued study in the field in which one teaches is essential to improvement of a teacher in the classroom. An M.A. in history certainly qualifies a history teacher better than an M.A. in educational psychology.

Today an M.A. held by a teacher does not necessarily mean that teacher is either better or as good a teacher as his compatriot who does not have one. It doesn't mean anything except that he gets more money and his school gets a higher rating.

Dr. Roberts is right. The whole system should be re-examined with the aim of providing better trained, better educated teachers for our schools. The present system does not encourage teachers to become experts in their field. It encourages them to take the easy road to a degree that may add nothing whatsoever to his ability to teach. Some changes are in order.

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Red Kiss For Mikemen

Former Indianapolis radio newsman, Frank Edwards, now broadcasting nationally for the AFL, is held in high esteem by John Martin, radio critic for the Communist Daily Worker. "Frank Edwards is about the best of the news commentators allowed on the national airways," he writes in a recent Daily Worker column which also mentions two contemporaries, Verbose John W. Vandercook, newly employed CIO radio newsman, and Edward R. Murrow of radio, video and innuendo. Edwards and Vandercook, says Mr. Martin, are exceptions to the "loud hysterical echoes inflaming the cold war atmosphere or covering up for the Eisenhower Administration." He credits Mr. Murrow with "magnificent See It Now sequences on TV."

Well, now we know how Messrs. Edwards, Murrow and Vandercook stand with Moscow's mouthpiece in America, the Daily Worker. We also know where that Red rag stands with most Americans, including Messrs. Edwards, Murrow and Vandercook. We're reminded, however, that both Edwards and Murrow are adept at establishing relative values from which they may evolve cutting analysis—if it suits their purpose. Both will surely disregard this one. For some reason all this reminds us of Proverbs 36:5, which goes like this: "A man that flattereth his neighbor spreadeth a net for his feet."

Later on, Roosevelt [illegible] revenue on Lewis and an operative who frankly calls himself a hatchet man, ran up quite a report on John L.'s income tax situation. But Lewis had plenty on Roosevelt so the report on John Longwords was put to sleep.

Dan Tobin, the grand exalted fathead of the teamsters, announced one year when there was a congressional election that he would spend out of the teamsters' treasury just as much as it might take to elect a Democratic majority to support Roosevelt.

You may say, "Yes, but Tobin and Lewis got the teamsters and miners big raises in pay." That is right. And the hat-check babe takes good care of your hat, too. And a smile goes with the package. What more do you want for a quarter?

Yes, but the night club gag is a gyp. They fix it so you have to check your hat. All right—and the government's union deal is a gyp, too. The government fixed it so you have to join the union or starve.

At this point we leave the analogy. The hat-check girl never comes into the joint to yell at some customer with his girl or wife, "that bum tried to pinch me" or anything like that.

Blackmail And Brigandage

But the union concessions have run an organized blackmail and brigandage for the last 20 years. They picket factories, stores and lunch wagons with dirty lies, drive off customers, beat up and shoot non-joiners and even joiners, too, put stink-bombs in the ventilators and impose sales taxes on merchandise, including food.

What they do is fascism at its worst, operated by licensees without the slightest claim of public recognition. They pulled thousands of strikes in war industries during the second war and ran up our bill by literally billions.

Why would it be "bad" fascism for the government, itself, to collect this easy money if you are willing to grant that it is okay for the unions to collect it? Why would it be "bad" fascism for the government to prevent strikes by executive decision if you are willinig to defend the right of Jimmy Petrillo or Walter Reuther to pull strikes by dictatorial edict? Especially when the workers don't want to strike.

day of the week
afternoon and eve
and seven evening
If he thinks the
dark except when
tainment is provid
like to have him
seum and see t
clubs in action.

I feel the citizens
olis should be awar
that between 25,0
people take advan
skating sessions of

TWO WORD

By L. E.

STUB. Noun and Greek stu
meant the same as
the part of a tree
ground when the up
been cut off. With
and "stub" mean the
referring to trees,
stub for the short,
a pencil or cigar or
when the main porti
worn down or used
also the small part
or check, when the
has been removed.
both to clear the la
or stumps and to
foot or toe against
ject like a stump. Th
is as in "up."

ROTATION. Noun.
denote
tion of moving arou
ter, or of turning
round on an axis. A
series of period, as
tion of crops" or "a
office," shows a regu
sion or alternation.
and the action of com
regularly produces rot
emphasis is on the lo
syllable in ro-ta-shu

As The Day Begins:

Alien Motorist Couldn't Do Worse

We've brooded for a week over the case of the German-born motorist who came out second best in a brush with local authorities. Of course, his fracture of the traffic laws apparently was compounded by charges that would be equally serious for domestic or imported drivers, but much was made of the point that he had been issued a beginner's license despite the fact that he couldn't read, write or speak English.

What we'd like to know is why this should be considered important. We'll grant that anyone in this country two years should be able to identify such plain and simple English words as "stop," "go," "walk," "slow," "curve" and "danger—men working" that suggest caution at intersections.

But these signals are effective only in so far as they flash an immediate warning in the motorist's control tower. His reaction has to be practically automatic. If he must hesitate to read signs to get his directions, he's just waiting for an accident to happen.

Before we censure this Ger
born motorist to severely on
score let us remember that hund
of American tourists who can't
write or speak German drive
in his late country every year.
cording to the American Aut

Dean Erwin N. Griswold's Speech On Fifth Amendment

(The following speech was delivered by Dean Erwin N. Griswold at the Winter Meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association held in Springfield, Massachusetts, on Friday, February 5, 1954.

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President Bodfish, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Old friends are good friends. Yet even with the best of friends problems sometimes arise. I have the feeling that that is in a sense the situation we find ourselves in with respect to the Fifth Amendment. It has been with us a long time. It is rather comforting to have around. Yet in the past few years it has come to our consciousness as it rarely has before, and it has been troublesome to many members of the public. It has seemed to me worth while, therefore, to undertake a review of the Fifth Amendment with the thought that ordinarily the better we understand something in human experience, the less fearsome it becomes.

Before going further it may be well to introduce our old friend itself. The Fifth Amendment contains a number of provisions which are commonplace. It is the source of our constitutional rule that serious criminal charges must be made by indictment of a grand jury. It provides against double jeopardy, against the taking of property without due process of law, and against the taking of private property for public use without just compensation. Along with these other provisions is the phrase which has currently come to the fore: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." In this connection, it is well to mention the fact that the Massachusetts Constitution has a corresponding provision, which antedates that in the Federal Constitution. Article XII of the Bill of Rights in the Massachusetts Constitution, adopted in 1780, provides that "No subject shall . . . be compelled to accuse, or furnish evidence against himself." We are not dealing with either an alien or a novel doctrine.

Historians can trace the origin of this privilege back to the twelfth century. Apparently it began in controversies between the king and the bishops. The bishops sought to examine people about a wide variety of alleged offenses, and the king sought to limit the bishops to purely ecclesiastical subjects. By the sixteenth century the idea had been reduced to a latin maxim which was rather frequently voiced, but which does not seem by any means to have reflected the practice of that period. This maxim is: Nemo tenetur prodere se ipsum – or, in English, No one should be required to accuse himself. As early as 1589, the young Coke apparently obtained a writ of prohibition against proceedings in the spiritual courts, on this ground. *Cullier and Cullier,* Cro. Eliz. 201 (1589). But the maxim was then little more than an idea. Over the next 50 years, it was apparently standard practice not only to make suspected persons give evidence against themselves, but also to use torture to make sure that the accused would speak. Indeed, it appears that Coke himself at times participated in the administration of torture for this purpose. As we think of the development of the privilege as it has continued to this day, we should not overlook the fact of its close connection with the struggle to eliminate torture as a governmental practice.

It seems quite clear that we owe the privilege of today primarily to Freeborn John Lilburn. He was a cantankerous person, the sort to whom we owe much for many of our basic rights. One of his contemporaries said that "if all the world was emptied of all but John Lilburn, Lilburn would quarrel with John and John with Lilburn." Like most contentious people, he was stubborn. In 1637, he was haled before the Star Chamber on a charge of having imported certain heretical and seditious books. He refused to take the oath to answer truly, and the Council of the Star Chamber condemned him to be whipped and pilloried, for his "boldness in refusing to take a legal oath," without which many offences might go "undiscovered and unpunished." And in 1638, the sentence was carried out.

But Lilburn persisted. He filed a petition with Parliament, and in 1641 the House of Commons voted that the sentence was "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Later, the House of Lords concurred with this view, and ordered an indemnity paid to him in the amount of £3,000, which was a very large sum in those days.

This event seems to have been enough to establish the privilege against self-incrimination as a part of the common law. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, we find many occasions when the privilege was recognized by the English courts, and it has been recognized ever since. Indeed, it is still a matter of common law in England. But it is very deeply imbedded in the common law.

Thus, the privilege came to this continent as a part of the legal heritage of our early settlers. Some trace of the privilege is found in this Commonwealth as early as 1637, in the trial of Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright. It was also recognized in the other colonies, although the evidences are rather scarce.

Let me read to you a record which has come down to us from Pennsylvania in 1689. In that year, William Bradford was summoned before the Governor and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania. Bradford was the man who introduced the art of printing to the middle provinces of America. He was about twenty-six years old when this episode occurred.

At the instance of one of the citizens of Pennsylvania, Bradford had printed the Charter of the Province so that people could see their rights. He had not put his name on the pamphlet, apparently anticipating some trouble. Here is the examination, chiefly by the Governor. You may want to consider whether you have ever heard anything like it before.

"Governour.–Why, sir, I would know by what power of authority you thus print? Here is the Charter printed!

"Bradford.–It was by Governour Penn's encouragment I came to this Province, and by his license I print.

"Governour.–What, sir, had you license to print the Charter? I desire to know from you, whether you did print the Charter or not, and who set you to work?

"Bradford.–Governour, it is an impracticable thing for any man to accuse himself; thou knows it very well.

"Governour.–Well, I shall not much press you to it, but if you were so ingenuous as to confess, it should go the better with you.

"Bradford.–Governour, I desire to know my accusers; I think it very hard to be put upon accusing myself.

"Governour.–Can you deny that you printed it? I do know you did print it, and by whose directions, and will prove it, and make you smart for it, too, since you are so stubborn.

"John Hill.–I am informed that one hundred and sixty were printed yesterday, and that Jos. Growden saith he gave 20s for his part towards the printing it.

"Bradford.–It's nothing to me, what 'Jos. Growden saith.' Let me know my accusers, and I shall know the better how to make my defence."

Little is heard about self-incrimination during the eighteenth century. This may well have been because the privilege was generally recognized in the colonies after it had become established as a part of the common law of England. Violation of the privilege did not figure as one of the major grievances of the colonists, although there are occasional references to "Inquisitional Courts," and there was complaint about the roving jurisdiction of the admiralty courts during the controversy over the Stamp Acts. The Privilege was included in the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776 drafted by George Mason, and, apparently largely because of its presence there, it made its way, in various forms, into the constitutions of six or seven of the original States. When the Federal Constitution was ratified, a number of the States proposed amendments, and the privilege against self-incrimination was specifically mentioned. Accordingly, it was included in the proposals made by Congress which became the Fifth Amendment in 1791, and it has been there unchanged ever since. It is truly an old friend, with an ancient and I believe useful history.

A good many efforts have been made to rationlaize the privilege, to explain why it is a desirable or essential part of our basic law. These have been carefully reviewed by Wigmore, and he concludes that none of the explanations is wholly satisfactory. I am going to offer my own attempt to express the reason for the Fifth Amendment, and why I think it is a sound provision of our basic laws, both Federal and State.

I would like to venture the suggestion that the privilege against self-incrimination is one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized. As I have already pointed out, the establishment of the privilege is closely linked historically with the abolition of torture. Now we look upon torture with abhorrence. But torture was once used by honest and conscientious public servants as a means of obtaining information about crimes which could not otherwise be disclosed. We want none of that today, I am sure. For a very similar reason, we do not make even the most hardened criminal sign his own death warrant, or dig his grave, or pull the lever that springs the trap on which he stands. We have through the course of history developed a considerable feeling of the dignity and intrinsic importance of the individual man. Even the evil man is a human being.

If a man has done wrong, he should be punished. But the evidence against him should be produced, and evaluated by a proper court in a fair trial. Neither torture nor an oath nor the threat of punishment such as imprisonment for contempt should be used to compel him to provide the evidence to accuse or to convict himself. If his crime is a serious one careful and often laborious police work may be required to prove it by other evidence. Sometimes no other evidence can be found. But for about three centuries in the Anglo-American legal system, we have accepted the standard that even then we do not compel the accused to provide that evidence. I believe that is a good standard, and that it is an expression of one of the fundamental decencies in the relation we have developed between government and man.

As said by that old tartar, Mr. Justice Stephen J. Field, who was reared in western Massachusetts, "The essential and inherent cruelty of compelling a man to expose his own guilt is obvious to every one, and needs no illustration." And in words which he approved, it is the "result of the long struggle between the opposing forces of the spirit of individual liberty on the one hand and the collective power of the State on the other." *Brown v. Walker,* 161 U. S. 591, 637 (1896).

Where matters of a man's belief, or opinions or political views are essential elements in the charge, it may be most difficult to get evidence from sources other than the suspected or accused person himself. Hence, the significance of the privilege over the years has perhaps been greatest in connection with resistance to prosecution for such offences as heresy or political crimes. In these areas the privilege against self-incrimination has been a protection for freedom of thought, and a hindrance to any government which might wish to prosecute for thoughts and opinions alone.

But the privilege is broader than that. It is applicable to any sort of crime, even the most sordid. Don't we go too far in giving this protection to criminals? Isn't the claim of the privilege the clearest sort of proof that the person who claims it is guilty of a crime? This has been asserted by high authority, but I do not believe it is true.

Apart from its expression of our view of civilized governmental conduct, another purpose of the Fifth Amendment is to protect the innocent. But how can a man claim the privilege if he is innocent? How can a man fear he will incriminate himself if he knows he has committed no crime? Judge Magruder of our own First Circuit Court of Appeals has recently given some illustrations of this in his illuminating opinion in the *Maffie* case, decided last month.

There is, for example, the case of the man who has killed another in self defense, or by accident, without design or fault. He has committed no crime, yet his answer to the question whether he killed the man may well incriminate him. At the very least it will in effect shift the burden of proof to him so that he will have to prove his own innocence. Indeed, the privilege against self-incrimination may well be thought of as a companion of our established rule that a man is innocent until he has been proven guilty.

In this connection let me quote from a Supreme Court decision written long before our present troubles. In *Burdick v. United States,* 236 U. S. 79 (1915, Mr. Justice McKenna wrote, "If it be objected that [Burdick's] refusal to answer was an implication of crime, we answer, not necessarily in fact, not at all in theory of law."

Now let us turn to an area which is closer to that which has recently been of concern. I am going to ask you to assume two sets of facts. You may think that both of the sets of facts are unlikely, and that they do not correspond with any case you have ever heard of. All I ask is that you assume the facts. I am simply putting a hypothetical case; and the facts are not the facts of any specific case.

Here is Case 1. A man is a college teacher. He is an idealist and perhaps slow to recognize realities as idealists sometimes are. He has a great urge for what he regards as social reform. He is native born, went to American schools, and loves his country despite what he regards as its imperfections. You may not agree with his ideas but you would respect his honesty and sincerity. He believes himself thoroughly attached to the country and the Constitution, and he abhors anything involving force and violence. He is a good teacher and works hard on his subjects. He has always believed that as a good citizen he should be interested in politics. Neither of the established political parties provided what he wanted. In the relatively calm period of the past middle 1930's, on the solicitation of a friend, he went to a communist meeting and soon joined the Communist Party. At that time the Communist Party was perfectly legal and regularly appeared on our ballot. He thought he was simply joining a political party. One of the reasons that led him to join was because he regarded fascism as highly immoral and a great danger to the world, and he felt that the communists were fighting fascism in Spain at this time. His interest was not merely in protecting Spain, but because he thought that fighting fascism there was an important means of guarding against such a danger here

Now you may say that this is all very unlikely. To this I reply that I am, for the moment, only assuming a hypothetical case, and I should be able to assume any hypothetical case I want. So these are the facts I put before you. You may feel that such a man must have been very naive or lacking in intelligence. To that I would make two replies: First, to say that involves the use of a large amount of hindsight. A man's actions at any time should be evaluated on the basis of the facts then available to him, and the state of his own mind on the basis of what he actually knew, and not by facts we learn later that were not known to him. And my second reply would be that the man may have been naive or obtuse. I would say that he was at least misguided and unwise. But I would point out that being obtuse or naive is a very different thing from being a traitor or a spy.

Let me add a few more facts, assumed by me as before. Our teacher was in a communist cell, with other teachers. The communists had great plans for this group. They wanted to use it to infiltrate American education. However, the communist command was canny. They knew that many or all of the members of this cell of teachers were politically innocent, and that they would recoil quickly from any proposals for sabotage or the use of force and violence. So they treated this group with great care. The group was never subjected to the rigors of communist discipline. It was a study group, and its discussions were kept on a high intellectual plane. The more sordid features of the Marxist doctrine were kept thoroughly in the background. Our teacher never engaged in espionage or sabotage or anything like that, and never saw or heard of any such activities by any member of his group. He would have been horrified by any such actions.

Nevertheless, there were things from time to time which he did not like. He rationalized them in various ways–nothing can be perfect; the thing to do is to stay inside and work against excesses; and so on. Besides he was a stubborn fellow. Once having started out on something he thought was good, he did not lightly give it up. But he became troubled; and after the war he slowly drifted away from the group. He never formally resigned. He just turned away. By the time of the Korean invasion in 1950, he was thoroughly disgusted and saw that he had been used as a dupe. But he was also convinced in his own heart of the rectitude of his actions, if not of their wisdom; and he did not doubt that many of the people who had been associated with him in the venture were just as innocent of wrong-doing as he was sure he was.

Remember I am doing the assuming. You may feel that these facts do not fit an actual case. But I am not trying to state an actual case. I am just assuming a hypothetical case, which is one of the ancient rights of any law teacher.

Now let me turn to Case 2. This man is also a college teacher. He never joined the Communist Party. He never thought of joining the Communist Party. He knew a good deal about the realities of communism, and he was thoroughly opposed to it. He was, however, a man who was interested in causes. His father had been a minister, who had dedicated his life to helping people. He himself had a great urge to participate in activities which he felt would help to alleviate suffering or contribute to social progress. In fact he was a sucker for almost any kind of an appeal. He contributed modest amounts to China Relief. He had always had a warm feeling for the Chinese. Sometimes he found himself on some of the letterheads of some of these organizations as a sponsor. He was not sure that he remembered giving permission to use his name this way; but the cause, as indicated by the attractive name of the organization, was one that appealed to him, and he did not bother himself much about it. After a while he heard some rumblings that there might be some communist influence in these organizations, but he was slow to believe that that could true. In some of the organizations, he had been on committees with thoroughly respectable fellow citizens. He did not want to pull out, because he felt that this would let his friends down. Eventually he heard that some of these organizations had been ruled to be subversive by the Attorney General. But he, too, was a stubborn fellow. He believed in the stated objectives of these organizations. He was also a freeborn American, proud of his country's great traditions, and he allowed his name to be used by some of these organizations, as has been said in a recent article, "as a gesture of opposition to the procedure of proscribing organizations without giving them the right to be heard."

Well, that is the end of my assuming. Let us see what happens to these two individuals. Remember that both of these individuals feel that they are innocent of any wrongdoing. Each one is pure in heart, and perhaps a little too certain of his own rectitude. Each one may now regret some of the things he did, but he does not think that they were wrong. Each one is certain that he is morally innocent of any crime.

We can consider Case 1 first. He is the man who was a member of the Communist Party. He is summoned to appear before a Congressional committee, and is asked whether he is a communist. He answers truthfully: "No." Then he is asked whether he ever was a communist. He is now surely subjected to a substantial risk, even though he honestly believes that he has committed no crime. He knows that a number of communists have been convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, and more have been indicted. Our teacher perhaps magnifies his own predicament. He sees the jail doors opening up if he gives himself the evidence that he was once a communist. Interestingly enough, Section 4(f) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (commonly known as the McCarran Act) provides specifically that "Neither the holding of office nor membership in any communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of . . . this section or of any other criminal statute." But this was enacted

after his period of Party membership. It has been declared to be a crime to be a communist in Massachusetts since 1951, but there may be some possible room to question the effectiveness of this statute in view of the provision of the Federal Act. That the Federal statutes may displace State action is indicated by a decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania just last week.

After much internal torment, the witness finally decides to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment with respect to the question of his past membership in the Communist Party. Putting aside the question of his wisdom in doing this, can there be any doubt that the claim is legally proper? Past membership in the Communist Party is not a crime in itself; but admitting such membership may well be a link in a chain of proof of a criminal charge against him. Persons have been prosecuted under the Smith Act for membership in the Communist Party plus something else. If he supplies the proof of his own membership in the Party, he does not know what other evidence may then be brought against him to show that he has committed a crime. Thus, an answer to the question will definitely incriminate him, that is, provide evidence which could be used in a prosecution against him. Yet, remember that he thoroughly believes that he is not guilty of any crime; and on the facts I have given he is not guilty of a crime.

There are other factors that influence his conclusion. His own experience is an ordeal. He does not want his friends to be subjected to it. He believes in their innocence of any crime. If he thought that they had committed crimes, he would promptly tell the proper officers of the government. By claiming the privilege against self-incrimination, he can refrain from naming any of his associates. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to them. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to his country, too; but since he is convinced that neither he nor his associates have in fact done anything wrong, his desire to protect them from having to experience his own predicament seems to him to have prevailing weight in the actual circumstances.

He claims the privilege. He cannot be prosecuted on the basis of any evidence he has provided. There can be no doubt, I believe, that his claim of privilege is legally justified. Yet, note that on the facts I have assumed he is not guilty of any crime. Of course his claim of privilege as to his membership in the Communist Party means that he must also claim the privilege as to all other questions which relate in any way to what he did, or to his associates in the activity. For if he answers any of those questions, it will clearly connote his own communist activity.

There is one small point which might be brought in here. It is sometimes said that the privilege may only be rightly claimed if the answer to the incriminating question would be "yes." I do not believe that is true. Our man in Case 1 has testified that he is not now a communist. He claims the privilege as to a question which asks him if he ever was a member of the Communist Party. He is then asked: "When did you cease to be a member?" He must claim the privilege as to this, or else his answer will disclose that he once was a member, as to which he has legitimately claimed the privilege. Then the examiner starts a new line. He says: "Were you a member of the Communist Party yesterday?" Now the answer is "No." But the witness who has taken this line cannot answer that question. For if he does, the questions will be continued: "Were you a member of the Party last year?—two years ago?—three years ago?" If he answers any of these accurately with a "no," he will come to the place where he must claim the privilege if he is to maintain his basic position. In this way, the date of his withdrawal could be pinpointed, thus giving valuable information for a possible prosecution. Moreover, he may not be sure just when he withdrew; it was a gradual process. And he may have legitimate fears that an honest answer he might give to a question relating to the transitional period might get him involved in a prosecution for perjury. At any rate, it seems clear that questions of this sort are an illustration of a type of question as to which the privilege may be legitimately claimed, as far as the law is concerned, even though the answer to the question would be "no."

Let us turn to Case 2, which we can dispose of briefly. You will remember that that was the man who had lent his name to causes, and had contributed money; and the causes have now turned out to be communist fronts, although they were attractively named, and many good Americans were, at one time or another, associated with them. But he was never a member of the Communist Party.

This man likewise is summoned before a Congressional investigating committee. The mere fact that he is summoned shows that he is suspected of something rather serious, and he is badly worried. He is asked whether he is now a member of the Communist Party; and he answers "No." Then he is asked whether he ever was in the past. The answer is in fact "no," as we have seen. But he is now in great fear. If he says "No," then he may be subjecting himself to a real risk of a prosecution for perjury. He may rightly fear that proof of the fact of his joining and contributing to so many agencies which have turned out to be front organizations might lead a jury to believe that he actually was a communist.

Now it is probably true that fear of a prosecution for perjury for an answer given to a question is not a proper basis for a claim of the privilege. If it was, almost any witness could claim the privilege as to any question. But our man is in a somewhat different situation. If he says "No," to the question of communist membership, then in his own interest he may have to undertake to state and explain his membership and activities in the various front organizations. The net result may be that he will have to give much evidence which could be used against him in an attempt to prove that he was a member of the communist conspiracy. It would appear, therefore, that he can properly claim the privilege even though his answer to the question as to Communist Party membership at any time would honestly and rightly be "No."

In both of the cases I have put, the privilege may be claimed although the individual was guilty of no crime. In the second case it may be claimed although the person was never a member of the Communist Party. In each case, the inference which would be taken from the claim of the privilege would in fact be unwarranted. The claim of the privilege is surely a serious business, but it is equally surely not the equivalent of an admission of criminal conduct.

There are other reasons why a person may claim the privilege in a particular case. He might get bad advice; but I do not want to press that, as I think that in many of these cases the individual's troubles are caused in part by the fact that he chooses to make his own decisions and does not accept sound advice. But we should not forget that a person on the witness stand may be badly frightened, even though he is wholly innocent. For example, the Supreme Court of the United States has said, in *Wilson v. United States*, 149 U.S. 60, 66 (1893):

"It is not every one who can safely venture on the witness stand though entirely innocent of the charge against him. Excessive timidity, nervousness when facing others and attempting to explain transactions of a suspicious character, and offences charged against him, will often confuse and embarrass him to such a degree as to increase rather than remove prejudices against him. It is not every one, however honest, who would, therefore, willingly be placed on the witness stand."

A witness lost in fear and confusion might turn to the privilege as a means of sanctuary from a situation which he feels himself incompetent to handle. Consider also how much the chance of a witness losing his calm and collected demeanor is enhanced by such things as television, radio microphones, movie cameras, flashing flash bulbs, and procedures which may not seem to him to be based upon the finest spirit of fairness. In connection with this I might mention the recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in *Aiuppa v. United States*, 201 F.2d 287, 300 (1952), where we find the following language in the opinion:

"But, in concluding, we think it may not be amiss to say that, notwithstanding the pronouncements of the committee chairman as to intended fairness, the courts of the United States could not emulate the committee's example and maintain even a semblance of fair and dispassionate conduct of trials in criminal cases.

"Despite the enjoyment by millions of spectators and auditors of the exhibition by television of the confusion and writhings of widely known malefactors and criminals, when sharply questioned as to their nefarious activities, we are unable to give judicial sanction, in the teeth of the Fifth Amendment, to the employment by a committee of the United States Senate of methods of examination of witnesses constituting a triple threat: answer truly and you have given evidence leading to your conviction for a violation of federal law; answer falsely and you will be convicted of perjury; refuse to answer and you will be found guilty of criminal contempt and punished by fine and imprisonment. In our humble judgment, to place a person not even on trial for a specified crime in such predicament is not only not a manifestation of fair play, but is in direct violation of the Fifth Amendment to our national Constitution."

Ordinarily when the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is exercised, it is in a criminal trial. There a specific charge has been made, and the prosecution has by evidence established a prima facie case of guilt of the particular crime charged in the complaint or indictment. Under such circumstances there is much more than the mere claim of the privilege on which to rest an inference of guilt.

In investigations, however, there are no carefully formulated charges. Evidence to support such charges has not been introduced and made known to the witness before he is called upon to answer. He has no opportunity for cross-examination of other witnesses, and often little or no opportunity to make explanations which might have a material bearing on the whole situation. In the setting of an investigation, therefore, the basis for the inference from a claim of privilege against self incrimination is much less than it is when the privilege is exercised in an ordinary criminal trial.

There are two more matters to which I should like to make brief reference. The first of these is the rather technical legal doctrine known as waiver of the privilege. A clear instance of waiver occurs when a defendant in a criminal case voluntarily takes the stand. He then becomes subject to cross-examination, and must answer relevant questions. So far as witnesses at investigations are concerned, our current learning on this is based largely on the Supreme Court's decision in *Rogers v. United States*, 340 U.S. 367 (1951). In that case, a witness testified that she had been treasurer of a local communist party, had had possession of the records, and had turned them over to another person. She then declined to name the person to whom she had given them, claiming the privilege under the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court held that by giving the testimony she did she had waived the privilege, and that she was guilty of contempt for refusing to answer the further questions. There was a dissenting opinion by Justices Black, Frankfurter, and Douglas.

My own view is that this decision was not soundly reasoned, and that it has led to unfortunate results. To me the analogy of an adversary proceeding is not apt when applied to an investigation. As a consequence of this case, witnesses who have legitimate fears of prosecution, but who might be willing to cooperate as far as they could, are induced (if not actually compelled) to refuse to answer any questions at all. For if they do answer a single question, it may be contended that they have waived the privilege so that thereafter they may be compelled to testify against themselves. This threat of waiver is not an imaginary matter. It may be found frequently in the transcripts of the proceedings of Congressional committees.

My guess as to the law is that the *Rogers* case applies only where the witness has given an incriminating answer to a prior question. I do not think it would apply if a witness was asked if he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1945, and he said "No." By the latter answer he has not opened up anything which he refuses to explain. Nevertheless, it will take a Supreme Court decision to provide this clarification of the *Rogers* case; and counsel advising a client may well hesitate to make his client bear the risk and expense of taking a case all the way to the Supreme Court. With the *Rogers* case on the books, the only safe advice may be to claim the privilege at the earliest possible moment, so as to be sure to avoid a charge of waiver.

This doctrine of waiver is, I believe, the true explanation of the refusal of some witnesses to answer such questions as "Have you ever taught communist doctrine in your classroom?" or "Have you ever solicited students to join the Communist Party? These refusals have been deeply disturbing to the public. Wet, answers to these questions may be "No;" but the witness nevertheless fears that he cannot give that answer without its being said that he has waived the privilege as to questions about other sorts of communist activity. Here again we have a situation where the obvious inference from the refusal to answer the question may be completely unwarranted.

Finally, I would like to make reference to one more problem which is collateral to that of the Fifth Amendment. Suppose a witness is summoned before an investigating committee. He does not claim a privilege against self-incrimination, and talks freely about himself, answering all questions about his own activity. He takes the position, however, that he will not answer questions about others. Or suppose a person first refuses to answer virtually all questions, claiming the Fifth Amendment privilege, but he later decides to waive the privilege as to himself. However, he refuses as a matter which he regards as one of principle to identify other people. What should be the situation with respect to such a person?

There have been a number of people who have been summoned before investigating committees and taken this position from the outset. They have answered all questions about themselves, and have refused to identify others. As far as I know, no academic person who has done this has been cited for contempt; nor has any such person lost his job. Should it be any different where the witness has first relied on the Fifth Amendment, but has later changed his position, waiving the privilege as to himself, but still refusing to answer as to others?

The problem is undeniably a difficult one. So long as the witness was claiming the privilege, it could be argued that he had done no wrong. If he had committed any crime, the evidence should be brought forth in the proper way and tried out in court. His refusal to answer was not evidence of any crime. This argument, however, is not available where he waives the privilege by refusing to answer questions relating to other persons. Then his Fifth Amendment privilege is wholly gone, and his situation presents new and rather different problems.

Whether he has committed a crime by his refusal to testify may be extremely difficult to tell. Even if he is cited by the legislative body, it will still be for the grand jury to decide whether to indict; it will remain to the courts to decide such questions as whether the committee was properly constituted, and whether the question asked was relevant to the inquiry. We should not forget that a prosecution for contempt was set aside within the past year by the Supreme Court on the ground that the questions asked the witness—as to the identity of his contributors—were not relevant to the particular inquiry. *United States v. Rumeley*, 345 U.S. 41 (1953).

However such questions go, though, would it not seem that such a person is at least in no worse a position morally than he was when he stood on the Fifth Amendment? He should not be worse off for being willing to speak fully and frankly about himself than he was when he would not talk at all. His refusal to tell on his friends may be both contrary to valid law and unwise. Nevertheless, it may be based on strong grounds of conscience.

Let me do a little more assuming: Let us assume that the witness feels positive in his own mind that the persons with whom he was associated did no wrong to our country. They did not engage in espionage or sabotage or anything like that. They were merely hopeful but misguided people, as he was. Let us assume, too, that this is all far in the past. The persons in question are in other work. They have families to support. If their names are disclosed, they will surely lose their jobs. He must then resolve for himself the question whether he will give their names and subject them to the same sort of ordeal he has been through in order to save himself from further difficulty and possible prosecution. He may be wrong if he decides that he should not protect himself by sacrificing them. I recognize the legal obligation to testify as to others, and the general importance of this both in trials and in investigations. But can it be said clearly that his action is always immoral?

Of course he may be wrong in his judgment of these other people. They may be worse than he thinks they are. But we all have to use judgment on such things. A man may honestly feel that he cannot bring suffering to others in order to save himself. To a considerable extent such questions can only be resolved in a man's own conscience. We are a society which has long depended on and applauded the virtues of the rugged individualist.

I do not justify the past or present conduct of anyone. I seek only to explain. Because of claims of privilege under the Fifth Amendment, and refusal to answer questions, many members of the general public have come to have fear of our educational institutions, and general mistrust of academic people. I firmly believe that these fears are unwarranted. I have tried tonight to show how some of the things that have happened could have happened without there being anything rotten in the universities. It may be a serious error of judgment for an academic person to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, or to refuse to answer questions; but the conduct, regrettable as it is, does not show the existence of treason, espionage, sabotage, or any other serious crime.

The great misfortune from all this, I believe, is that charges are made against our universities and other educational institutions, and more or less believed by some segments of our people. I think myself that it is easy to overestimate the extent of that belief, but it cannot be denied that there is disagreement, uneasiness and even fear in some quarters. As I have said, I think these fears are not soundly based. This is my twentieth year as a Faculty member at Harvard University, and I am thoroughly convinced that the University has acquitted itself well, and that it has been of great value to the country during that time. It is an injustice not only to the faculty members but to the country to allow any conclusion to stand that they are not good Americans or that they do not serve their country well. I think that the Harvard Law School with which I am intimately connected, is a great asset to the country and to the Commonwealth, and, in essence, one of the great conservative influences in our land. If there are any who think otherwise, let them examine the facts, carefully and thoughtfully.

As conservative a judge as Pierce Butler once wrote (*Sinclair v. United States*, 279 U.S. 135, 178 (1927)):

> "It has always been recognized in this country, and it is well to remember, that few if any of the rights of the people guarded by fundamental law are of greater importance to their happiness and safety than the right to be exempt from all unauthorized, arbitrary or unreasonable inquiries and disclosures in respect of their personal and private affairs."

On this matter some final observations may be in order, based on our traditional practices and rules. In our criminal courts, we would never think of requiring an accused person to answer questions. He doesn't have to take the stand at all, and if he does do so, he has the protection of an impartial judge, and the right to have his counsel speak in court in his behalf.

Why should it be so different in a legislative inquiry, when the information that is sought relates to the witness' own conduct? I recognize fully the power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the lineal descendants of the Houses of Parliament. These are deliberative bodies, and all points of view are usually represented among their members. Their actions are taken after debate, and represent the judgment of many people from all parts of the country.

I recognize also that these bodies have to operate through committees. A committee in the common acceptance of the term is a group of persons, usually appointed to represent various points of view. Its actions reflect collective judgment taken after consideration and deliberation. In this light, I ask a question: Should these broad investigative powers ever be held by a single person, even though he is formally clothed with the title of a sub-committee?

The more I think about this, the more it seems to me to be an unsound practice. There is nothing about the nature of membership in the Senate or the House of Representatives which should give each member a general commission to go through the length and breadth of the land, far from his own state or district, far from the seat of the general government, making inquiry about any subject, even on formal delegation to him from his House or one of its committees. Committees I am willing to accept. Sub-committees of one give me pause. It may well be that only the Houses of Congress can effectively deal with this problem, but I respectfully commend it to them for their consideration.

And so I come back where I started. The privilege against self incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment and in the Commonwealth's Bill of Rights has been a long time with us. It is, I believe, a good friend as well as an old friend. It embodies a sound value which we should preserve. As we increase our understanding of it, and the part it has long played in protecting the individual against the collective power of the state, we will have better appreciation of some of the basic problems of our time.

How to Lose Prestige in Europe

The Mirror of Public Opinion

Distinguished news-commentator asks correspondents to sum up effect on Allies of Senator McCarthy's skirmish with United States Army; reactions range from plain disgust to fear of fascism; press abroad sees damage to America's reputation.

Edward C. Murrow in a News Commentary on the Columbia Broadcasting System

I cabled four of our correspondents in Europe, asking them to summarize reaction in the countries where they are stationed to Senator McCarthy's recent actions. Their cables are here in front of me. Permit me to quote from some of these cables. The first one comes from David Schoenbrun in Paris.

"'Senator McCarthy and Marilyn Monroe Attack United States Army on Two Fronts,' is the headline feature piece from Washington in Paris influential *Le Monde* tonight. Their correspondent cabled: 'The spectacle presented by McCarthy committee is sheer buffoonery.' And the correspondent concludes: 'Despite protests, Senator McCarthy will continue to exercise his talents, for, in fact, a large part of the American Administration, including Secretary Stevens and the unfortunate Gen. Zwicker, themselves approve the general line and objectives of McCarthy, reserving their criticism only for his methods'."

Schoenbrun says: "This is the general tenor of French observation about McCarthy, and most French believe this is a serious error on the part of Americans. They don't think a line can be drawn between objectives and methods, particularly when methods, as in the McCarthy case, are so spectacular and destructive that they obviously achieve objectives far removed from the avowed one.

On Burning Down the Barn

"It's a case of burning down the barn to catch a rat, one French editor told me, pointing out that it's ridiculous to say you approve rat-catching, although you deplore the fact that the barn burned down. You can't separate the two, any more than you can say that you approved Hitler's army while deploring his uncouth [illegible]

[illegible] Government officials and [illegible] refuse on-the-record comment, telling they have no right to express opinions on American domestic politics. But all, without exception, express privately consternation at the loss of American prestige among masses of people here, leading to serious doubts about the authority and constancy of American policy.

Vienna's Reaction to McCarthy

"One French statesman told me: 'I hope you won't make too much of French criticism of McCarthy, because you will be sure to make him a hero back home if we attack him'."

The second cable comes from Howard K. Smith in London and he says: "The British happen to be acutely alarmed at Senator McCarthy presently, as their concern for the demoralization of the United States Army, whereon all free Europe depends, coincides with the first close-up experience of one of the Senator's investigations." And Smith says that in a TV program scheduled months ago, a former MP, Aden Crawley, night before last, narrated shots of McCarthy questioning Reed Harris, and the press reacted to what they term 'the smear-and-run methods' with disgust, with a disgust that one feels examining creatures on the moist underside of a garden rock for the first time.

The *News Chronicle* correspondent in London says: 'It's one thing to read about a witch-hunt and quite another to see it at close quarters. It's not very pretty but it's very instructive.'

Smith's cable continues: "The Senator's assault on the Army alarms a wide range of press. The Conservative *Evening News* today says: 'Were this merely a domestic scandal in a friendly country, no comment would be called for. But, clearly, it's a matter of principle which concerns all who want to both maintain freedom and order in the democratic society and to fight Communism.'

British Alarm Over Army Morale

"And the Conservative *Daily Telegraph* says: 'Even the most understanding friends of America abroad find it hard to preserve a sense of balance about activities epitomized in the name of Senator McCarthy. His attacks on America's allies, notably the 'blood trade' business, the smearing of Britain, have produced something worse than irritation. World Communism couldn't ask for richer ore than pours into its propaganda machine every time Senator McCarthy makes an utterance'."

There's another cable, from Alex Kendrick in Vienna, in which he says: "It must be trite by now to recall that this part of Europe was responsible for Hitler and saw Nazism come to power in the guise of an anti-Communist crusade. Yet, just for that reason people here who have been pushed around for 20 years, first by their own native fascists and then by Hitler and then by the Russians, have come to dislike those who do the pushing, especially when it's to the detriment of democratic processes and government."

Kendrick says: "That sums up the attitude hereabout toward McCarthy. He is not regarded as an international threat, like Hitler proved, but as one of the primary reasons for the serious loss of American prestige in an area where such prestige is important because we are here to face with the Communists [illegible]

[illegible] headqu[illegible] Eisenhower has not stepped up to what McCarthy is trying to do to the Army, which, after all, as one senior officer said: 'It isn't only our Army, but it's supposed to be his army too'.

CREDIT TO SEN. HENNINGS

The fight provoked by the proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution is over—at least for the time being. Senator George's substitute, which was either confusing, dangerous or unnecessary, or perhaps all three, went down in the voting.

Much of the credit for the rejection of the George plan goes to Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, who is serving his first term in the upper house at the comparatively youthful age of 50. As William S. White wrote in this newspaper:

"For weeks Mr. Hennings, sometimes almost alone, had carried the brief for the anti-amendment forces, though this required him to challenge Senator George, who is a patriarchal figure to nearly all the Democrats, Northern and Southern alike." It was good to see courage in a room and at a time where many men are timid.

With this preposterous issue out of the way Congress may be able to get on with its other work. If any Senators or any citizens still believe that treaties are made rashly and ratified in haste under present procedures the remedy surely lies with the Senators themselves. They don't have to be rash and they don't have to be hasty.

Between Book Ends

Trials of the Presidency

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, by Sidney Hyman. (Harper & Bros., 242 pgs., $4.)

The voluminous literature about the presidency of the United States has a new addition which the publishers, according to the dust jacket, believe to be "the most valuable book yet written" in this field. Sidney Hyman's "The American President" is, undoubtedly, a good book, but it is not definitive, it is not complete, and it is not the best.

The author has been identified closely with the Democratic party for a number of years. He was a helper in Adlai Stevenson's governorship campaign in 1948, an assistant to Senator Douglas, Director of Research of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, and a personal campaign staff member with Stevenson in the 1952 presidential race. Hyman does a fair job in keeping his preferences out of the book, though perhaps his incompetents are more often Republicans and his heroes more often Democrats.

This study of the presidency contains some valuable insights. Hyman emphasizes the value of public relations sense on the President's part; in fact, he overemphasizes this point by insisting that the real differentiation between strong and weak Presidents is the capacity to manage . . . "the slippery imponderables of public opinion." This is an oversimplification, but the significance of the idea is readily apparent, when Hyman points out the need for each President to develop a "pro-tem majority in Congress composed of members of both parties with a substantial popular backing throughout the country. Mr. Eisenhower should be able to testify vigorously in support of this proposition.

Another aspect of the presidency, often overlooked, is the simple impossibility of pleasing everyone. The predicament is well sketched: "If he leads, he is a dictator. If he follows, he is a weakling. If he appoints old friends to high places, he governs by crony. If he gets rid of them when they prove unequal to their new places, he "uses" people. If he speaks directly to the nation, he is a demagogue. If he waits for a proper moment to disclose bits of news, he withholds vital information a free people must have if it is to make wise decisions. And so on."

There is an interesting [illegible] of several current electoral reforms, proposals of which Hyman generally approves. Later, he defends [illegible] initia[illegible] [illegible] quoted, the [illegible] [illegible] political [illegible] [illegible] President's effo[illegible] the interested citizen, it will be [illegible] able reading.

R. R. MACKENZIE

Facts Twisted to Fancy

THE NEGRO IN SOUTHERN AGRICULTURE, by Victor Perlo (International Publishers, New York, 128 pgs., $1.75).

Here is a book which states many facts that thoughtful people recognize as true about Southern agriculture. But it twists their significance to serve the author's purpose. The author is an economist who recently, on request, contributed an article to Pravda picturing the United States as threatened with depression. He has been named in congressional investigations as involved in Soviet espionage activities, has denied under oath any current membership in a Soviet espionage ring but refused to answer questions about Communist affiliations.

It appears quite natural to him to quote Lenin, link the current condition of Southern Negroes in agriculture with Wall Street, paint a picture of "misery in the midst of plenty," seek to inflate the whole situation into a national and international issue. This enables him to attack United States programs to aid underdeveloped countries and imply that Americans have no business to talk about exploitation in other lands.

Dear Ed,

you have been fine & are getting better.

Last night was superb.

We're running this tomorrow (Thurs). Today's post-Dispatch editorial page will show what we are doing—

In fact have been for four years

Railroad Engineer's Son Shows Up 'Joe'

Murrow Sees Fakery In Senator's Drive

One of the most telling blows sustained by Senator "Jumping Joe" McCarthy during the past week was delivered by the son of a veteran railroad engineer—that is, by Edward R. Murrow, noted radio-television commentator.

Murrow's father, now retired, was first a brakeman and fireman, then an engineer on a private logging camp railroad near Blanchard, Wash. As a youth, Ed himself worked as a fireman on a donkey engine in that camp.

Ed, now famous for his "See It Now" television programs, devoted one of them to documenting McCarthy's tactics. He showed how "Jumping Joe" played fast and loose with the facts; how he used congressional immunity to persecute individuals who are not Reds; how he utilized "half truths" to confuse the public.

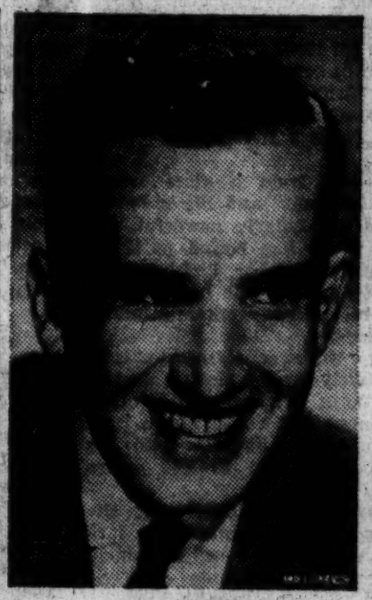
Murrow's broadcast drew the wrath of McCarthy, but it also brought many thousands of congratulatory phone calls, wires and letters. The deluge ran almost 20 to 1 pro-Murrow.

On the program, Joe was pictured in news films making various statements. Then Murrow demonstrated from the record the falsity of the statements.

"We must not confuse dissent with disloyalty," Murrow pointed out. "We must remember always that accusation is not proof and that conviction depends upon evidence and due process of law.

"It is necessary to investigate before legislating, but the line between investigating and persecuting is a very fine one, and the junior senator from Wisconsin has stepped over it repeatedly."

Murrow invited McCarthy—who in



ED MURROW

the past has praised the fairness of Murrow's programs—to make a reply on "See It Now." Instead, "Joe" went on another radio program in an effort to smear Murrow as a "Red."

He did this by raking up a story that in 1935 Murrow had been a member of an American advisory council for a summer school at Moscow University.

Murrow replied, however, that the Russians had cancelled the summer school, so it never took place. He explained, too, that the proposed school was part of a student and professor exchange program sponsored by the Institute of International Education—of which John Foster Dulles, now Secretary of State, and Thomas Lamont, Wall Street banker, were trustees.

The proposed summer school, Murrow added, would have allowed American teachers and graduate students to probe Russian life—which is apparently why the Soviets

Noted Editor Asks: 'Is McCarthy a Red?'

cancelled it. Meantime, Murrow renewed his invitation to McCarthy personally to answer the previous "See It Now" program.

McCarthy finally agreed, in a telegram charging Murrow had "consciously served the Communist cause." Murrow retorted that "the record when it is finished will show who has served the Communist cause, you or I."

This suggestion that McCarthy is in fact serving the Communist cause was documented recently by James Kearney, editor and publisher of the Trenton (N. J.) Times. Kearney is also a prominent Catholic layman..

In a widely-reprinted editorial, Kearney pointed out that McCarthy has "undermined the people who work in our embassies abroad," has "convinced public opinion in Europe that there is little if any freedom left in the U. S.," has "spread doubts through American public life," has undermined Army morale and has "sidetracked" and "undermined the effectiveness of the FBI."

All these results, Kearney emphasized, are precisely the aims of the Communist party.

Moreover, Kearney continued, "Senator McCarthy, for all of his charges, has yet to uncover a Communist in a high or important place. Isn't it a desire of the Communists to spread confusion without endangering the really important members of the Communist party?

Kearney charged that "Senator McCarthy has been doing the work of the Communist party," and concluded: "Isn't it proper now to ask, Is Senator McCarthy really a Communist?"

LABOR SATURDAY, MAR(

from the desk of—
JACK BECK

Ed:

Some reflections on the senator clipped from our air-mail edition of the London Times.

JB

August 6+7, 1953

1

THE McCARTHY STRONGHOLDS

I—IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR IN THE MIDDLE WEST

From Our Special Correspondent

The British traveller in the Middle West can soon lose his bearings, especially if he is on the track of Senator McCarthy. He will find little sign, except in an utter confusion of thought and sentiment, of the fear psychosis that is supposed to lie over the land. The old adage about smoke and fire is produced every day with an air of profundity; but the smoke of the Middle West probably rises as much from its own frictions, its teeming productivity, and an inescapable consciousness of the outside world, as from any internal fires of the Communist conspiracy. No one is disposed to link the American Communists, for instance, with organized crime in Chicago, though Communism as a definable term has taken on more shades of meaning in the American mind than a plot to overthrow the Government.

In the middle of the fumes stands the grimed, compelling figure of Mr. McCarthy, and people are beginning to perceive that his investigations are making rather more smoke than the Communist fires uncovered by Mr. Edgar Hoover's agents. He emerges less clearly from his background in the Middle West than from the broader sophistication of New York or Washington, which have perhaps a keener ear for his sound and fury. Here the assessment of Mr. McCarthy, at best a study in intangibles, is necessarily more concerned with a Middle West state of mind, or climate, than with the obscurantism of a quick-footed politician whose ambitions, according to his confidants, do not stop short of the White House.

Such an approach in these strongholds of authentic Americanism suggests a number of reasons for Mr. McCarthy's long reach besides the obvious fact that he was returned to Congress by the State of Wisconsin. One of them, an apparent paradox, is that he almost defies intelligent discussion among all but his avowed opponents, who are relatively as numerous, and often as passive, in Chicago or Milwaukee as in most American cities.

FEAR AND PREJUDICE

The observer is at first baffled by this Middle West unawareness of the to "complaining foreigners." He should tell them that, thank God, the United States had no one like Thorez and Duclos, or Togliatti. "Nor do we have to apologize for millions of traitorous Communists all over the country." This is a fairly popular attitude.

It may be that the menace of "McCarthyism" to free speech and thought is prone to exaggeration, just as the fear of domestic Communism on which it feeds has no defined substance; that both are manifestations of a mass neurosis often depicted as an inevitable phase of the great American transition. The stage has now been reached by the Hearst Press and its allies where almost any resistance to the Senator's privileged attacks is seen to be tarred with the Communist brush.

MANY VICTIMS

It is depressing that so few in the Middle West seem to be aware that the victims of "McCarthyism" are strewn over the whole field of American public and cultural life, often at the cost of their livelihood and certainly of their reputation. It took a member of the Illinois State Senate, who must know something of congressional immunity, to remark that if Mr. McCarthy had harmed anyone unjustly he had yet to be taken to court. The United Nations may be pictured as a nest of spies and saboteurs, or treacherous charges may be laid against individuals of high repute without proof or trial. The careers of actors and writers, especially in radio and television—the legitimate stage is freer from the prejudices of sponsors—may be wrecked by a telephone call or a reference to *Red Channels*. Scores of these people, it is stated, are on the streets, victims of "faceless, nameless" accusations, as one critic calls them.

Dispatches from the capital on the havoc he is said to be creating within the Government say that all over Europe and Washington there are American public servants with resignations "signed, sealed and pocketed" against the day when other posts are found and family affairs set in order. Mr. Theodore Kaghan, describing the European adventures of Mr. Cohn and Mr. Schine which preceded his forced resignation from the American High

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FEAR AND PREJUDICE

The observer is at first baffled by this Middle West unawareness of the McCarthy phenomenon and of implications that evoke perplexed interest, if not haunting comparisons, across the Atlantic. It is an unawareness that strongly indicates how much of Mr. McCarthy's appeal is to the unthinking, to their fears and prejudices and to a conformist urge that is probably the most potent factor in American assimilation. These emotions, by no means peculiar to the Middle West, make a doubly sharp impact on the vast inner lands emerging more slowly than might be thought from their long traditions of isolation, where all foreign influences, whether they emanate from London or Washington, are still deeply distrusted and the word "internationalist" is used as an epithet.

For all the concentrations of industry on the shores of the Great Lakes, the Middle West states are essentially agricultural. The big blocks of German, Scandinavian, Polish, Italian, and Irish immigrants with their innate attitudes and instincts have not responded so completely to the "melting-pot" process as to have yet lost their identity. They have evolved an aggressive Americanism of their own, and it must be presumed that Mr. McCarthy, whatever his political tactics and ambitions, speaks with the shrill voice of the Middle West. If it be objected that an area which would swallow most countries of Europe is incapable of ready definition, it can still be no accident that such lesser prosecutors of the heresy hunt as Senator Jenner, Senator Dirksen, and Representative Velde come from the neighbouring states of Indiana and Illinois. It should also be noted that Mr. Adlai Stevenson, who as Governor of Illinois was known to veto some of the more arrant demands of "McCarthyism," has opened offices in Chicago from which, no doubt, the fight against intolerance will go on.

GIANT-KILLER

Americans returning here from extended Coronation tours are apt to ask why so much fuss is being made over Mr. McCarthy in Britain and Europe. They resent having been forced to defend him—admittedly a rather equivocal position for the average man of affairs, who sees the Senator as a sort of giant-killer among the Communists but like most fair-minded people find his methods a little repugnant. A professor of a different mind recently wrote to the newspapers that Americans abroad were tired of apologizing for Mr. McCarthy. He was quickly furnished with a suitable answer unjustly he had yet to be taken to court. The United Nations may be pictured as a nest of spies and saboteurs, or treacherous charges may be laid against individuals of high repute without proof or trial. The careers of actors and writers, especially in radio and television—the legitimate stage is freer from the prejudices of sponsors—may be wrecked by a telephone call or a reference to *Red Channels*. Scores of these people, it is stated, are on the streets, victims of "faceless, nameless" accusations, as one critic calls them.

Dispatches from the capital on the havoc he is said to be creating within the Government say that all over Europe and Washington there are American public servants with resignations "signed, sealed and pocketed" against the day when other posts are found and family affairs set in order. Mr. Theodore Kaghan, describing the European adventures of Mr. Cohn and Mr. Schine which preceded his forced resignation from the American High Commission in Bonn, relates how he was warned on his return to Washington not to use the telephone in the State Department. He understood that all calls were tapped; and, Mr. Kaghan states, when a senior official came to his office with advice on the McCarthy hearings he took out a pencil and wrote "Let's get out of here. This place is wired."

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

The Middle West, it seems, knows little and cares less about these things. If the morale of Washington or the United Nations secretariat be too remote for its concern, the "inquisitors," as Senator Lehman calls them, came nearer home not long ago when the Jenner investigating committee, which spends much time "on the road," held a two-day hearing at Chicago University, a great seat of liberal tradition. It opened as usual with a private session at which Communist suspects were heard. The public hearings were reserved for a number of students and minor members of the faculty who either admitted past membership of the party or, on the constitutional ground of possible self-incrimination, refused to say whether they were or had been Communists. Another witness admitted having belonged to a Communist cell at his university in the 1930s, but declined to name its leader out of repugnance to act as an informer, an attitude that makes him liable to imprisonment for contempt.

It is this reluctance to give names, no doubt, that has led many witnesses to stand on the Fifth Amendment. It is not yet a criminal offence to be a Communist, though current legislation in Illinois tends towards that position. Under the Smith Act, of course, it is possible to maintain that any Communist is necessarily conspiring to "teach and advocate" the forceful overthrow of the Government, and the leaders of the American party are in gaol on that score. Refusal to testify, therefore, is increasingly viewed as an admission of "guilt" and in many instances as ground for dismissal. Mr. Trygve Lie, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, was in the end constrained to dismiss American members of his staff who had taken this position, and the McCarthy camp had struck its first telling blow in the international field. Several universities have since closed their doors to all who refuse to answer the "64-dollar question" of the contemporary American scene.

To be concluded

DISCARDED LITTER

TO THE EDITOR

Sir,—I heartily ag
H. G. Griffin i
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Ha

SODIUM LIGHTING

THE McCARTHY STRONGHOLDS

II—APPEAL TO LOCAL DISTRUST OF FOREIGNERS

From Our Special Correspondent

It is not, perhaps, for the foreign observer to question the American view of the Communist menace or to comment on the evident lack of cases brought to the courts—much less on Mr. McCarthy's presumably shaken faith in the ability of the law to maintain American security. The air is full of contradictions. If the Communist conspiracy is taken for granted in the Middle West, surprisingly few people outside Wisconsin seem firmly convinced that it seriously threatens American internal structures. Within the limits of personal inquiry the case for Mr. McCarthy remains strangely elusive in terms of domestic Communism. His movement can certainly not be fully explained by the looming fear of Russia or the suspected designs of traitors at home, and it probably has to be viewed rather as the response to an American climate than as Mr. McCarthy's creation.

The amazing growth of the Middle West and its surging material prosperity—Milwaukee, not far short of a million inhabitants, was an Indian trading post little more than a century ago—have not produced a political instinct that readily distinguishes "McCarthyism" from inbred antipathies, and a movement that passes for genuine "Americanism" has a ready appeal for a Middle West parochialism still highly distrustful of foreign impacts.

Not that the individual foreigner is received with anything but warm and generous interest. There is a ready audience for the British view of world issues, as your Correspondent found when the regional chief of the British Information Services, Mr. Stafford Barff, flew to Cedar Rapids in Iowa to clarify the Attlee speech. Much more could be done in this direct way to tackle Anglo-American differences at the less formal levels.

BACK TO ISOLATION

For large sections of the Middle West, "McCarthyism" is demonstrably a step back into isolation. They see only the Communist hand or the blindness of "dupes" in the liberal opposition mustering against it. Mr. McCarthy himself insinuated at a recent hearing that no less a body than the American Civil Liberties Union was a subversive society. He might persons claiming American citizenship can assure neo-Nazi elements in west Germany that he and Senator McCarran are their real friends in Washington. Yet, apart from those who elected him, Mr. McCarthy is by no means popular in the Middle West, which knows something of his record in local politics but accepts his pursuit of the Communists as ample justification for tactics that many find embarrassing.

Mr. McCarthy is a clever politician whose career appears to be staked at the moment on finding a Communist under every bush. Whether or not they are there, it does not take long to discover that when some people of substance in the Middle West speak of Communists they are usually alluding to anyone connected with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, such is their abiding detestation of the New Deal. In identifying himself with this school of thought Mr. McCarthy has achieved no mean political victory. But he is not spoken of in these circles in eminently cordial, even in polite, terms: cleaning the Augean stable is necessarily distasteful work.

PRINT AND IGNORANCE

It would take a study of mass psychology to explain Mr. McCarthy's appeal to the broader and more instinctive elements of Middle West opinion. Time has become the great factor of American life, and part of the answer might be that the general run of people, absorbed in the triumph of material productiveness and vaguely fearful of forces that menace it, are content to accept Mr. McCarthy at his face value, and at the same time avoid the issue. Parts of the Middle West, moreover, are so poorly informed of the international problems on which "McCarthyism" impinges as to exemplify Tolstoy's sorry conclusion that the most powerful weapon of ignorance is the diffusion of printed matter. Mr. McCarthy draws his main support outside Wisconsin from the *Chicago Tribune*, the most widely read newspaper of the region, which takes hardly an objective view of foreign or domestic affairs and in the narrower field of British relations maintains its hostility with an air

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BACK TO ISOLATION

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The growing view that the current investigations can hardly be sustained indefinitely on damp squibs and a campaign of innuendo would be more reassuring if Mr. McCarthy's political designs and the undoubted power marshalled behind them were likely to be satisfied with the unmasking of all possible Communists. There are those even in Wisconsin who believe that saturation point on the domestic Communist front might find Mr. McCarthy training his guns, for instance, on the delicate areas of Anglo-American relations, a political stratagem that would be directed, again, to the strong anti-British sentiment of the Middle West. His brief incursion into Chinese waters was sufficiently effective to have left the widespread impression here that British ships are transporting Red Chinese troops and that in some evil manner American action in Korea is being subordinated to the interests of British trade with China. In the words of a Wisconsin farm journal, "no so-called ally is actually one unless it is 100 per cent.—and by its own volition." It adds the thought that "with Communism, as with pregnancy, there's no such thing as 'partly.'"

The Senator's forays into foreign affairs, though sometimes rewarding for the humorist, seem hardly calculated to further western unity. It has not gone unremarked in America that if the essential aim of international Communism is to sow alarm and confusion, it is being well served at home and abroad by the McCarthy school.

The future of his movement as a political force involves more imponderable factors than the approving response it evokes in the Middle West. It still consists more in shadows than substance, in suggestiveness than tested evidence. But the admitted success of these methods makes it difficult to accept the short view of those who talk of Huey Long and see Mr. McCarthy's imminent downfall. He might be thought to be riding high when ductiveness and vaguely fearful of forces that menace it, are content to accept Mr. McCarthy at his face value, and at the same time avoid the issue. Parts of the Middle West, moreover, are so poorly informed of the international problems on which "McCarthyism" impinges as to exemplify Tolstoy's sorry conclusion that the most powerful weapon of ignorance is the diffusion of printed matter. Mr. McCarthy draws his main support outside Wisconsin from the *Chicago Tribune*, the most widely read newspaper of the region, which takes hardly an objective view of foreign or domestic affairs and in the narrower field of British relations maintains its hostility with an air of privileged candour. Its legendary owner, Colonel McCormick (a great admirer of Northcliffe), has a more complex view of British institutions than his newspaper usually suggests; he went to the same English school as the Consul-General in Chicago and is fond of saying that at least patriotism was taught there, which was more than could be said for Grotton. A few memorable minutes with Colonel McCormick brought the disarming question: "Have the British any forces in N.A.T.O.?" Anglo-American relations were very bad, he said; Britain and Canada were trying to let Communist China into the United Nations, and if they succeeded America would have to "throw the United Nations overboard." He saw the secret of Mr. McCarthy's power in his being a Roman Catholic, but he thought he was doing a good job "getting rid of all those Communists."

These random thoughts of Colonel McCormick find more vehement expression in the general opposition of the *Chicago Tribune* to all American commitment in international affairs and its ability to reduce the problems of the day to incisive terms largely by ignoring their logical premises.

BRITAIN THE CULPRIT

One of its constant themes is that far from moving towards isolation America is being isolated by her allies, who have been of more hindrance than help in Korea with their "running fire of complaints" and are reproached with having deprived the United States of military victory when it was there for the taking. At the same time Mr. Syngman Rhee's threatened defection could be seen as an example of "global meddling." As always, the chief culprit is Britain, whether for seeking "blood money" from the Chinese trade, for being an "aggressor" in Egypt, which was thus prevented from becoming a loyal ally, or merely for being on her "last legs." The "And After?" article published by *The Times* after the Coronation was used to advance the reflection, under the heading "Wake up, Fairyland," that work is regarded as "demeaning" in Britain and that "hard work and talent rarely can lift a man out of the station in which he was placed by birth." Nearer home, the President's criticism of the book-burners was greeted with the disingenuous question "Who's Burning Books?" Certainly not Mr. McCarthy, but General Eisenhower's own Administration. As for Dr. Einstein's exhortation to the teachers not to answer for their political convictions, he was a "great dunce" outside his own field—and, the *Tribune* added, "it is a strange inquisition in which no confessions are obtained by torture." "*Toujours l'attaque!*" could well be the McCarthyist watchword.

Concluded

** The first article appeared yesterday.

A Letter from the President To Mr. Edward R. Murrow

March 10, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your telecast last night on "See It Now" had the proportions of history and will, I feel certain, be considered as one of the strong influences in the ultimate eradication of McCarthyism in this country.

Your fair and documented presentation of irrefutable facts stated a case convincing to all except the most intransigent. Your appeal to the historic common sense and fairness of the American people will I am certain find a warm general response.

May I add to the many notes of congratulations and appreciation which you must already have received this one, which speaks not only for myself but for the Two Hundred and Thirty-Five Lodges and Chapters and the Fifty Thousand B'nai B'rith men and women who constitute their membership.

It is our earnest hope that you will continue in good health and strength to maintain this battle for the American way of thinking and living.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
William I. Siegel
President

(Read: Action for Democracy Page 5)

Action for Democracy

By MONROE R. SHEINBERG
Metropolitan N. Y. ADL Director

THE METROPOLITAN STAR, MARCH, 1954

With a Small "m"

THEY CALL IT "mccarthyism" with a small "m," but I think that gives one man too much credit. Although he is a principal architect of the current crisis based on Fear and Smear, the hysteria of the day would certainly exist had he never been on the American scene—or were now removed from it. Other men, part of this movement today, senators, congressmen, columnists, commentators, publishers, political opportunists, and financial powers, would surely carry on that irresponsible exploitation of America's fear of communism, known as "mccarthyism," which so seriously threatens our civil liberties and democratic fabric today. When we say "mccarthyism," we do not mean only Senator McCarthy.

The Problem

This country is indebted to the Ed Murrows, the Archibald MacLeishes, the Senator Lehmans, Alson ~~Brothers~~, the Walter Lippmans, the Learned Hands, the Henry Steel Commagers, the Buell Gallaghers, the Walter Millises, the Drew Pearsons, the John Crosbys, and many others for sounding the warning that our precious heritage of liberty is threatened. They point out the basic deadly danger: In the effort to save our country from communism, we may lose it to totalitarianism by giving up, or having taken from us our civil liberties and philosophy of government which have made us great and strong. Fear and Smear, and all which is implicit under the banner of "mccarthyism," may do that to us.

The country is also indebted to Arnold Forster, and Benjamin R. Epstein, leaders of the ADL, whose stirring book "The Troublemakers" sounded the alarm several years ago with a chapter called "The Smear." Their words have a cassandra-like ring of grim prediction:

"The mere accusation of Communism could all but ruin a man's reputation, force him from his job, and lead others to flee association with him. Star-chamber hearings, the use of hearsay evidence, charges made by those determined to prove the Truman administration's alleged sympathy toward Communism—all these contributed to the general atmosphere of fear and hysteria in which the smear flourished."

Then the authors of "The Troublemakers" went on to quote Herbert A. Philbrick, noted FBI counter-agent:

"According to the leaders of the Communist Party, irresponsible anti-Communism has helped them a great deal."

Our Stake

What does this wave of Fear and Smear mean to us as Americans of the Jewish faith, as members of a great voluntary Jewish organization, the B'nai B'rith? To me, several conclusions are inescapable.

Firstly, "mccarthyism" does have a special significance for Jews. The Chairman of the ADL, Henry Edward Schultz, so stated in a recent issue of the ADL Bulletin, answering the inevitable question, "Is Senator McCarthy an anti-Semite?" Speaking bluntly and publicly, Mr. Schultz said that while McCarthy may not be an anti-Semite in the Gerald Smith-Benjamin Freedman sense, "Senator McCarthy's methods have injured many of our democratic institutions . . . upon which the security of our minority groups is largely dependent."

Secondly, it is not without significance that vicious, violent anti-Semitism has fastened itself on most of the controversies of "mccarthyism," especially where Jewish sounding names are involved. Not since the days of the German-American Bund and the Christian Front, have I seen such soul-corroding hatred and frenzied anti-Semitic vituperation as appears in the letters and calls received by "suspect" Jews, and anti-mccarthyist columnists and commentators.

B'nai B'rith Acts

After every grim recital of the aspects and effects of "mccarthyism," B'nai B'rith members inevitably ask, "alright, alright! What's been done and what's to be done?"

Neither the B'nai B'rith nor its ADL objects to congressional investigating committees, as such. They are traditional, valuable arms of the legislative branch of our government. We have and will continue to cooperate with them, **all of them**, but at the same time, we have the right and responsibility to shout to the high heavens about any abuses in the operation of such committees. We would not label them "fascist" . . . to do so would be to ape the tactics of the extremists of both right and left! . . . but we do speak up against specific wrongful acts and conduct, and urge our fellow Americans to do likewise.

We spoke out strongly and publicly regarding Congressman Velde when, on two separate occasions, he unwittingly allowed his committee to be used as a sounding board for anti-Semitism. We publicly disagreed with Senator McCarthy when he called Senator Monroney an anti-Semite. We joined much of the country in applauding President Eisenhower for his Dartmouth College speech against book-burning. Last month, our representative appeared before the Legislative Procedures Sub-committee of the House Rules Committee and offered seven specific, constructive suggestions to correct abuses by legislative investigating committees.

As for me, I was never more proud of being a member of B'nai B'rith then when I read the letter of our Metropolitan Council President, William I. Siegel, to Edward Murrow commending him, **on behalf of all the lodges, chapters, and members of B'nai B'rith,** for his magnificent fight against "mccarthyism."

Read that letter of Bill Siegel's reprinted on Page 1 of this issue of The Metropolitan Star and "shep nachis" with me!

Chappaqua Legion Condemns McCarthy

Chappaqua Post American Legion, 453, last Thursday night passed a resolution condemning the methods of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin and at the same time urged the County Legion to take similar action. The action is believed to be the first of its kind in the county.

Two-thirds of those present voted in favor of the resolution. The Post has about 100 members.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLVED:

That Post 453 of the American Legion hereby goes on record in opposition to the tactics of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin:

That Post 453 of the American Legion reiterates once more its determination to promote Americanism as the best possible method of combating the evils of Communism:

That Post 453 of the American Legion believes that anti-Communism is not a substitute for Americanism, and that indeed it is perfectly possible to be anti-Communist without being pro-American:

That Post 453 of the American Legion opposes the Senator from Wisconsin because he has not followed those (tenants) of democracy that make America great—that while ostensibly fighting Communism, he has in fact created a feeling of mistrust in this country that has become a peril approaching the peril of Communism.

That Post 453 of the American Legion urges the County Legion to take a similar stand, so that the millions of Americans who already recognize the Legion as one of the organizations in the forefront of the fight against Communism will also realize that the Legion will not tolerate any lessening of the standards of fair play and decency that have made America a great country.

VARIETY 3/17/54

Like the Ed Murrow show on Sen. Joseph McCarthy last Tuesday (9), "Meet The Press" pulled a journalistic coup Sunday night (14) with the deadline booking of Roy Cohn, chief counsel for the McCarthy committee, right on the heels of the sensational charges and counter-charges in the David Schine case. The confrontation of Cohn and a probing panel of newspapermen was not only ace reporting but high drama as well.

As the focal point in the fight between the Army and Sen. McCarthy over alleged pressure to get favored treatment for Pvt. Schine, Cohn was on the hot seat. That seat wasn't made any cooler by moderator Ned Brooks' opening comment that a direct issue of veracity was involved between the Army civilian officials on one side and McCarthy and Cohn on the other.

If this show hoped to uncover which side was telling the truth, it didn't achieve its aim. Cohn stuck to his guns, reiterating that he was not allowed to go beyond the memoranda released by McCarthy last week and repeating, on all other points concerning his future, that we would abide by decisions made by "older and wiser" people than he. The questioning by the panel of reporters was sharp and sometimes hostile in tone, but definitely not exceeding the allowable limits for newspapermen. Certainly no nasty rumors, which even an immediate denial cannot erase, were let loose by any of the questioners.

The only revelation of any consequence that was made on the show stemmed from a query by May Craig, of the Portland, Me., Press Herald, about a petition being circulated in Cohn's department pledging loyalty to him as chief counsel. Cohn conceded the existence of such a petition but disclaimed responsibility for either launching or stopping it. This line of questioning, however, led to nothing further. The rest of the questions ran over familiar ground and Cohn did not retreat an inch from his position.

In the context of the current political situation, the format of this show was ideal. This was neither a star chamber proceeding nor a hit-and-run attack. If there's any special American way of conducting a decent argument, this was clearly it. Both sides of the dispute were aired on the spot and all accusations could be met directly by the accused.

"Meet The Press" is a sample of the unique public service performed by video in bringing vital questions and personalities to the widest possible audience. This is both news reporting and news-in-the-making, as evidenced by the prominent featuring of the show's record in the Monday morning dailies.

Her

He Vastly Underrates the Domestic Communist Party Menace

Murrow Spouts Confused Doctrine

More about Edward R. Murrow, radio and TV commentator and latest darling of the Communist press. This final installment from "The New Counterattack, Facts to Combat Communism" is reprinted here with special permission. The emphasis is ours:

* * *

Murrow deplores "guilt by association." But he used "innocence by association" to try to explain away the fact that he was on the Advisory Council of the Moscow State university for its 1935 summer session and urged students to go there. A Pittsburgh newspaper on Feb. 18, 1935, said the university taught **"the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order."**

Murrow's reply: He was only one of 25 members of the Advisory Council of the Moscow State university summer session that year and most of the others were "distinguished" people. He then named some of them, using their "innocence" to prove his own.

Murrow failed to state that a number of well known fellow travelers were also on the advisory council. Also: He added that some of these persons "are now dead but presumably not yet immune from the senator's attentions." This was another underhanded attempt to put the senator in a bad light. **Senator McCarthy had not named any one else on the advisory council. Murrow was the one who brought their names into the controversy.**

Murrow says the project was cancelled by Rus-

MURROW

(Continued from Page One)

sian authorities, but that does not change the fact he worked for its success.

Murrow didn't tell all about his promotion of · ady and travel in the Soviet Union. In 1933 he was on the Advisory Committee of the Bureau ofr University Travel which was then promoting "The First Russian Seminar". This was a more-than-two-month travel and study tour of the Soviet Union and the Near East, with most of the time spent in Russia—"under the management of Intourist, the official travel agency of the USSR".

The following are quotes from the brochure for this study trip: "The seminar is planned for those who wish 'not only to see but to understand' Russia today offers to the world a new challenge.

"Those for whom the Seminar will be a success —those who will come away heavily laden with thought—provoking experiences and unforgettable memories, will be those—who have entered into the spirit of the seminar. This may be tersely worded as follows: 'We are interested in seeing and understanding. We desire something more lasting than the memory of deluxe accomodations. For these we do not even need to leave our American homes—but Russia has something to show us. Let us try to comprehend.' "

The obvious pro-Soviet tone here provides all the comment that is needed on Murrow's ex-

dents

planation that he served the Moscow State university in 1935 because he believed then, as he does now, that American students and professors can engage in "the clash of ideas with Communists anywhere under peacetime conditions, without becoming contaminated or converted".

Counterattack asks this question: **When Hitler rose to power did Murrow promote sympathetic study and travel tours in Germany on the basis that Der Fuehrer offered a new challenge to the world, that he had something to show Americans and that we should try to "see and understand"?**

Owen Lattimore, a "conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy" according to the United States Senate Judiciary committee wrote as follows of Murrow in his whitewash book, "Ordeal By Slander":

"I also owe a very special debt to men I have never met, or had never met before. I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow. Even when the hysteria was at its height he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique or using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself."

Despite the obvious slant in Murrow's programs, he has been the subject of favorable articles in many magazines (Newsweek, Look, McCall's, etc.).

Charles Wertenbaker wrote a complimentary profile of Murrow that was published in "The New Yorker" magazine of Dec. 26, 1953.

Wertenbaker tried to have Whittaker Chambers fired as foreign news editor of Time magazine — because Chambers put anti-Communist material into the news he edited and kept pro-Communist material out.

Wertenbaker's recently published book "The Death of Kings" is a fictionalized account of happenings at Time when Wertenbaker was there. **It is also a slick rehash of the Hiss case in a Time setting and with Time personnel.** There are many parallels to actual Hiss-Chambers events in Wertenbaker's account which portrays the "Hiss" of the story as an innocent men who is framed by the sinister villain (Chambers).

Murrow plugged the New Yorker on his radio broadcast of last May 13 by quoting extensively from verse written for it by staff member E. B. White. This verse was an attack on loyalty investigations.

Murrow always winds up his radio program with a quotation, usually from some famous person, which helps to drive home his point and gives a tone of wisdom and nobility to his words. One of his recent quotations sheds light on how acute and well-informed Murrow actually is.

He ended his broadcast of last October 27 this way: "Bertold Brecht, German poet—and an exile himself—once put it this way: 'A man can be free even within prison walls. Freedom is something spiritual. And whoever once had it, can never lose it. For while the body can be bound with chains, the spirit can never!"

Worth noting about this quotation are these points:

1—Bertold Brecht is a leading "cultural light" in the Communist world. As a refugee in this country he supported CP fronts, swore before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947 that he was not and never been a Communist—and then went to East Germany and became an active supporter of Moscow's puppet regime (which has given him awards). He wrote the CP song "United Front," with his long-time colleague, Hans Eisler.

2—The quotation is utter nonsense in the context of today's problems, in spite of the pomposity with which Murrow quotit **(do the millions in Soviet labor camps, who once had freedom, have freedom today?)**

3—The very idea of quoting a Communist on "freedom" is ridiculous.

It is not at all difficult to see why the CP has praised quite a number of Murrow's programs. He has often handled issues involving communism in a way that helps the party line and makes anti-Communists appear evil.

Counterattack stated of Edward R. Murrow on Feb. 22, 1952:

"He has defended Owen Lattimore on the air and also those who have joined fronts, taking position that nobody should be blamed for that. Though not pro-Communist, he is confused on Communist issues and defends those involved in Communist causes."

Murrow talks on the side of the angels. He is for the highest democratic and humanitarian ideals. But in actual practice he is not above using slick devices he would denounce if used by others. He is a master at slanting his programs while imparting an aura of great objectivity to them.

Murrow preaches dangerous doctrine. He vastly underrates the domestic Communist party menace. To do this is as dangerous as to misjudge the menace of communism abroad. United States will be sunk if it loses to communism in either place. Even on foreign issues, Murrow advocates a policy of dangerous softness in the face of Soviet intrigue * * * and he nas become hysterical about the issue of communism vs. civil liberties here in the United States.

The great acclaim given to Murrow in many quarters in spite of his unsoundness on vital issues concerning communism deserves serious thought. It points up the major weakness of the United States on all fronts in the battle against communism. **That weakness is lack of real understanding of Moscow's conspiracy. It is the greatest threat to United States survival.**

Edward R. Murrow, unfortunately, represents the dominant voice in all mediat of communications. Too few Americans are getting the unbiased news and the intelligent commentary on it they need so badly.

CONCLUSION

(Copyright 1954 American Business Consultants, Inc.)

A COLORFUL "BATIK SHIRT" is received by House Speaker Norman A. McMeekin of Haverhill from the "people of Indonesia." The gift is being presented by John B. Moningka, chief of the Department of General Affairs, Governor's office, Makassar. The Indonesian is on a tour of the state. The shirt is similar to the one received by Vice Pres. Richard Nixon when he visited Indonesia. (Concord Photo Service)

"There Is Nothing so Powerful as Truth"

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Story Brooks & Finley, Inc., Publishers Advertising Representative

Wednesday, April 7, 1954

"Save me, O God, by Thy name, and judge me by Thy strength. Hear my prayer, O God, give ear to the words of my mouth. For strangers are risen up against me, and oppressors seek after my soul: they have not set God before them. Selah. Behold, God is mine helper: the Lord is with them that uphold my soul. He shall reward evil unto mine enemies: cut them off in Thy Truth. I will freely sacrifice unto Thee: I will praise Thy name, O lord; for it is good. For He hath delivered me out of all trouble: and mine eye hath seen His desire upon mine enemies." — THE FIFTY-FOURTH PSALM.

"There Is Nothing so Powerful as Truth"

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

Established 1863

WILLIAM LOEB, President and Publisher

WILLIAM J. MONTAGUE, General Manager; HUGH R. O'NEIL, Editor; E. C. HENRY, Business Manager; WALTER P. MULLEN, City Editor; JAMES R. BUCKNAM, Night Editor; GEORGE CONNELL, State Editor.

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Storv Brooks & Finley, Inc., Publishers Advertising Representative

Thursday, April 8, 1954

"Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree, bring forth good fruit. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."—ST. MATTHEW VII, 16-20.

Catholic Radio Dial

(Readers' report of any change in time or station would be appreciated.)

See Catholic Charities Section, Page 21, for special programs in connection with 1954 Appeal.

SATURDAY, MARCH 27

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
6.15 a.m.—WHOM (1480) — Sacred Heart program.
6.45 a.m.—WHOM (1480)—Sacred Heart Novena Program.
9.30 a.m.—WGNY (810) — Children's program from Schenectady. Rev. Paul F. Flynn of St. Colman's Orphan Asylum, Watervliet
10.30 a.m.—WGNR (1480)—Hour of St. Francis.
1.30 p.m.—WNNJ (1360)—Georgetown University Forum.
3.45 p.m.—WNNJ (1360)—"Threshold of Serenity."
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.
7.30 p.m.—WALL (1340)—Family Rosary program.
8.30 p.m.—WOR (710)—Family Theatre.
9.45 p.m.—WHOM (1480)— Spanish Catholic Hour.

SUNDAY, MARCH 28

6.00 a.m.—WNEW (1130)—"The Hour of Faith."
6.45 a.m.—WHOM (1480) — Sacred Heart
7.45 a.m.—WNEW (1130) — Sacred Heart program.
8.15 a.m.—WWRL (1600) — Sacred Heart program
8.30 a.m. — WWRL (1600) — Ave Maria Hour. Also WGSM (740)
8.30 a.m.—WNNJ (1360)—Ave Maria Hour.
10.00 a.m. — WCBS (880) — His Eminence Cardinal Spellman, appeal for Catholic Charities; musical program by Cathedral Choristers, with Licia Albanese of Metropolitan Opera soloist
10.30 a.m.—WALL (1340)—Hour of St. Francis
10.30 A.m.—WHOM (1480) — Sunday Sermon in Italian, Msgr. Dominic J. Fiorentino, pastor of St. Dominic's Church, Bronx.
10.30 a.m.—WOR (710)—Hour of Faith.
10.30 a.m.—WKIP (1450)—Sacred Heart Program.
10.30 a.m.—WJLK (1310) — Ave Maria Hour
11.35 a.m.—WABC (770)—The Christian in Action. Rev. Joseph T. V. Snee, Assistant Vicar for Religious, Archdiocese of New York.
11.45 a.m.—NBC Network — "The Living Word"
12.30 p.m. — WEAN (790) — Catholic Truth program.
12.30 p.m. — WBNX (1380) — Hungarian Program.
1.30 p.m.—WFAS (1240) — Westchester Catholic Hour. "News in Review," Rev. James E. Rea.
2.00 P.m. — WNBC (660) — The Catholic Hour, sponsored by National Council of Catholic Men. Rev. Thomas J. Darby.
3.30 p.m.—WLNA (1000)—Ave Maria program.
3.45 p.m. — WHLI (1100) — "The Salve Regina Program, Rev. John Preston of Holy Ghost parish, New Hyde Park, "The Annunciation."
3.45 p.m.—WNNJ (1360)—Sussex County Council of Catholic Men.
4.00 p.m. — WGSM (740) — Long Island Catholic Hour
4.05 p.m. — WLNA (1420) — Ave Maria program
4.15 p.m.--WBUD (1260) — Hour of St. Francis
5.00 p.m.—WALL (1340) — Rosary Hour in Polish from Athol Springs, Buffalo; Rev. Justro Felgas, O.F.M. Conv., leader.
5.00 p.m. — WSTC (1400) — The Angelus Hour.
6.00 p.m.—WCTC (1450)—Trenton Catholic Hour: Rev. James A. Reilly.
6.30 p.m.—WMCA (570)—Ave Maria Hour. (Bl. Marie Therese Couderc.)
7.30 p.m.—WKIP (1450)—Dutchess-Putnam Catholic Hour
8.00 p.m.—WVNJ (620) — Peace Through Prayer
8.05 p.m.—WWRL (1600)—Hail Mary program.
8.30 p.m.—WINS (1010) — Radio Rosary Hour.

MONDAY, MARCH 29

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
7.00 a.m.—WVOS (1240) — Sacred Heart program
11.30 a.m.—WHOM (1480) Salesian program
1.30 p.m. — WLIB (1190) — Rosary Hour, Father Justin, O.F.M.
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.

TUESDAY, MARCH 30

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
6.15 a.m. — WKBS (1520) — Sacred Heart program
6.00 a.m.—WHOM (1480) — Sacred Heart program.
7.00 a.m.—WVOS (1240) — Sacred Heart program.
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.
7.30 p.m.—WALL (1340)—Family Rosary program.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
6.00 a.m.—WHOM (1480) —.Radio Rosary.
7.00 a.m.—WVOS (1240) — Sacred Heart program.
3.35 p.m.—WBNX (1380) — St. Jude Novena from St. Stephen's Franciscan Church, Manhattan.
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.
8.05 p.m.—WNJR (1430) — Our Lady of Perpetual Help Novena.
10.30 p.m.—WWRL (1600) — "The Mindszenty Hour."

THURSDAY, APRIL 1

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
6.00 a.m.—WHOM (1480) —.Radio Rosary.
7.00 a.m.—WVOS (1240) — Sacred Heart program.
6.45 a.m.—WKBS (1520)—Sacred Heart program.
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.
7.30 p.m.—WALL (1340) — Family Rosary program.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2

6.00 a.m. — WNAB (1450) — Sacred Heart program. Also WKNY (1490).
6.00 a.m.—WHOM (1480) — Sacred Heart program.
7.00 a.m.—WVOS (1240) — Sacred Heart program.
3.35 p.m.—WBNX (1380)—Novena services from Immaculate Conception Church [illegible] Lady of Perpetual Help.
7.15 p.m.—WICC (600)—Rosary Hour.
10.45 p.m.—WPAT (930) — Hour of St. Francis, sponsored by St. Anne's Church, Fair Lawn, N. J.

WFUV-FM Standard Programs

(90.7 MEG.)

DAILY

8.27 a.m.—Mass from the Blue Chapel
10.00 a.m.—News/FUV Today—Bill Watson Catholic News—John O'Connor (Saturdays.)
10.30 a.m.—Classical Showcase presents.
11.30 a.m.—FUV Language Course.
11.45 a.m.—Sacred Heart Program.
12.05 p.m.—Noonday Concert.
1.00 p.m.—Women's Interest.
1.30 p.m.—City Desk N. Y.
1.35 p.m.—Your Classical Requests (Call FO 7-5400, Ext. "Radio," and upon your request the classical music of your choice will be played).

WEDNESDAY

4.45 p.m.—Mimes and Mummers.
5.00 p.m.—Serenade in Blue—U. S. Air Force.
5.15 p.m.—High School Forum.
5.45 p.m.—Fordhamrama.
5.50 p.m.—Sports—Don Redmond.
6.00 p.m.—News.
6.05 p.m.—Evening Concert.
7.00 p.m.—Best Sellers—Bob Kass.
7.15 p.m.—Everybody's Chemistry.
7.30 p.m.—In the Interest of the Public.
8.00 p.m.—Russian Institute.
8.30 p.m.—You're the Judge.
9.00 p.m.—News.
9.30 p.m.—Sign Off.

SATURDAY

1.00 p.m.—The B.B.C. Playhouse.
2.00 p.m.—News.
2.05 p.m.—Your Classical Requests.
6.00 p.m.—News/Summary.
[illegible] p.m.—Front Row, Center.
[illegible] p.m.—The New [illegible]entures of Sherlock [illegible]
[illegible] —Actors and Artist.
7.15 p.m.—Record Review.
8.10 p.m.—News.
8.15 p.m.—Sign Off.

SUNDAY
SPECIAL PROGRAM

11.45 a.m.—Hour of St. Francis.
12.05 p.m.—A Box at the Opera.
3.00 p.m.—FUV Playhouse.
3.30 p.m.—Operetta Theater.
4.00 p.m.—News.
5.00 p.m.—Ave Maria Hour.
4.05 p.m.—Liturgical Music—Ben Lopez.
4.30 p.m.—Sunday Lecture Series, featuring International educators.
5.30 p.m.—Concert in Miniature.
6.00 p.m.—News.
6.05 p.m.—Harvey Humphrey's Record Review.
7.30 p.m.—Georgetown Forum.
8.00 p.m.—The Week Ahead—News.
8.15 p.m.—Compline—Sign Off.

MISERICORDIA HOSPITAL
SCHOOL OF NURSING
An Accredited School Conducted by the Sisters of Misericorde
641 East 86th Street, N.Y. 28, N.Y.
Four Years of High School Required
Classes Start in September
For Further Information Apply to
THE DIRECTOR, SCHOOL OF NURSING

St. Joseph's Hospital School OF PRACTICAL NURSING
Conducted by the Sisters of Charity. One year course leading to State Board examination for license as a practical nurse. Classes: February and September. For information, write to the Director of the School, 127 South Broadway, Yonkers, N.Y.

Alumnae Will Address 'Mount' Career Program

The opening session of the College of Mount St. Vincent "career conference" on Wednesday, March 31, will highlight "the Mount graduate in the Home, in Religion, in a Career and in Volunteer Work."

Mrs. John V. Connorton, wife of the Deputy City Administrator of New York and mother of five children, will speak on women in the Home; Dr. Mary R. Stapleton, recently appointed dean of admissions of Brooklyn College, on women in a Career; Sister Mary David of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of New York, on women in Religion, and Mrs. William C. O'Keefe, co-founder of Casita Maria Settlement House, on women in Volunteer Work.

The second hour will be devoted to opportunities for Liberal Arts graduates developing out of the departments of study such as commerce education, English and fine arts, history and social studies, languages, nursing and science and mathematics.

Catholic TV Programs Scheduled This Week

Sunday March 28
8.30 a.m. Channel 4
SUNDAY SCHOOL
Sister Marie Charles, M.H.S.H.

10.30 a.m. Channel 2
LOOK UP AND LIVE
Rev. Bertin Roll

12 Noon Channel 11
THE CHRISTOPHER PROGRAM

Monday, March 29
3 p.m. Channel 7
NANCY CRAIG TIME
Cardinal's Campaign for Foster Homes

Tuesday, March 30
8 p.m. Channel 5
LIFE IS WORTH LIVING
Bishop Fulton J. Sheen

Wednesday, March 31
12.45 p.m. Channel 5
MIDDAY CHAPEL
Sanctity Is Santly
Rev. Joseph M. Collins

Wednesday, March 31 and Saturday, April 3
7.35 a.m. and 2.30 a.m.
Channel 2
GIVE US THIS DAY
Rev. Joseph P. Flynn, C.S.P.

Msgr. Patrick J. Ryan New Chief of Chaplains

(Continued from Page One)

ence Francis Cardinal Spellman in command of the Military Ordinariate—was named Chief of Chaplains by the late President Roosevelt in 1937, serving through most of World War II. He retired in April, 1945, and was elevated to the episcopate the following month by the Holy Father.

A priest of the Archdiocese of St. Paul, Chaplain Ryan was educated at St. Thomas College and St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, and was ordained in 1927. He went on active duty as a Regular Army chaplain a year later, and saw tours of duty at many far-flung Army posts over the years. During World War II he was chaplain of the Fifth Army, serving through the North African and Italian campaings. He is one of the Army's most decorated chaplains, having been awarded the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star and five battle stars, and the Army Commendation Ribbon, as well as Brazil's Medal of War, the Order of the British Empire (O. B. E.), the Order of the Crown of Italy and the Italian Medal of Valor with Star.

Named a Domestic Prelate with the title Right Reverend Monsignor by His Holiness Pope Pius XII in June, 1947, General Ryan has served as Deputy Chief of Chaplains before—from April, 1946 to August, 1948, when he became chief chaplain of the Sixth Army in San Francisco. He stepped back into the job [illegible] years later when his successor, Msgr. (Brig. Gen.) James H. O'Neill reached the retirement age of 60.

No Senate opposition to confirmation of the Litchfield, Minn., native was foreseen.

Fordham Group to Offer Lenten Play by Gheon

The combined Sodalities of the School of Business of Fordham University will present a Lenten play, "The Devil is a Fool," by Henri Gheon on the weekends of Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday. This play by the French Catholic writer is really two one act comedies about the Devil, "Parade at the Devil's Bridge" and "The Sausage Maker's Interlude." They have been shown on the professional theater all over Europe, but this is their first presentation in New York.

The Rev. Alfred J. Barrett, S.J., student counselor, is staging and directing the production, with Rev. Leo P. Monaghan, S.J., as acting coach. Rev. Lawrence M. Wilson, S.J., assistant dean of the Business School, is in charge of promotion and business.

Evening showings will be given in Collins Theater on the Bronx campus, April 3, 4, 10 and 11 at 8 p.m. All proceeds from the play will be used for the Jesuit missions in the Pacific.

Radio & Television

By JOHN O'CONNOR

THE LATE TICKER:

TV will soon have new program concepts coming, at least at NBC. Industries and major firms will concentrate on several major presentations a year—all of the two hour variety. . . . This Sunday the Rogers and Hammerstein program sponsored by General Foods on its 25th anniversary and which will cost $450,000 is a trial CBS balloon. . . . The private utilities will mark the 75th anniversary of the electric light with a million dollar show on three networks in the Fall. . . . NBC will air two 90-minute color shows each week starting in September. . . . The new labor relations man at DuMont is Paul G. O'Friel, a former FBI man who has worked San Francisco and Honolulu after attending St. Francis College in Loretto, Pa. . . . Anita Colby, contributing editor to "The Sign," the national Catholic monthly, will soon be the regular hostess on "The Pepsi Cola Playhouse" . . . Can NBC be serious? They are giving a birthday party to a chimpanzee! . . . Emerson Radio-Phono Corp. will rent you a color TV set for $200 . . . for the first month and $75 for every month thereafter.

[illegible] CAMERA:

The selection of Mickey Spillane as a guest by Ed Murrow could have been more than coincidental, as Spillane is a Roman Catholic who has joined a vague and fanatical sect that is vigorously opposed to the Church. . . . Why not have 'Person to Person', interview Evelyn Waugh for example . . .? One man recommendation: Bing Crosby. Jack Benny and George Burns should do a command performance each month with old vaudeville turns. Benny would come off a poor third, but at least the humor would be clean. The other two are tops. . . . In this writer's opinion color TV is the greatest thing since the invention of printing with movable type. The challenge to the sensuous attraction of color TV: make the presentations intelligent, adult and worthwhile! . . . Next week the ABC network program "Answers for Americans" present guest Martin Dies with the question "Should the Communist Party be outlawed in the United States?" . . . Two 'too bads': that Dizzy Dean's 'Baseball Game of the Week' is excluded from some cities and that NBC's "Keys to the Capital" suffers the same fate. Quip on Capitol Hill: "Some think of Murrow. Others fear tomorrow with too many Murrows."

LIVE MIKE:

"Inheritance"—the new show starting on April 4 and backed by the American Legion will be broadcast over the NBC radio network. It deserves the attention of all Americans this side of the Fifth Amendment refugees. Albert McCleary, one of our top American producers is in charge . . . Jascha Heifitz, the celebrated violin virtuoso, will feature Ravel's "Tzigane" as his major offering on [illegible] on radio next Monday evening (March 29 — NBC). The same show, incidentaly, marks its 15th anniversary on the air on Monday, April 12th. . . NBC has received more than 100,000 requests for a girl's essay on "I Speak for Democracy." The offer will be repeated this coming Monday on 'The Voice of Firestone' program. Drop this column a line if you care for a copy. Readers and superiors may have copies for their classes by writing to this column care of this paper. . . . Sportsmen: if you are interested in a free, 48 page booklet on fishing and angling, etc., drop us a line care of the paper. It is yours for the asking. Nick Carter, 'Master Detective,' will start his 15th year with Mutual this week. Happy detecting!

PERSONALITY PARAGRAPH:

The brunette Fontane to your right on the TV screen is Bea, arranger for the music for America's all-time top trio. . . . Bea sets up the arrangements on a knee-high organ that is many years old—and two and one-half octaves wide. . . . Addicted to good food and attracted towards good golf, Bea finds the ancient game "an 'umblin' experience" as John Ball the ancient Scot defined it . . . single, Bea lives in the center of the Fontanes. . . . Mother and Dad live several miles to the north of her Riverdale, New York, home. . . . Geri is several miles to the south . . . and Marge is over in the reaches of Long Island. . . . Bea, 'the driver of the getaway car' as Geri tagged her, for she is known for the adroitness with which she can start back towards normalcy and home after a day replete with a recording rehearsal and cutting plus eight hours in the TV studio. . . . Bea's claim to have more recipes than Marge remains to be seen. . . . and Pete, her pet parakeet, is to be seen no more! He has been sent to a neighbor for training and greater daytime freedom. Now "Pete II," an obedient cucko in a clock pops out on schedule while his intense, blue-eyed mistress relaxes occasionally as she arranges the music for her sisters—and the rest of the United States.

ONE MAN'S OPINION:

It is not too difficult to understand why some network personnel become enraged because a Senator whose patriotism is above suspicion believes that unpalatable facts should be made public. . . . Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the education in the '30's was as so many predicted: pale and pragnatic. Also let us add the fact that most of the news commentators read what is handed to them. Few have ever covered a city beat, sweated out items in police precincts or poured over free-lance copy for the discerning eyes of major magazine editors. . . . It is even more disconcerting to realize that many of the trite, offensive and poorly constructed commercials have been put together by an agency executive and a network official—and that such moronic advertising is the product of the meeting of the minds of people who have M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s! But the end product in both cases remains: mediocrity. . . . One wonders what the advertising executives responsible for much of this must think. And you may wonder further what the textbook echoes called "instructors" are telling the students in the various Schools of Business. . . . We'll take realism in this case.

ON THE RECORD:

RCA-Victor has sold more than $8,500,000 worth of opera records, we learn from an outside source. 'Faust' has led in sales, followed by 'Otello,' "Cavelleria Rusticana," "Pagliacci" and "Tristan and Isolde." . . . The record industry distributes a million dollars worth of [illegible] playing records to stations [illegible] good listening on local stations. More than 78 percent of the stations today program some classical music in their daily log. . . . Columbia Records will issue a full line of phonograph records this Spring. . . . RCA-Victor—(this is again from an outside source—NOT from their publicity department)—is planning to introduce pre-recorded tapes for consumer use this summer. . . . Bing Crosby will soon release an album of up-to-the-minute tunes. 'The Groaner' is still up there when he wants to be. . . . Last week this column was pressed for space. Thus: we hereby state that the classical religious record of our time is the "Missa Solemnis," an RCA-Victor effort worthy of your home and most important, productive of meditation, which, according to Jacques Maritain is the highest function of man.

By Writing to the
MARYKNOLL SISTERS
MARYKNOLL, N. Y.
Readers May Secure Free a Booklet About Will-Making Entitled
"A LEGACY THAT LIVES"
The Legal Title of the Maryknoll Sisters is the
FOREIGN MISSION SISTERS OF ST. DOMINIC, INC.

RADIOpinion and TELEVISIONotes

By Bill Coleman

McCARTHY VS. MURROW AND CBS

FOR the past 14 days CBS-TV viewers have been treated to the unusual spectacle of a network indulging in editorializing on a grand one-sided scale. From the early morning to the late evening newscasts, the web's commentators have put aside objectivity when reporting the news as it concerns Senator McCarthy. If a newsreel film shows the Senator making a point, the CBS man follows it with a denial. Most of them feel called upon to defend their colleague, Ed Murrow, even when he doesn't enter the picture.

Bill Coleman

The broad scale on which this net's news department representatives are devoting themselves to attacking McCarthy is unprecedented in broadcasting history. The Federal Communications Commission could study this situation to advantage. There is a world of danger inherent in the conditions which permit such a thing to happen.

Irrespective of the merits of Senator McCarthy's cause and prescinding from the opinion you may hold of his methods, this elected representative of the State of Wisconsin is the target for broadside after broadside from the network itself, a barrage of propaganda which is impossible to answer.

The Senator's personal answer on Murrow's April 6 show should prove interesting.

MAYOR MIKE

I failed to list it last week among the St. Patrick's Day special broadcasts, but a highlight of the March 17 schedule was the appearance of Mike Donovan, CBS headquarters doorman, on the "Robert Q. Lewis Show" (daily, 4:30 p.m.). Mike, who is known as "The Mayor of Madison Avenue," is a landmark there, a cheerful, loquacious Irishman who has been with the network for 12 years. He is a rabid Dodger fan, a pal of the many vice-presidents, who take his kidding good-naturedly, and he hails from Skibbereen, County Cork.

RENZO CESANA

An indication of the true quality of the appeal of "The Continental" (DuMont, Friday, 2:45 p.m.) is contained in the announcement of the winning entry of his recent "Love Letter" contest. A Trenton, N. J., mother wrote the prize letter and it turned out to be a tender, poetic epistle to her four sleeping sons. As a result, Mrs. Mary Masterson will enjoy a seven-week celebrity tour of Europe.

Incidentally, the day Renzo had her on his program he also made a guest appearance at a fund-raising party being held at the St. George Hotel for the Boy's Town of Italy, established by Msgr. Carroll-Abbing, an American priest who has done outstanding work with the youth of Italy.

'CANA, 1954'

When the "Church of the Air" program brings Rev. William J. Shannon of Syracuse, N. Y., to the microphone Sunday, March 21 (CBS, 10:30 a.m.), you'll be hearing a priest who in his college days here in New York City was an outstanding popular crooner. He gave up a promising career as a singer to enter the priesthood but before he did he started another young tenor, named Eugene McNulty, on the road to success. Eugene became the popular Dennis Day, one of the most versatile performers in show business today.

Father Shannon's topic Sunday will be "Cana, 1954," and the program's music will be furnished by the Diocesan Sisters Choir, a group of 75 voices of Sisters representing six Religious orders.

HISTORY DRAMATIZED

The study of history these days is made a lot easier for youngsters by the efforts of radio and video dramatists. Teachers might check the listings for such offerings and make them supplemental assignments. "Cavalcade of America" Tuesday, March 23 (ABC-TV, 7:30 p.m.), offers "Young Andy Jackson," a teleplay about "Young Hickory" as an Irish immigrant lad of 14. On radio, "Hallmark of Fame" Sunday, March 21 (CBS, 9 p.m.), tells a true story of Lord Edmund Burke and his defense fo American freedom during the Revolution. And a little earlier in the day British Lieut. General John Burgoyne will surrender to Major General Gates on "You Are There" (CBS-TV, 6:30 p.m.).

Money Winners: Did you catch that money-winning combination on "Two for the Money" last week? Marc Milano of Brooklyn and Mrs. Mariloise Kelly of Flushing walked off with a cash prize of $4,900, the biggest ever won on the show. Herb Shriner asked them to name words with "th" as the suffix. "Like fourth, for example," the humorist said. The contestants, taking the hint, came up with "fifth, sixth, seventh" and kept going to "eighteenth" when the buzzer cut them off. Each answer word was worth $350.

Latest Report: Then there's the story of the little boy who came home with a poor report card. As he handed it to his dad, he remarked resignedly, "Here's my report card, Pop; I didn't want to watch television anyway."

Vaudevillians: What should be good clean fun is the meeting Sunday, March 21, of Jack Benny and his guests, Bing Crosby and George Burns. They combine their talents on the "Jack Benny Show" (CBS-TV, 7:30 p.m.) in a revival of an old-time vaudevill routine known as "Goldie, Fiel and Glide."

The Golden West: "C Cameos" Sunday, March 2 Mont, 7:30 p.m.), giv Girl of the Golden Puccini, its first prof duction in Americ Brenda Lewis, M era soprano, an ville, of the N ter, will ca Glove

Small Prayers for Small

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... of Decency List

READERS' FORUM

School Issue and Public Education Association

Dear Sir: Frank E. Karelson, vice-president of the Public Education Association, recently stated that home and neighborhood environment, and not only the schools, are seriously to blame for delinquency among our youth. This is true.

It is also true that the Public Education Association has contributed its share to the situation. It has long advocated and supported the ultra-progressive, pragmatic form of education emanating from Teachers' College, Columbia University. It has publicly condemned measures taken by the Board of Education to combat delinquency.

For years it has fought against the released-time program of which the purpose is to give pupils whose parents request it one hour in the school week to attend religious instruction in their respective places of worship. It conducted four surveys of the released-time program, in the last of which it distorted the report of its own investigator with the aim of discrediting the program.

As late as November, 1953, it issued a report highly critical of the "600" day schools. A "600" day school is one for children so emotionally disturbed that they cannot be adjusted to the ordinary school. The report objected to such regulations as the escorting of boys to the subways, of observing set toilet periods, of marching single file to and from classes, and of searching these pupils for knives or other weapons. It particularly condemned the boys being requested to wear white shirts. The report, moreover, demands more "self-government" for these pupils—pupils who have been proven unable to govern themselves!

In these criticisms, the Public Education Association is advocating the theory of permissiveness which has been one of the weaknesses of progressive education most vigorously attacked in the currently published articles on delinquency.

A perusal of its latest report reveals no instances where the Public Education Association has worked for the inculcation of moral and spiritual values and the strengthening of the moral fibre of the pupils. Rather it has concerned itself with the administration of the public school system, the method of the appointment of school officials, school construction and school finance.

One of its chief concerns seems to be selection of school boards and school officials representative of the thinking of the Public Education Association.

VERONICA S. CASSIDY.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Defines Catholic Action In Descriptive Fashion

Dear Sir: Mary Harris, in a letter to THE TABLET of March 13, submits the question: "Will you please tell just what Catholic Action is?" Pops Pius XI defined Catholic Action as "the participation and collaboration of the laity with the apostolic Hierarchy." Donald Attwater, in his "A Catholic Dictionary," tells us: "The scope of Catholic Action is very wide and varies from place to place; it can be manifested in worship, in study, in active apologetics, in the corporal works of mercy and in a dozen other ways, but they must be in a true sense religious ways. . . ."

THE TABLET and other Catholic papers publish outstanding examples of Catholic Action. All one need do is read a Catholic publication, study methods used by various groups and follow in the footsteps of these Catholic Actionists.

I urge every Catholic to enroll in an army of self-designated crusaders and participate in Catholic Action. Communism is not the only menace. Press, radio, television, stage and screen are outlets for offensive and prejudicial propaganda. Offenders may be wilful and deliberate professional hate-mongers or morally depraved disseminators of rot, or just unfortunate and misguided victims of invincible ignorance. Be that as it may, one is equally as dangerous as the other. They can, however, be brought to a standstill through immediate and direct Catholic Action. The time to act is when the offense is committed. If we permit grass to grow under our feet before deciding to act, protests, written or verbal, lose their effectiveness.

How may we engage in Catholic Action? Keep away from questionable stage and screen shows; be on guard against legislation aimed at depriving Catholics of benefits to which all citizens are rightfully entitled; fight advocates of euthanasia; read Catholic publications; support the missions; place Catholic literature in the hands of non-Catholics; assist hospital and prison chaplains in providing patients and inmates with religious articles and decent reading material; speak out when our Church is attacked; organize study clubs and learn more about the Church; join a Catholic society or club. There are other ways, too numerous to mention.

Every Catholic can, and should, do something for Catholic Action. Every Catholic organization should have a "Catholic Action Committee"—not a letterhead committee revealing names of individuals who serve in name only, but a live-wire committee ready to act in any emergency.

JEREMIAH F. MAHER.
Manhattan.

Asks Sen. McCarthy Issue Be Kept in Perspective

Dear Sir: Having subscribed to THE TABLET just one month ago, may I mention that I am completely impressed with your thoroughly honest approach to the news.

Your Readers' Forum section is excellent and open-minded and I hope read by practically every one of your subscribers.

My message is a simple one, the shouts of "McCarthyism" are getting louder, his "methods" are being constantly brought to public attention by the "liberals" and left-wingers, which description I use of the aforementioned in keeping with the good taste of the written word.

Having followed Joe McCarthy closely, having read the Congressional Record wherein his spoken word is recorded, having read "McCarthyism, the Fight for America," etc., I feel as though I know just a little about his approach to Communism. I have read and heard Murrow, Hollenbeck, Gray, etc., including many of his most vehement critics. I have talked with my friends, my barber, and my wife about McCarthy and that is the net result.

Let us keep in mind one very important approach to McCarthy. What does he stand for, what are his methods, and how do they apply to us as Catholics?

He stands almost alone in the particular role he is playing in the fight against Communism, constantly subjecting himself to the smears of the left-wingers and "liberal" thinkers. Surely he exposes himself to violence at any time. Thus, a man of courage, uncompromising principle, and unquestionable ability.

His methods are to conduct hearings as chairman of a Senate committee and ascertain whether or not in certain cases people he is questioning are Communists. He asks a simple question and does he get a "yes or no" answer?

Question: "Are you a Communist?"

Answer: "I refuse to answer on the grounds that I might incriminate myself."

Any red-blooded American can answer this question "yes or no." A Communist cannot and will not.

If we must disagree with McCarthy, let us not be so naive as to fall for the "methods" argument. You are either with him or against him; and to be misled in your opinion by an argument which in no way affects the substance of his approach, Godlessness versus God, is to be guilty of having quite a shallow sense of values. Important: Communism vs. God.

The approach is perhaps questionable, but I repeat I may differ with you in how to do it, but never on the main issue; and if I do differ in approach, if we agree in principle, by discussion we can resolve our infinitesimal difference.

Joe McCarthy is doing a job on the legislative level and he should be a reminder to each and every Catholic to observe the plan of Fatima. He is constantly reminding us of the common enemy; and practically every day of his life, he does battle against it. Let us not be disloyal. Defend him immediately when the opportunity arises. As an adjunct, and definitely most important, we must observe the plan of Fatima: penance, prayers, the Rosary, and our daily duty, then we shall experience that certain period of peace.

LOUIS J. GALULLO.
Waterbury, Conn.

'Times' Printed Bigoted Remarks But No Reply

Dear Sir: On March 2 I addressed a letter to the editor of the New York "Times." Following a form letter signed by L. P. Huger, letters editor, I addressed him a second letter. Both are enclosed.

JOHN E. McGINNIS.
Allendale, N. J.

(Enclosures)

Dear Sir:

On March 1, you published as a news item an attack by a Dr. McCracken, during a sermon at a Protestant church, upon Senator McCarthy. During the course of his sermon, Dr. McCracken was reported to have told his congregation "not to forget that the Senator is a member of a Church that has never disavowed the Inquisition, that makes a policy of censorship, that insists on conformity."

Would you consider publishing a Catholic's reaction to Dr. McCracken's injection of the Senator's religion into the attack?

First, the Senator has many critics among both the laity and clergy in the Catholic Church. E.g., Father Hartnett of the magazine "America" and Senator Chavez of New Mexico. Now if the doctrines of the Church are the motivating force of McCarthy, whot of his opponents in the same Church?

Second, many of McCarthy's enemies are attacking Messrs. Velde, Jenner, Dies, etc., and these gentlemen are not members of the Catholic Church. Yet the attacks are for the same reasons as are those directed toward Senator McCarthy. Does Dr. McCracken wish us to believe all of these Senators and Congressmen are tarred with the same brush as McCarthy? Or isn't it more logical to believe the common denominator is other than Catholic belief?

Third, Catholics are above attacking the religion of public figures in Catholic pulpits. Have you as editor had to report in your news columns sermons of Catholic clergymen, taking apart the public actions of politicians and attributing such actions to the religion of those involved?

To sum up, I believe the sermon of Dr. McCracken exposed his hand in providing an opportunity for an attack upon the Catholic religion and Senator McCarthy merely provided the excuse. In other words, Dr. McCracken, don't look now, but your bigotry is showing.

Dear Mr. Huger:

Your form letter of March 5 acknowledges receipt of mine of the 2nd in which I asked you to consider my comments on the criticism of the Catholic Church by Dr. McCracken. Your letter indicates my views on this matter will not be published. I had been hoping to see some rejoinder printed, some one else's if not mine. Apparently, if you have received other protests in addition to mine, you have decided not to print any of them.

The conclusion I must draw is that you could spare the space to publish this crack against the religion of 30,000,000 Americans, but not the space for even one poor reply. That sort of business makes a pretty one-sided "Freedom of the Press"—the "Times'" and Dr. McCracken's side only!

Cites Lattimore's Words Of Praise for Murrow

Dear Sir: Edward R. Murrow was only doing what comes naturally when he recently devoted a half-hour TV show to a documentary blasting of the activities of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. No matter what may be said about McCarthy it is a fact that his supporters include all those who have opposed Communist activities in our Country since the late President Roosevelt recognized the U.S.S.R. And his most articulate opponents include the Communist Party, U.S.A., as well as those individuals and organizations that have protested any and all investigations into Red activities in America.

In March of 1950 Sen. McCarthy charged that Communists had made a deep penetration in our State Department. He named the names, among them being Owen Lattimore, whom he referred to as a "top" Russian spy and Communist agent.

After the Tydings Committee gave Lattimore, and all the others, clean bills of health, Lattimore's book, "Ordeal By Slander," was published (June, 1950). On pages 176 and 177 Lattimore pays tribute to various individuals in press and radio who had aided him, including Elmer Davis, Eric Sevareid, I. F. Stone, Drew Pearson and Martin Agronsky. But the most laudatory tribute was reserved for Lattimore's friend, Edward R. Murrow. Here are Lattimore's words:

"I was kept so busy that I never had time to catch up with all the clippings and so I do not yet know all of those whom I should like to thank individually, but as an example of the way they handled my case I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow.

"Even when the hysteria was at its height, before I could speak for myself, he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me.

"Later, by his program technique of using recordings he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself, in excerpts from my testimony."

In June of 1950, the majority of the Tydings Committee (Tydings, McMahon and Senator Green of Rhode Island, who is up for re-election this year, I believe) said that they had found no evidence that Owen Lattimore was "the 'top Russian spy' or, for that matter, any other sort of spy." The two other members of that committee (Senators Lodge and Hickenlooper) did not sign this report.

But by July of 1952 another Senate committee had conducted an investigation. The seven members—McCarran, Eastland, O'Conor, Smith (N. C.), Ferguson, Watkins and Jenner—expressed their belief that Owen Lattimore since 1930 had been **"A conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."**

Moreover, these seven Senators unanimously held that Lattimore had committed perjury on at least six occasions. His case went to the Justice Department and he was indicted in December, 1952. He has never been tried!

And so in March of 1954, four years to the very day that McCarthy launched his crusade against Lattimore and the others, we find Lattimore's pal, Edward R. Murrow, reviewing, not the case of Owen Lattimore, but the case of the man who has exposed more Communists than any other individual, Senator Joe McCarthy!

JAMES R. BELL.
Brooklyn.

A Tiger Provides Meat for the Bishop

Raliang, India, March 16—When Bishop Ferrando reached the Salesian mission here for a recent feast, Father Mauri was lamenting that he couldn't find any meat for his important guest.

"Don't let that upset you," the Bishop advised; just as a Christian approached with a basket containing two mutton thighs.

"What's this?" asked Father Mauri.

"For the Bishop," explained the man. "Just half an hour ago, after the Bishop's jeep passed the gate, a tiger attacked and carried off a goat. We ran after it. When the tiger dropped his prize, we found it and divided the meat among ourselves. Here's your share."

"The tigers of Raliang are extremely thoughtful," commented Bishop Ferrando.

Letters to Mr. Murrow Express Disagreement

Dear Sir: Enclosed is a copy of a letter addressed to Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

RALPH R. TRAPANI.
S. Ozone Park.

(Enclosure)

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your program last night was up to usual standards and only served to strengthen the cause that Senator McCarthy and every other red-blooded American is fighting for and have been fighting for ever since the Revolution.

Why is it that every time a real American comes upon the scene, your kind try their best to smear him. Is it McCarthy's fault for the condition that exists today? Certainly not! He's only trying to do something about it.

Is it the method you don't like? Or, is that just another excuse for attacking the Senator?

What is the issue? Communism or the method of licking Communism and the threat it poses today.

If people of your type would use your facilities toward the end the Senator is trying to achieve, this Country would have no fears of Communism. But, no, you would rather go along with the bleeding hearts and eggheads and scream about methods, character assassinations, etc.

Just name one good American that Senator McCarthy has attacked unjustifiably and don't give me characters like Reed Harris and Adlai Stevenson.

Dear Sir: The enclosed is a copy of a letter sent to Edward R. Murrow.

VIVIAN McMAHON.
Elmhurst.

(Enclosure)

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am not one who gets all worked up over things I see and hear on TV, but your last night's program wherein you devoted your time to blasting a man who is exerting all his time and efforts to doing a job he was selected for and who is doing it well, is really beyond my comprehension.

If people, like yourself, would only expend their energy in helping Senator McCarthy clean up America instead of criticizing him every time he opens his mouth, this certainly would be "a land of the free and the home of the brave."

Legion Officer to Murrow

Dear Sir: Here is a copy of a letter that I sent to Edward R. Murrow in reference to his attack on Senator McCarthy.

MICHAEL F. FITZPATRICK.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

(Enclosure)

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o W.C.B.S.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

As the Americanism Chairman of the Department of Sanitation Post, No. 1110, American Legion, consisting of 1,000 members, I wish to inform you of the admiration we hold for Senator Joseph McCarthy in his unrelenting fight against Communists and their friends.

Your television show on Tuesday night changed nothing, as far as we are concerned.

It is encouraging to red-blooded Americans that left-wingers who have been in their glory for the last 20 years are now deploring the new turn of events.

[Editor's note: Space forbids publication of the many copies of letters sent to Mr. Murrow by the Columbia Broadcasting System and the Aluminum Company of America, sponsor of the "See It Now" program.]

Believes 'One Worlders' Are Treated Unjustly

Dear Sir: Recent letters published in THE TABLET (notably the issue of March 13) have made slighting references to "one worlders."

Our Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, in the prayer that he himself composed for the Marian Year, asked that we pray to the Mother of God—"make all men feel the attraction of Christian goodness. In your name, resounding harmoniously in Heaven, may they recognize that they are brothers, and that the nations are members of one family."

What may be doing the decriers of "one world" an injustice, but they seem to me to hold a view contrary to the Christian spirit—so beautifully expressed by our Holy Father.

LAWRENCE DELANEY.
Centerport.

Quotes from Transcript

Dear Sir: Newspapers and air commentators are talking much about the alleged statement of Senator McCarthy that Brig. Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker was unworthy to wear the Army uniform. Those repeating this might well memorize the exact wording of the Senator as it appears in the transcript of the hearing:

"Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to general and says, 'I will protect another general who protected Communists,' is not fit to wear that uniform, general."

ROBERT C. JONES.
Jersey City.

Two Generals

Dear Sir: When General Zwicker was questioned by Senator McCarthy respecting the commissioning and honorable discharge of an accused Communist he refused to answer and the Senator said if any General protected a Red he should take off his uniform. The repercussions were loud and wide. The Senator had insulted a General; he had mocked the uniform; he had injured morale.

Today President Eisenhower in discussing another General who had spent $1,200 to erect a doghouse firmly said: "the General should be made to live in it." Now will there be the same uproar over this nasty remark?

Or is the cover-up of information on a Red a less offense than building a doghouse.

I write as a former Lieutenant in the Army and one who loves it and respects its high officials.

ANTHONY GEIER.
Manhattan.

Suggests U.N. Prayer

Dear Sir: With all the current criticism about the relationship of God to the U.N., we decided to be positive and sent this simple prayer composed to suit the mentalities of all nations to the Secretary General and President of the United Nations and General Assembly, respectively:

O God, Lord of heaven and earth, bless the meetings of this Assembly; rule over the minds and hearts of all delegates; guide all by Thy light, life and truth, so that the family of nations of the world may grow in health, wealth, and love.

I ask that you help to publicize this prayer so that all Catholics may be positive in working to put the Holy Family as the guide of the family of nations in the United Nations.

We are a lay group dedicated to work among the peoples of the Oriental Rite, particularly the Slavs and Moslems.

JAMES F. SHIEL,
Director
New York Foreign Mission Society, Bronx.

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From the MANAGING EDITOR'S Desk

Y DAY

e exception of Christ- is no day in the year re good will, real fel- nd friendliness exist . Patrick's Day. From night people's hearts mor and mirth are in smiles and laughter gious. There is no igious bar to this n-Irish, including join in being Irish appy and pleasant is the widely for all.

is the tremendous the afternoon—over trong with 2,000,000 ing. Veterans of the parade ert they never saw so many heerful countenances marching to music that stirs the heart and lightens the step. This is one parade which seems to be enjoyed by everybody whether marching or watching. The feeling seems to be one of gladness to be alive, with not an enemy in the world and alive with love of Country and religion and pride of possession of even a drop of Celtic blood. There are no Fifth Amendment marchers, no betrayers or defenders of betrayers of our Country, no "I am not a Communist but—" anti-anti-Communists in line. If such a parade could take place in an Iron Curtain country, there would be no class war, religious war or Communism.

Finally, as evening comes on, many go to dinners to hear from golden tongues the glories of the past, the treasures of the present and the hopes for the future, all couched in tribute to Ireland and in love of America. Then those at home, on television or from the radio once more hear Irish music, watch dancing and liasten to orators, with messages of substance and impregnated with the spirit of the day.

From beginning to end St. Patrick's Day is a great day, a day in which hate and division are supplanted by the goodness and unity which come from the wells of religion. May its ever gripping appeal expand throughout the world and may it continue more than 24 hours.

MR. SOKOLSKY'S ADDRESS

One can understand the tremendous reaction to the address of George Sokolsky last Sunday evening. From every part of the Nation people telephoned and telegraphed the radio stations broadcasting his message and thousands of requests were received for the text. THE TABLET is happy to print it elsewhere in this issue. It speaks for itself and requires no comment of ours.

Meanwhile, in all the widespread publicity and vial of hatred poured on Senator McCarthy, the main point at issue continues to be overlooked. The point is: Who commissioned, promoted and gave an honorable discharge to Major Irving Peress who would not deny he was a Communist agent and who was identified as a Communist? If this question had been answered, instead of avoided, there would have been no such controversy as has been inflicted upon the general public during the past few weeks. Then, too, who was the person who exercised his "influence" to pull Peress off a plane taking him to overseas duty? Peress, accused of being a Communist, gets a commission, promotion, seeming special treatment and an honorable discharge. Private G. David Schine, an anti-Red, was blocked and others are accused of trying to aid him.

The latest news is that a public hearing is to be held to find out whether Attorney Roy M. Cohn or the Army officials were telling the truth and the Senator is to be a witness as to his part in the dispute.

THE TABLET believes that not Mr. Cohn, or Private Schine, or even the Senator himself is the issue facing our Country, but the presence of Communists or bad security risks in Government. The Nation has been betrayed by Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and unknown numbers of other agents or friends of Moscow and unless they and their works are destroyed the safety of the Republic is imperiled.

The main issue remains: Communists have occupied Government posts and some still have to be rooted out. The question of veracity in reference to Private Schine, whether or not he avoided KP, or whether or not a commission was asked for him or whether or not he was a hostage, is not something which should distract Americans. The torturers of Americans in Korea were Communists, the victims were anti-Communists. Not anti-Communists but Communists are the enemies of our Nation. We are more interested in the welfare of our 940 airmen held prisoners in China and their captors' allies in this Country rather than a controversy over the request of an Army commission for Schine.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDER

Mother Mary Teresa Tallon was a lay teacher in the West Side of Manhattan, in St. Paul the Apostle parish, for many years. She was particularly distressed at the lack of religious training in many youths and attributed the condition to the negligent home. She had a "Divine discontent" and from her Faith came the practical suggestion of bettering the situation. Unless something is done to preserve the home and family virtue, the souls of children will be lost and they will beget an offspring who will not know of God, she reasoned.

Her solution, the future Mother Mary Teresa thought, was to visit the home, to make contact with parents, to block laxity at its source. A little experience told her the lay person could not do as much as the Religious, for visits would be irregular and a person known as a Religious would invariably receive more respect and attention. From her idealism came the organization known as the Parish Visitors of Mary Immaculate, which assists parish priests with the care of needy families, taking the census and instructing families and classes in religion. Today the Parish Visitors are in nine dioceses and have 150 members.

Mother Mary Teresa was not only a person of deep Faith and foresight, but she had also a keen mind and was an excellent teacher and writer. She set up the Community and provided that its members might live a holy and contemplative life, and transfer some of that religious spirit to others. She was singly devoted to the home in this life, regarding it as a corridor to the permanent home in a future life. Her faith and ability were augmented by keenness of mind and extraordinary industry, which she leaves as an imperishable heritage to her successors.

Our Diocese was one of the beneficiaries of the foresight of Mother Mary Teresa. Since 1947 the Parish Visitors have been here and have been doing untold good. The founder of the Community, who retired two years ago and then became editor of the "Parish Visitor," a monthly, often talked of this Diocese and the endeavor being made here to preserve the faith of the little ones. We join the Parish Visitors in mourning Mother Mary Teresa, a remarkable person of extreme humility, whom God inspired to do a noble work and gave her the strength to carry it on successfully until her 87th year. May she rest in peace.

PUBLIC REACTION

A very large number of readers have sent in communications on Ed Murrow — a number of them place an R before Ed—Columbia Broadcasting commentator and director of the TV program "See It Now," which is sponsored by the Aluminum Company of America. Apparently the one-sidedness of the assault on Senator McCarthy, and the unfairness and bias of the broadcaster, distresses people. One writes: "I saw the selective program of Tuesday evening, March 9, and during the vicious editorialized presentation heard Murrow assert an equal amount of time would be given Senator McCarthy. The Senator agreed to appear April 6 but on Tuesday of this week Murrow made another long, biased, blasting attack on the Senator over TV and also used the C.B.S. radio for the same purpose. That is Murrow's idea of fairness; he will use every Tuesday evening save the one on which the Senator appears to denounce him and at the same time will say 'we gave him a chance to answer.' It is as fair as giving an opposing team in a baseball game one inning to bat and taking eight yourself."

A few of the letters received appear in our Forum this week. It might be better if all the letters were sent — many are — to the Columbia Broadcasting Company, which has a number of anti-anti-Communists on its programs — the anti-McCarthy speakers must be about 10 to 0—and to Alcoa. Tell them this is America and common decency might dictate that they plan at least one anti-Communist speaker—Bill Buckley has been suggested—on their program. The tie-up with the recently expressed program of the Communist Party, namely "fight McCarthyism, attack him continually" is becoming common talk.

CODE GETS BACKING

Joseph Breen, who heads the Motion Picture Producers Association which administers the code, said this week that the rebellion created by Jane Russell and producer Samuel Goldwyn has made his position stronger than ever.

Recently producer Howard Hughes defied Mr. Breen and released Miss Russell in a film minus the seal of approval. Mr. Goldwyn also stirred up a controversy by insisting the code be revised.

But Mr. Breen said the sniping only brought more supporters to the code.

"After the events of the past ten months—'The French Line,' 'The Moon Is Blue,' and Goldwyn—the code is more entrenched than ever before," he declared.

"Those events brought tremendous support from groups all over the Country.

"Recently I was sent two statements in favor of the code made on the floor of the United States Senate," he said.

"There's a tremendous voice for what I call common decency in this Country."

Mr. Breen said he doesn't think producers will leap to making sealless movies now that theaters divorced from studios by anti-trust edict are free to play them.

WHO CAUSES PREJUDICE?

It is difficult to find adequate language to express the disgust felt by decent Americans when a professional politician drags his religion into a speech as a means of achieving his own political ends. Such was done in Troy, N. Y., Wednesday night by Stephen Mitchell, if the Associated Press reported his speech correctly.

Mr. Mitchell, making it clear that he was a Catholic, made the vicious and unjustified charge that a "group of political extremists"—he named no names—are, by their fight to rid the United States of Communists, causing a "revival of religious prejudice" against the Church. Such a statement reveals an appalling ignorance on the part of Mr. Mitchell of the causes of religious prejudice against the Church.

He cited a slur against the Church made by Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken, of Riverside Church, Manhattan, in an attack on a Catholic Senator who is probing into Communist activities. The Senator, who does not drag religion into his political speeches, did not make Dr. McCracken a critic of the Church. The minister has a record of being ready to attack the Catholic Church at the drop of a hat since he came to this Country in 1946.

No, Mr. Mitchell, it's not the Catholics who are causing the religious prejudice; it's the same old crowd of professional anti-Catholics that's doing it, and, at the present time, helping to divert public attention from the menace of Communism to our Nation.

PRESENTING THE NEWS

One of our readers, and a frequent correspondent, Leo R. O'Brien of Glenwood Landing, addressed 700 members of the Guild of Court Attaches last Sunday. He reiterated what THE TABLET has frequently stated. The New York "Times" considered many of his remarks news and printed them Monday morning. That recognition of this viewpoint by the "Times" was, indeed, news and for this reason we take pleasure in reprinting on another page the "Times" report of Mr. O'Brien's address.

A. C. L. U. ACTS

On Monday the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union adopted a resolution denouncing Communism, declaring that it is a world-wide conspiracy and not just a political theory.

Norman Thomas and Morris L. Ernst led the fight for the anti-Red resolution. The opposition was led by Osmond K. Fraenkel, assisted by Walter Gelhorn and Brigadier General Telford Taylor—who so persistently attacks Senator McCarthy. The opposition finally collapsed, the resolution carrying 18 to 3. The three negative votes were cast by Mr. Fraenkel, Mrs. Dorothy Dunbar Bromley and Dorothy Kenyon—whom Senator McCarthy vigorously criticized some years back. Mr. Gelhorn and General Taylor were not present for the final vote.

"LIBERAL" THINKING

A "Times" editorial of last Saturday says: "It is inconceivable that the McCarthy committee should continue to employ Mr. Cohn." Communists should be continued in employment until convicted. But Mr. Cohn must be fired without a hearing and simply because he has been accused. Good sample of "liberal" thinking.

PASSIONISTS' HEAD

MOST REV. MALCOLM LAVELLE

Union City, N. J., March 15—Most Rev. Malcolm LaVelle, C.P., Superior General of the Passionist Congregation, will fly to Rome from New York on Tuesday, March 23, after a three-month canonical visitation of Passionist monasteries and foundations throughout the East.

At Idlewild Airport to see him off will be Passionist Provincial Ernest Welch, Very Rev. Canisius Hazlett, C.P., and Very Rev. Carrol Ring, C.P., Provincial Consultors, and rectors of the Eastern U. S. Province of the Passionist Fathers, including Very Rev. Cornelius McArdle, C.P., rector, Immaculate Conception Monastery, Jamaica.

Since his arrival in this Country last December, Father LaVelle has travelled several thousand miles during his visitation of 15 monasteries and missions from Canada to North Carolina. The Eastern U. S. Province numbers some 600 Passionists.

A native of Rock Island, Ill., Father LaVelle is the first American chosen Superior General of the Passionist Congregation, having been elected to that post in 1952. He will celebrate his 53rd birthday, April 12.

Catholic Philosophers Schedule Convention

Milwaukee, Wis., March 17 (NC)—The 28th annual meeting of the American Catholic Philosophical Association will be held at the Hotel Pfister here on April 20 and 21, under the patronage of Archbishop Albert C. Meyer of Milwaukee and the Catholic seminaries, universities area.

Marian Theology Lectures

Dominican theologians from the School of Theology of Providence College, Providence, R. I., are giving a monthly Sunday afternoon lecture on Marian Theology at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York. These lectures are part of the observance of the 100th anniversary of the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and are planned to show the reasons for the Marian Year and the vocation of Our Blesed Mother for her great work.

On March 14, Rev. Joseph S. McCormack, O.P., spoke on Mary's preparation in body for her vocation, "Mary Ever Virgin." On April 11, Rev. David A. O'Connell, O.P., will discuss the divine maternity, "Mary, the Mother of God." On May 2, Rev. Thomas H. McBrien, O.P., will explain the consequences of Mary's maternity, "Mary, the Mother of Men." These lectures will be given in the Benzinger Building. They will begin at three o'clock. Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament will follow. All are welcome.

N. Y. Gaelic Society Elects

Brian J. Connors has been reelected president of the Gaelic Society of New York; Albert Doyle is first vice-president; Sean F. Branigan, second vice-president; Anne R. Byrnes, treasurer; Cora Holmes, recording secretary; Margaret Anne Curry, financial secretary; Mary B. Gleason, corresponding secretary; Maureen T. Reid, editor, and Sean J. Mathews, librarian. Bridie Halpin, Sheela Gleeson and Anne V. Freeley were chosen as members of the credentials committee.

The society conducts classes in the Irish language and in traditional Irish dancing on Friday evenings from 8:30 until midnight at St. Matthew's Hall, 214 W. 68th St., Manhattan. The Gaelic Society choir has rehearsals on Friday evenings from 7:30 until 8:30.

Family Union thru Family Communion

Be an Apostolate of the Catholic Press

Help in the spread of Catholic Newspapers

Send one dollar with names and addresses of 10 people and we will send the paper for one week or 5 people and we will send the paper for two weeks.

Send the one dollar with names and addresses to

The Tablet
One Hanson Place
Brooklyn 17, N. Y.

Cana and Pre-Cana Conferences

CANA CONFERENCES for Married Couples

Facilities for the care of small children are provided at all conferences, which are held from 2:30 to 5 p.m., unless otherwise noted.

March 21:—

Transfiguration, Maspeth. "Christian Traditions in the Home," by Rev. Charles W. Gordon.

St. Cecilia, Herbert and N. Henry Sts., Greenpoint. "Teaching Purity to Children," by Rev. Raymond J. Neufeld.

March 28:—

Cure of Ars, Merrick. "Teaching Purity to Children," by Rev. Raymond J. Neufeld.

St. Ephrem, Brooklyn. "Parent-Child Relationship," by Rev. Paul J. Faustmann.

PRE-CANA CONFERENCES for Engaged Couples

March 21, at 2:30 p.m.

St. John the Evangelist, 250 21st St., Brooklyn. Rev. Kenneth Morgan will speak and supper will be served. Reservations can be made by calling Rev. James D'Amato, SO. 8-0665.

March 28, at 2:30 p.m.:—

St. Thomas the Apostle, West Hempstead. Rev. James Asip will speak and supper will be served. Reservations can be made by calling Rev. Charles Murphy, HE. 7-8585.

Our Lady of Perpetual Help, 526 59th St., Brooklyn. Rev. James Lover, C.Ss.R., will speak and supper will be served. Reservations can be made by calling HY. 2-9200.

April 4, at 2:30 p.m.:—

St. Rose of Lima, 269 Parkville Ave., Brooklyn. Rev. John Ansbro will speak and supper will be served. Reservations may be made by calling Rev. Edward Burke at GE. 4-8040.

St. Athanasius, 2154 61st St., Brooklyn. Rev. Kenneth Morgan will speak and supper will be served. Reservations may be made by calling Rev. John Fleming at BE. 6-0124.

April 11, at 2:30 p.m.:—

St. Thomas Apostle, 87-19 84th Ave., Woodhaven. Rev. Matthew Hickey will speak and supper will be served. Reservations may be made by calling Rev. Francis Seeger at VI. 7-1353.

Married Couples Retreat

Weekend retreats for married couples, sponsored by the Cana Sodality of the Diocese of Brooklyn, are held at St. Joseph's Retreat House, Middletown, N. Y. The next retreat will take place April 2-4 and will be given by Rev. Raymond J. Neufeld, director of the Sodality.

For further information contact the Cana Sodality, 109 Willoughby St., Brooklyn 1. TR. 5-2096.

Dr. Bella Dodd Will Speak

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, attorney and former member of the Communist Party, will be the guest speaker at a public forum at St. Athanasius parish center, 62nd St. and Bay Parkway, Brooklyn, Sunday, March 28, at 3:30 p.m. The subject will be: "The Challenge of Our Times." A question and answer period will follow.

The Forum Committee of St. Athanasius Holy Name Society conducts the public forums on the fourth Sunday of each month. Information on the sessions may be obtained from the chairman, Lou Napolitano, 1571 W. 6th St., Brooklyn.

Taft Hibernian Speaker

Trenton, N. J., March 16 (NC)—William Howard Taft 3rd, U. S. Ambassador to Ireland, will be principal speaker at a scholarship dinner of the Trenton Hibernians on April 19. The dinner, a testimonial to William J. O'Brien, assistant editor of the Trenton diocesan newspaper "The Monitor," will benefit two Catholic high school students. Msgr. Richard T. Crean, vicar general of the diocese, is honorary chairman of the affair.

Sororities Plan Retreat

A retreat for members of three sororities of the St. John's University School of Commerce will be held March 26-28 at Our Lady of Prouille Retreat House, Amityville. Participating will be the members of Alpha Beta Chi, Delta Psi Gamma and Sigma Chi Epsilon Sororities.

Ernest Kehr on Radio

Ernest Kehr, stamp news editor of the New York "Herald Tribune," will discuss the use of stamps for propaganda purposes by totalitarian states on "Dwight Cooke's Guestbook" on WCBS Wednesday, March 24, at 11:15 p.m.

Plan Day of Recollection

The Ladies of Mary Reparatrix will hold a Day of Recollection at the Convent of Mary Reparatrix, 14 E. 29th St., Manhattan, Wednesday, March 24, from 10:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Rev. Claude Viktora, O.S.B., of St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Ill., will be retreat master.

Plan Amityville Holy Hour

The Rosary-Altar Society of St. Martin of Tours parish, Amityville, will attend a holy hour Tuesday, March 30, at 8:15 p.m.

Ordo for Daily Mass

From "The Mass Year," Grail Publications, St. Meinrad, Ind.

Sunday, March 21—Semidouble. Violet. Third Sunday of Lent. 2nd Coll., St. Benedict; Creed; Preface of Lent.

Monday, March 22 — Greater Double. White. St. Isidore, Farmer and Confessor. Gloria; 2nd Coll., of the day; Preface of Lent; last Gospel of the day. (St. Catherine of Sweden).

or

Mass of Monday of the third week in Lent. Violet. 2nd Coll., St. Isidore; Preface of Lent.

* Tuesday, March 23 — Simple. Violet. Tuesday of third week in Lent. 2nd Coll., "Defend us"; 3rd, "Almighty and eternal God"; Preface of Lent. (St. Victorian).

Wednesday, March 24 — Greater Double. White. St. Gabriel, Archangel. Gloria; 2nd Coll., of the day; Creed; Preface of Lent; Last Gospel of the day.

or

Mass of Wednesday of the third week in Lent. Violet. No Gloria; 2nd Coll., St. Gabriel; Preface of Lent; last Gospel of St. Gabriel.

Thursday, March 25—Double of the first class. White. Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Gloria; 2nd Coll., of the day; Creed; Preface of the Blessed Virgin; last Gospel of the day.

Friday, March 26—Simple. Violet. Friday of the third week in Lent. 2nd Coll., "Defend us"; 3rd, "Almighty and eternal God"; Preface of Lent. (St. Ludger).

Saturday, March 27 — Double. White. St. John Damascene, Confessor, Bishop and Doctor of the Church. Gloria; 2nd Coll., of the day; Creed; Preface of Lent; last Gospel of the day.

or

Mass of Saturday of third week in Lent. Violet. 2nd Coll., St. John Damascene; Preface of Lent.

Sunday, March 28—Semidouble. Rose or Violet. Laetare Sunday. Fourth Sunday of Lent. No Gloria; 2nd Coll., St. John Capistrano; 3rd, "Defend us"; Creed; Preface of Lent.

* Indicates that the celebrant may offer a Requiem or a Votive Mass.

Hungarians to Honor Mary

The Hungarian Franciscans of New York and New Jersey will hold a Marian Day celebration March 21 at 4 p.m. in the White Hall, 408 E. 82nd St., Manhattan. Very Rev. Julian Fuzer, O.F.M., Provincial of St. John Capistran Commissariate, will deliver the sermon. The choir of the Church of St. Stephen of Hungary will sing Marian hymns.

Rev. Sabbas Kilian, O.F.M., who preaches every Sunday in Hungarian on Station WBNX at 12:30 p.m. will give his observations concerning Marian devotions throughout the world.

CNEWA Official Honored

Boston, March 15 (NC)—Rev. Peter P. Tuohy, assistant director of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association and member of the Pontifical Mission to Palestine, was among 16 priests of the Boston Archdiocese named to Pontifical honors. The office of Archbishop Richard J. Cushing announced 12 priests have been named Domestic Prelates and four, including Father Tuohy, have been named Papal Chamberlains.

Resume Work on Cause

Vatican City, March 9 (NC)—The Vatican took up work again on the beatification cause of Pauline Marie Jaricot, 19th-Century foundress of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Association of the Living Rosary.

WILL YOU HELP BUILD THIS TRAPPIST ABBEY?

Work has been started on a permanent Trappist Monastery at Conyers, Georgia, near Atlanta. Here over 90 Trappist Monks are living in temporary buildings. The Abbot appeals to you for help in raising the walls of a permanent Abbey of Our Lady of the Holy Ghost.

Father Abbot modestly estimates he will only need about five thousand dollars to maintain the construction work.

The Monks themselves furnish all the labor. It seems a pity that Our Lady's work should be in any way held back when it is the small material costs alone that impede the work.

The Trappists have won the love and affection of their neighbors in the South by their simple lives of prayer and work. These good friends are mostly not of our Faith, and, consequently, can help very little financially. Won't you please help, even if it be only a widow's mite, by sending in your contribution direct to Father Abbot?

Rev. Father Abbot
Our Lady of the Holy Ghost
Trappist Monastery
Conyers, Georgia

Dear Father Abbot:
Please accept my donation enclosed to help in completing Our Lady's Abbey at Conyers.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

This ad sponsored by the Trappist Parents' Guild, 41 Reade Ave., Bo

ADVERTISEMENT ADVERTISEMENT

God Love You

by MOST REVEREND FULTON J. SHEEN, Ph.D., D.D.

MENCIUS, one of the great pre-Christian philosophers of China, once said: "I feel personally responsible for every man who drowns in China." A saintly man in the same spirit once remarked: "While there is a single man in prison, I am not free." These ideas are only reflections of the Christ-love who personally felt responsibility, not for drownings and imprisonments, but for all the sin and evil in all the world. If you were God, and really felt that sorrow as your own, it would break your heart. Well! it broke His—in the Garden and on the Cross. Scripture puts it this way: "He bore our sins in His own Body on the tree."

From India comes to us this legend. One day a sage of India saw some men beating a water-buffalo. He was so sympathetic to the poor beast that the marks of the sticks appeared on his own back. We do know that St. Paul and St. Francis had the wounds of Christ on their hands and side—so much were they identified with Christ.

Do we but realize during Lent the full impact of what it means to be a Christian! It means feeling empty because two-thirds of the people of the world go to bed hungry every night; it means sharing the lashes the Communists inflict on our missionaries in China; it means aching with the festering wounds of ten million lepers.

How to translate this identification with the suffering except by cutting into your capital, denying ourselves the right to store more wealth in order that the one billion pagans might know the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

In Hell everyone says: "I am my own." In Heaven we say: "I am in Love." We prepare for Hell by refusing to bear the burdens of others; we prepare for Heaven by sacrificing for the sake of Our Lord. Deny yourself a luxury.

GOD LOVE YOU to the Foreign Missions Committee of S.C.H.S. for $60. "We sponsored a 'Tag Day' during homecoming week to raise money and the students unanimously agreed to send this money to the Missions." . . . to J.E.B. "During the year 1953, my wife, my little girl and I were blessed with extraordinary favors, so I am enclosing $30 for your work, which is Our Lord's work." . . . to C.H. "Enclosed is $37 I saved by denying myself coffee and desserts." . . . to C.J.G. for $50. "This represents the fee I received as Executor of a small estate which I wish to share with the Missions." . . . to A. O'M, "Continuing my 'dollar for every car sold,' and reporting for October, November and December, I am enclosing $32." . . . to L.M.B. "I had a wristwatch and received one as a gift so I sold the old one for $20. It does my heart good to give this to the Missions instead of buying something for myself." . . . to the Rosary Society of M.H.N. for $35 sent to the Holy Father's Missions. . . . to the Eighth Grade who collected the money spent on valentines ($13.09) and sent it to the Missions. . . . to B.R. for $7. "This is a percentage of tips I received in my work as a hotel maid." . . . to M.K. for $55. "Unknown to our friends and family, I have been cutting my husband's hair for several years. At Christmas he gave his favorite barber $25. I am happy to send this and the amounts I received as gifts to the Missions."

If you would like to join the million already reading MISSION magazine, just request it when you send in your sacrifice. Be sure to include your name and address or the name and address of someone to whom you would like us to send it.

Cut out this column, pin your sacrifice to it and mail it to the Most Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, National Director of The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 109 East 38th Street, New York 16x, New York, or your Diocesan Director, Most Reverend John J. Boardman, 191 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn 1, New York.

SISTER CATHERINE, a novice with the Basilian Sisters at Zahle, is praying for a friend to help her with the $150 needed for each year of her two years of training. Won't you send her this sum in any payment—weekly, monthly or as you can?

YOUR WILL IS GOD'S WILL WHEN HE IS IN IT.

NATION IN EXILE

In and around Aleppo, Syria, there is a group of Armenian Catholics. Driven by persecution from their homeland in Turkey over 30 years ago, they have lived here in penury ever since. Bishop Batanian begs for help to build a small chapel for them. He asks for $2,000. With your mite ask for "Nation in Exile," Msgr. McMahon's pamphlet about the Armenians and their rite and their history.

MONSIGNOR KIRK must help another group of exiles. The poor priests driven from Roumania, found asylum in Spain but he must find support for them. Your MASS OFFERINGS are his only means. Will you remember them when you remember your deceased?

TOUCHED THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

You will want to send an EASTER REMEMBRANCE to friends and loved ones. OUR GIFT CARD will say that you have arranged for a missionary in the Holy Land to offer Mass at Easter time for them; a nun, priest, loved one. We enclose a SOUVENIR that was TOUCHED TO THE HOLY SEPULCHRE. The card will also say you gave in their name a sacred article to a Near East mission chapel.

We offer some gift card suggestions:

Chalice	$40	Mass bell	$ 5	Stations	$25
Linens	15	Altar	75	Censer, boat	20
Confessional	50	Sanctuary lamp	15	Vestments	50
Altar stone	10	Crucifix	25	Pyx	15

SILENT GUEST AT EASTER

Would you invite the Risen Lord to your table for Easter dinner? Why not set a place for him and send the price of a meal to help us give food to the thousands of REFUGEES driven from the Holy Land whom the Holy Father must feed and clothe? Won't you send your usable old clothes to our warehouse at this NEW ADDRESS—HASWELL ST. & EASTCHESTER RD., BRONX 61, N.Y.? We have a few more ROSARIES MADE FROM OLIVE WOOD from MT. OLIVET. We offer one for each FOOD PACK ($10).

ARRANGE NOW FOR GREGORIAN MASSES FOR YOUR OWN SOUL. WHO'LL REMEMBER YOU? ASK FOR OUR "SUSPENSE CARD."

GEORGE

Has only three more years training for the priesthood at St. Paul Seminary in Trichinopoly. His parents cannot help him with the cost of his training. Won't you sponsor him by sending him $100 yearly for this period? Send it as you like.

Near East Missions

Francis Cardinal Spellman, President Msgr. Thomas J. McMahon, Nat'l Sec'y

Send all communications to:

CATHOLIC NEAR EAST WELFARE ASSOCIATION
480 Lexington Ave. at 46th St. New York 17, N. Y.

$50,000 Holdup in Hollywood

Blackmail by Army in Red Quiz Says M'Carthy

LOS ANGELES EVENING
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8 STAR LATEST SPORTS
International News Service Associated Press United Press Dow-Jones
VOL. LXXXIII Three Sections Section A 1243 Trenton St., 54 FRIDAY, MARCH 12, 1954 Ph. RI. 4141 NO. 301

Three Bandits Tie Four

Three men looted the William Stromberg jewelry store at 6439 Hollywood boulevard of $50,000 in cash, checks and diamonds late today.

The trio, with a fourth man in the getaway car at the curb, tied up the owner and three employes, then leisurely ran sacked the diamond trays an cash register.

One man entered first an asked Salesman Rockwell Am to show him a chain for a cru fix.

The other two bandits stroll in a moment later.

Stromber, Ames, and tw other employes, Frances Wi kie and Berger Jepson, wer all herded into a rear room.

Ames and Jepson wer handcuffed together, the Stromberg and Miss Wilki were tied to them with a hesive tape.

The holdup, occuring at Hol wood and Wilcox in the heart the Hollywood shopping distri was the largest in recent yea

Czech MIGs Shoot Up 2 U. S. Planes

MUNICH, Germany, March 12 (AP)—Bavarian border police reported here tonight that two United States military planes were attacked this afternoon near the Czech border by Soviet-made MIGs.

Military sources in Frankfurt said that it was understood the planes were United States navy aircraft.

The source gave the following account:

"Two United States navy planes were flying in Austria when they inadvertently strayed over Czech territory.

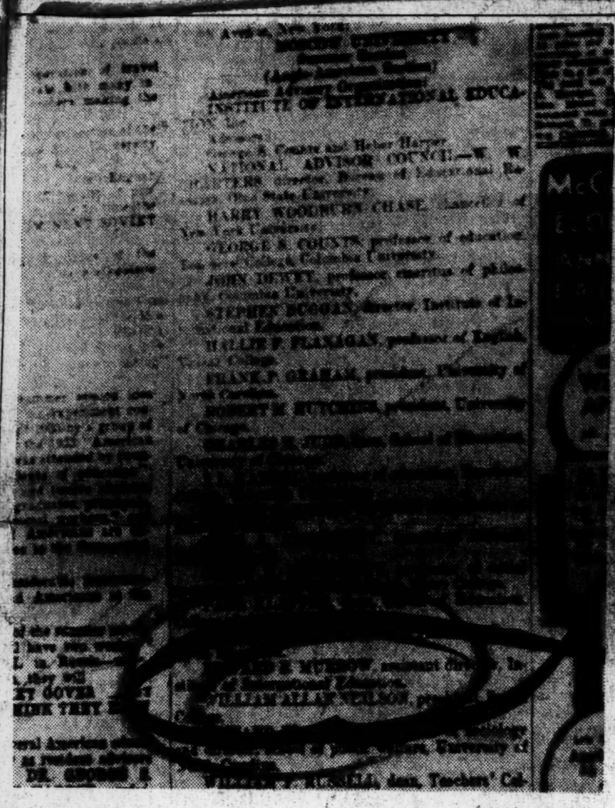
"They were attacked by MIG fighters and were pretty badly shot up.

"They made their way to Munich."

On unverified report said the planes were United States air force planes based in Germany.

The United States air force's European headquarters at Wiesbaden said "if they were our planes."

5-10 Heiress to Shed Rubirosa



—Associated Press Wirephoto

NEWSPAPER CLIPPING BACKS McCARTHY CLAIM
Circled Is Name of Edward R. Murrow Listed as Member of Moscow University Advisory Council

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY, LEFT, AND CHIEF COUNSEL ROY COHN
Senator and Aide Charge That the Army Tried to Use 'Blackmail' to Halt Their Investigation of Subversion in the Service

Babs, Rubirosa to End 10-Week Marriage

Mrs. Barbara Hutton Rubirosa, heiress to the Woolworth five-and-ten store fortune, has decided to leave her husband of 10 weeks, Porfirio Rubirosa, it was reported in New York today by the World Telegram and Sun.

The "poor little rich girl," married five times without finding happiness, has made no public announcement but has told members of her family that the rift between her and the erstwhile Dominican diplomat has widened to the extent that separation and probably divorce provide the only answer.

Barbara last night was reported to have left her lavish Palm Beach honeymoon home and moved in with her aunt, Mrs. James P. Donahue, also a Woolworth heiress, at the exclusive Everglades Club.

Rubirosa was up early and drove to Lantana, a small community south of Palm Beach, and took off in his private plane for an unknown destination. He

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 6)

WHIRLWIND MARRIAGE HITS THE ROCKS—
Barbara Hutton, Shown With Mate, Porfirio Rubirosa, Says She Will Leave Him

ZSA ZSA GABOR
Mum on Reports That Rubirosa Visited Her

Nixon Won't Dodge Issues in Air Speech

WASHINGTON, March 12 (AP)—Vice President Nixon said today he will not "dodge the issues" in making the Republican reply tomorrow night to Adlai Stevenson's speech at a Democratic rally in Miami last Saturday.

Nixon discussed his proposed talk with President Eisenhower for 45 minutes after a cabinet meeting that lasted more than two hours.

Nixon will speak on television and radio from notes at 7:30 p. m. (PST). He told reporters he had seen a lot of speculation on the "line" he would take in his speech and commented:

"I'm inclined to think some of that should be taken with a grain of salt."

He said he referred especially to speculation that he would make no reference to the issues that were discussed by Stevenson, who had described the Republican party as "half Eisenhower and half McCarthy."

Link Rich Cop to Past Vice Raids

Sheriff Eugene Biscaluz today ordere an investigation of all vice squad raids during the past 13 months to determine how many houses had been rented by Lockwood Marshall, 48, "millionaire cop" and part-time tennis instructor, for use in the raids.

An investigation of alleged "entrapment" tactics was launched by the sheriff after the arrests of six $100-a-night Hollywood party girls dancing in the nude early Wednesday at a Malibu beach home, rented by Vice Squad Deputy Marshall.

Two new instances of homes rented by Marshall to be used in "knock-overs" by the vice squad came to light today.

Clifford Roos, head of the uniformed division in charge of the vice squad operations by Capt. Robert R. L. Summers, said that six alleged prostitutes had been seized in a "raid" last Sept. 27 in a place rented by

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1)

L. A. Girl Goes Along on Plane Ride to Denver

A 20-year-old Los Angeles girl who went to the airport there to watch a young man catch a plane for Denver and decided to go along was greeted by police on her arrival there today. They had been alerted by her parents.

Capt. Leonard Nevin of the Juvenile Bureau said she is Trudi Ray, 20, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Ray. Her father operates a sand and gravel firm with offices in Los Angeles and Detroit.

Nevin said the girl told him she was secretly married to Robert Hefner III of Oklahoma City last December in California.

At her parents' request, Nevin said, the girl will be placed aboard a plane leaving here for Los Angeles late today.

Winds Again Whip So. Cal.

Strong, chilly winds continued to whip across the Southland today, clearing the skies of smog, and creating dust and sand storms in desert areas.

The Los Angeles area forecast:

"Occasional cloudiness today, tonight and Saturday, but mostly sunny days. Locally strong winds today and tonight. Warmer weekend."

High temperature today was 63 after a low of 48 at 6:09 a.m.

In a special five-day forecast the Weather Bureau said that no rain is indicated.

URANIUM HUNT

NEW YORK, March 12 (AP)—A combined air-ground search for uranium deposits starts today — weather permitting — in northern New Jersey and southeastern New York.

RACE RESULTS

AT SANTA ANITA

1 Beulah Counsel 4.50,3.30,2.80; Little Dave 8.10,4.80; Inyo 4.60

SECOND—One mile, Class 22 pace. Purse $1200:

ROCKET EXPRESS	7.20	4.90	3.00
JUDSON TASS		8.20	3.50
THE OLD GENTLEMAN			2.50

No scratches.

AT BAY MEADOWS

1 Mr. Bluebird 22.00,7.40,5.40; Tirnanog 3.70,3.10; Solid Gem 4.50
2 Au 65.70, 15.30, 5.40; Red Conquest 3.30, 2.50; Freeminded 3.40

(For Santa Anita selections and other races, see sport pages.)

Try to Halt Probe of Men In Service

(Full text of Senator McCarthy's reply to Radio-TV Commentator Murrow on Page A-4.)

WASHINGTON, March 12 (INS)—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy charged today the army tried to "blackmail" him out of probing subversion in the service by issuing a report on alleged attempts by Roy Cohn and himself to obtain favored treatment for Private G. David Schine.

The Wisconsin Republican described the Army's report as a "twisted, distorted, untrue version" of incidents as reported by the Army's legal counsel, John G. Adams. McCarthy said he is making public memoranda of his own to refute the Army's allegations.

McCarthy told newsmen at a frenzied, jam-packed news conference in his office that Adams "a number of months ago" threatened to make Adams' report public unless McCarthy ended his subcommittee's investigation of alleged "Communists in the army."

McCarthy said:

"I told him we would not be blackmailed."

BARES MEMORANDUM

McCarthy made public a memorandum from his own files which said that last Nov. 6 Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens asked him to "hold up" his hearings on the army and "go after the navy, air force, and the defense department, instead."

The unsigned memorandum said "Stevens said that if we brought out everything" in the Army Signal Corps hearings "we would have to resign. He said he had been in office for 10 months and would have to take responsibility."

The memo continued to say that Stevens "asked that we hold up our public hearings on the army. He suggested we go after the navy, air force and the defense department instead. We said first of all we had no evidence warranting such an investigation of these other departments. Adams said not to worry about that, because there was plenty of dirt there, and they would furnish us the leads. (Stevens) thought this was the answer to his problem."

HAD INFORMATION

The Nov. 6 memorandum said the McCarthy group told Stevens that Schine "was about to enter the army and had much information and material on the reports and investigations that we could not get along without."

"Mr. Stevens," it continued, "said that he would arrange

(Continued on Page 7, Col. 1)

McCarthy Lashes Adlai, Murrow

(Other Photos, A-8)

WASHINGTON, March 12 (INS)—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy described charges against him by Adlai E. Stevenson as "completely false" and declared open warfare today on radio-television commentator Edward R. Murrow.

He attacked both men last night in a radio interview with Mutual Network Commentator Fulton Lewis jr. and later told newsmen he will have more to say about Stevenson in a March 19 Milwaukee speech to be carried over a radio network of independent stations.

In lashing out at CBS newscaster Murrow for criticizing him Tuesday night on his televised "See It Now" program, the Wisconsin Republican said the commentator might be trying to "smear" him because "he is worried about exposure of some of his friends."

Murrow said he could "deal adequately with Senator McCarthy's latest reckless handling of the truth" on his CBS-radio program at 6:45 p.m. CST tonight.

HITS 3 CRITICS

The Wisconsin Republican hit back at three of his critics — Stevenson, Murrow and Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Republican of Vermont — in his interview with Lewis and charged that the CBS newsman and commentator was once a member of a left-wing organization.

McCarthy cited a quotation from the Pittsburgh Sun-Tele-

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1-2)

Seattle Officer Killed as Trio Hold Up Bank

SEATTLE, March 12 (INS)—One Seattle police officer was shot to death and two others were wounded today by a trio of gunmen fleeing from the holdup of the Seattle-First National Bank, Greenwood branch.

The gunmen, all disguised by false-noses, were armed with .45 caliber automatics and carrying paper shopping bags.

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Row Grows on Army Efforts to 'Smear' McCarthy Aide

(Continued from Page 1)

for Dave to complete the work over weekends and after training hours. We said this would be satisfactory and if Dave was willing to do this work after hours, it would help to some extent."

The memordum said after lunch the group reviewed with "General Ridgway (sic)," presumably Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, army chief of staff, and two other generals "our evidence on the Signal Corps for their benefit."

The memo said McCarthy "reiterated in their presence that he would co-operate as much as possible, but that under no circumstances would there be a whitewash of the army situation because one reason a new administration was elected was to prevent the covering-up of Communists and those who protected them."

Among documents McCarthy handed to reporters was a memorandum to him from Frank Carr, subcommittee staff director, dated last Dec. 9. It charged that Adams "refers to Schine as our hostage or the hostage whenever his name comes up."

CLAIMS UNFAIR

"Again today John Adams came down here after the hearings and using clever phrases tried to find out 'what's there in it for us' if he and Stevens did something for Schine," the memo said.

Carr told Adams, according to the memo, he did not care what they did to Schine but thought "it wasn't fair of them to take it out on Schine because we were investigating the army, or to keep using it to try to stop our investigations."

The memo added:

"I am convinced that they will keep right on trying to blackmail us as long as Schine is in the army. Even though they said he deserved the commission, they didn't give it to him because of the left-wing press..."

NEEDED GUARANTEE

A memorandum dated Jan. 14, from Cohn to McCarthy, said:

"Adams said this was the last chance for me to arrange that law partnership in New York which he wanted. One would think he was kidding, but his persistence on this subject makes it clear he is serious. He said he had turned down a job in industry at $17,500 and needed a guarantee of $25,000 from a law firm."

A memorandum from Carr to McCarthy, dated Jan. 15, said:

"Maybe one of these days you should speak to John Adams in a friendly way. I've tried. He is baiting Roy pretty much lately on the 'hostage' situation. They get pretty heated before Roy buys the lunch, but it's going to lead to trouble."

CHARGES SMEAR

Cohn, the subcommittee's chief counsel, sat beside McCarthy at the news conference and when the senator completed his remarks, Cohn declared:

"It's an unprecedented thing. It (the report) was obviously leaked out to do a smear job on me because (the army) failed in blackmail attempts to stop us and particularly me from investigating the army."

Cohn said that "no improper influence was ever exerted by me or anyone else to my knowledge on the army on behalf of Schine or anybody else."

Schine is a former unpaid "consultant" to McCarthy's Investigations Subcommittee.

DENIES THREAT

The army's 34-page mimeographed report, sent to some 20 members of Congress, including members of McCarthy's subcommittee, alleged that Cohn threatened to "wreck the army" and force the ouster of Secretary Robert T. Stevens if the army carried out plans to send Schine overseas.

Cohn declared:

"No such threat as is reported in the army's document ever was made by me."

McCarthy, asked if he intends to keep Cohn on as chief counsel, replied: "As far as I'm concerned I sincerely hope and trust that Roy Cohn will remain on Capitol Hill for a long time and continue exposing and digging up Communists."

Earlier, Sen. Charles E. Potter, Mich., a GOP member of McCarthy's group, said Cohn should be "removed" if the army's charges are true and he asked for an immediate subcommittee meeting to "ascertain the facts."

LEAVING ON TRIP

McCarthy said that "if Sen. Potter of any other senator wants a meeting he will have it "but the senator said he did not know when it will take place since he is leaving for a weekend in Wisconsin later today.

The subcommittee's three Democrats said, in a joint statement, that they too desired a subcommittee session to take up the Cohn-Schine matter. Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland also called for an investigation.

McCarthy, named in the army's report as trying to get a "direct commission" for Schine, told reporters he had sent a telegram to Stevens this morning telling him:

"I would appreciate it if you would make it clear to the press that the only time you and I ever discussed the subject of a commission for David Schine was in his presence, at which time I urged and you fully agreed his case had to be handled the same as any other draftee and we agreed that any other handling in view of the investigation of the army would be extremely bad for the committee and extremely bad for the army, and that David Schine was with us and agreed on the matter."

NOT SURPRISED

McCarthy, whose office had announced he would "make a statement" after 1 p. m., eastern standard time, began his news conference suddenly an hour earlier. Newsmen, newsreel cameramen and photographers flocked into his office behind him and Cohn when they arrived there.

The senator said he had "not been at all surprised" by the army's "alleged report," which he said was "not a report, it's John Adams' version of a situation."

The senator said he "was disappointed that the army did not take advantage of our offer" to send a representative to the subcommittee and inspect McCarthy's own files on the situation.

McCarthy said: "This is a twisted, distorted, untrue version written by a man who had a great interest in this matter."

He then related his version of Adams' visit to his apartment to inform him about the report and commented: "No investigation will ever be ended by any threats, any blackmail."

'BAD FOR ARMY'

fairness to Mr. Adams," he be-
fairness to Mr. Adams, "he believed the army spokesman was "acting in what he thought was the best interest of the army" since Adams evidently believed "the investigation was bad for the army and should be stopped."

After the Adams' visit, McCarthy said, he talked to Cohn who denied the charges and provided a "report completely contradictory to Mr. Adams."

McCarthy said he did not want to make his own memoranda on the case public because it "reflects upon the army" but he said that although he "very much disliked doing it" he felt he had to because of the army's report.

McCarthy said: "I am convinced the Adams story is false. I believe what Roy Cohn has told me and if I can keep him with the committee, I hope to."

SPECIAL GROUP

McCarthy said he had a meeting with Stevens and told him it would be "a good idea" to create a special group in the army to check speeches and books used in army indoctrination courses.

The lawmaker said he thought Schine was "eminently qualified" for such a post and felt that the group should consist of about six young men with Schine's qualifications.

McCarthy said, however, "I have not told Stevens to assign Schine specifically" to any job.

McCarthy said "Stevens and I are pretty much agreed" that the job should be done.

Regarding Cohn, McCarthy said the investigator has a "record like no young man I know." He added that, outside of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, "I don't think there is any man more disliked by the Communist party."

McCarthy said he would "rather let the day to day memoranda speak for itself" than comment on the details of the army's report.

McCarthy commented, however, that if Cohn "tried to exert influence it would have been very ineffective" since Schine is still a private.

When a newsman asked whether the "blackmail" charge was aimed at Stevens, Adams or any other individual, McCarthy said: "When I speak about blackmail the word is used advisedly. John Adams said no report would be made if the committee decided not to continue its investigation."

Adams could not be reached immediately for comment. His office said he was "attending a conference."

MAKES NOTES

Meanwhile, a Pentagon source said that he does not believe that Adams made a recording of his telephone conversations with Cohn, McCarthy and others.

The source said that the common practice for Adams is to make notes himself during or after a conversation, or to have a secretary listen in and make shorthand notes.

Senator Charles E. Potter, Republican of Michigan, said Cohn should be removed if what he called the "shocking charges" as to the chief counsel were true. The report said Cohn voiced threats that Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens would be "through" and the army "wrecked" if Schine were sent overseas.

Potter said he wanted a meeting today to go into "all the facts." He called reporters to his office and issued a statement.

URGES INQUIRY

The Pentagon document detailed Cohn's purported threats, abuse and demands in conversations with army officials.

Potter said: "Assuming the information is accurate, Mr. Cohn should be removed immediately. If the information is without foundation, however, then in all fairness to Mr. Cohn and the subcommittee, the facts should be ascertained without delay."

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"Experts in autopsy state they have found that from 60 to 70 per cent of the colons examined have foreign matters such as worms and decades-old-feces-stones. The inside walls of the over-intestines are encrusted by old hardened feces and resemble in appearance the inside of a filthy stove pipe."
"Leonard Williams, quoted by Dr. W. S. Bainbridge in his article on 'Intestinal Toxemia' (Med. Jour. and Rec. 1925) has said: 'THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE DAILY EVACUATION OF THE BOWELS BUT WHO ARE NEVERTHELESS WALKING SEPTIC TANKS'."
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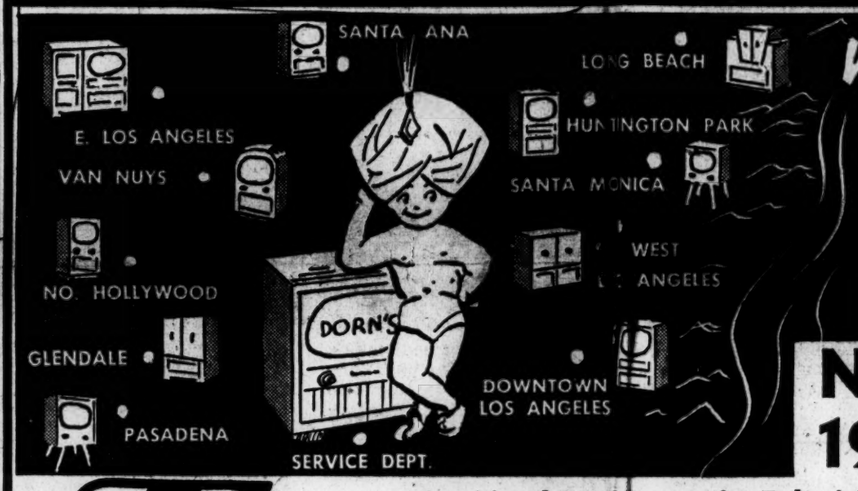

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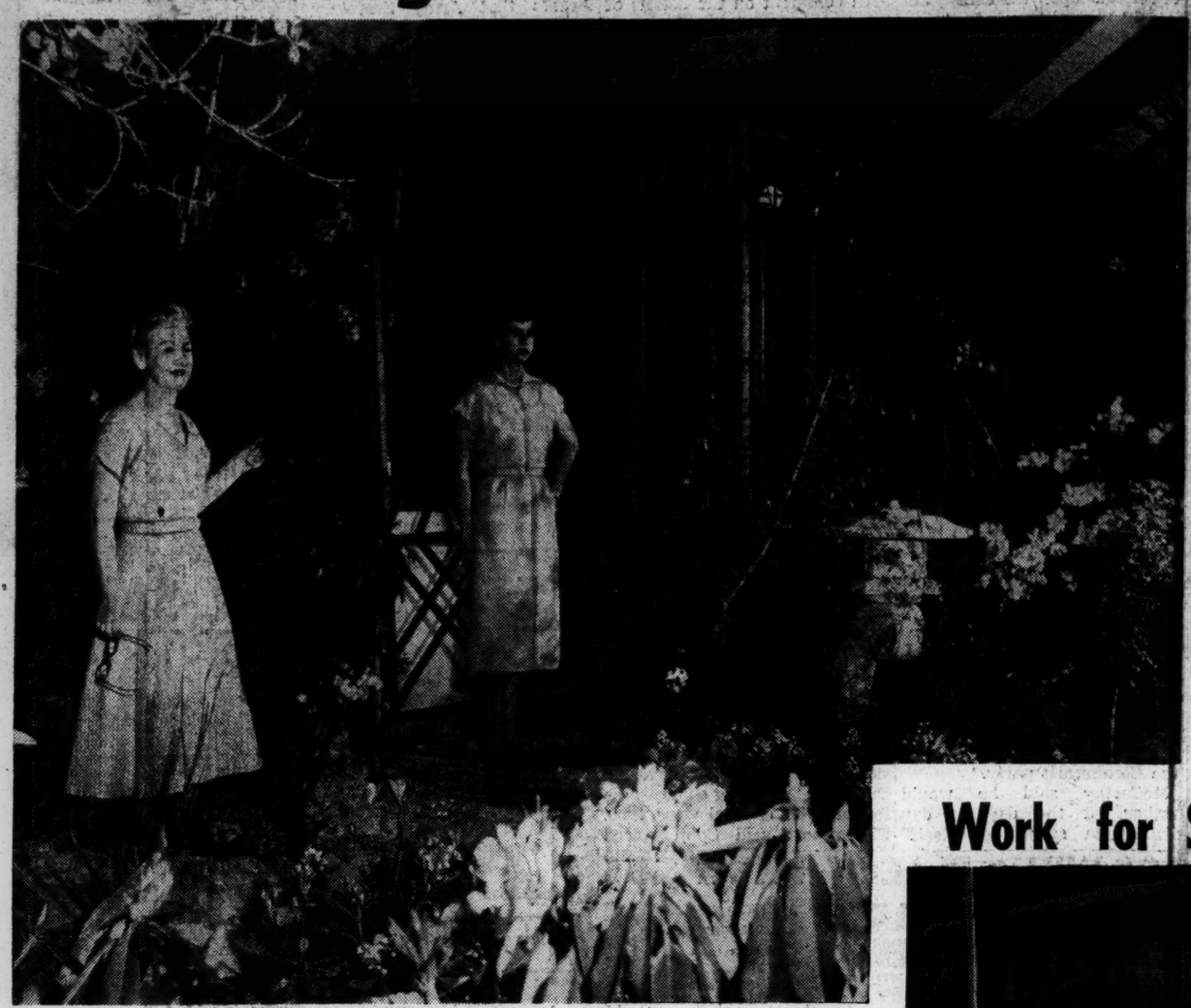


Hollywood Park was transformed into a fairyland of flowers today as thousands and thousands of blossoms were assembled for the opening tonight of the California International Flower Show. Mrs. Benjamin Ashley and Mrs. Roberts Bowen inspect one of the beautiful floral displays. The show will continue through March 21. (Story, C-1.)

—Herald-Express Photos

The flower show will open with a gala premiere conducted by the Assistance League of Southern California. Feature will be an original production called "Florarama," spotlighting Flora, the Goddess of Flowers, in a fantasy pantomime. Above, Mrs. Bertrum Coffey jr. and Mrs. Stanley McCool stand amid one of the show's floral exhibits.

Ex-Pals Now Foes in Row

—Associated Press Wirephoto

Last October, Senator Joseph McCarthy (right) and army legal advisor John G. Adams entered New York's federal building together, apparently good friends. But now they're on the opposite sides of the fence. McCarthy cried "blackmail" today at the army report charging that he and his chief counsel, Roy Cohn, applied pressure for special treatment of a drafted aide, G. David Schine. McCarthy said Adams had told him the army report would be released unless probe of the army was halted.

Work for School Fund

—Herald-Express Photo

Students at El Monte Union High School became janitors, handymen, baby-sitters and deliverymen today as they worked on odd jobs on their spare time to raise funds to complete construction of the $75,000 Student Union Building on the school campus. Above, Larry Bo[illegible] Hauk wash and clean store windows.

American Professors, Trained by Soviet, Teach in U. S. Schools

IN HIS capacity as editor of "The Social Frontier," an ultra-radical "journal of educational criticism," Dr. George S. Counts, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, has declared a "crusade" against the Hearst newspapers.

Dr. Counts is angry with these newspapers because they have been exposing and opposing Communistic influences and propaganda in the schools and colleges of America.

Our action interferes very seriously with Dr. Counts, who happens to be himself the foremost collegiate Communistic propagandist in the country.

This is proved by his writings, by his foreign affiliations and by his activities.

For Dr. Counts is the author of a book, "The Soviet Challenge to America," and of a pamphlet entitled "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?"

He is the translator of "New Russia's Primer," the Communist textbook used in the schools of Soviet Russia.

He is—according to the propagandist literature ISSUED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ITSELF—an OFFICIAL ADVISOR to the MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY, and will be in Moscow this year, from July 16 to August 25, TO SERVE IN THAT CAPACITY at the summer session of the university.

Obviously, therefore, Dr. Counts is a very satisfactory person IN MOSCOW.

ANNOUNCEMENT of the Counts-Communistic "crusade" against the Hearst press and against Americanism is made in a ten-page "release" to newspapers, graciously informing them that they have "permission to reprint any and all articles" from the forthcoming issue of "The Social Frontier."

The announcement further says:

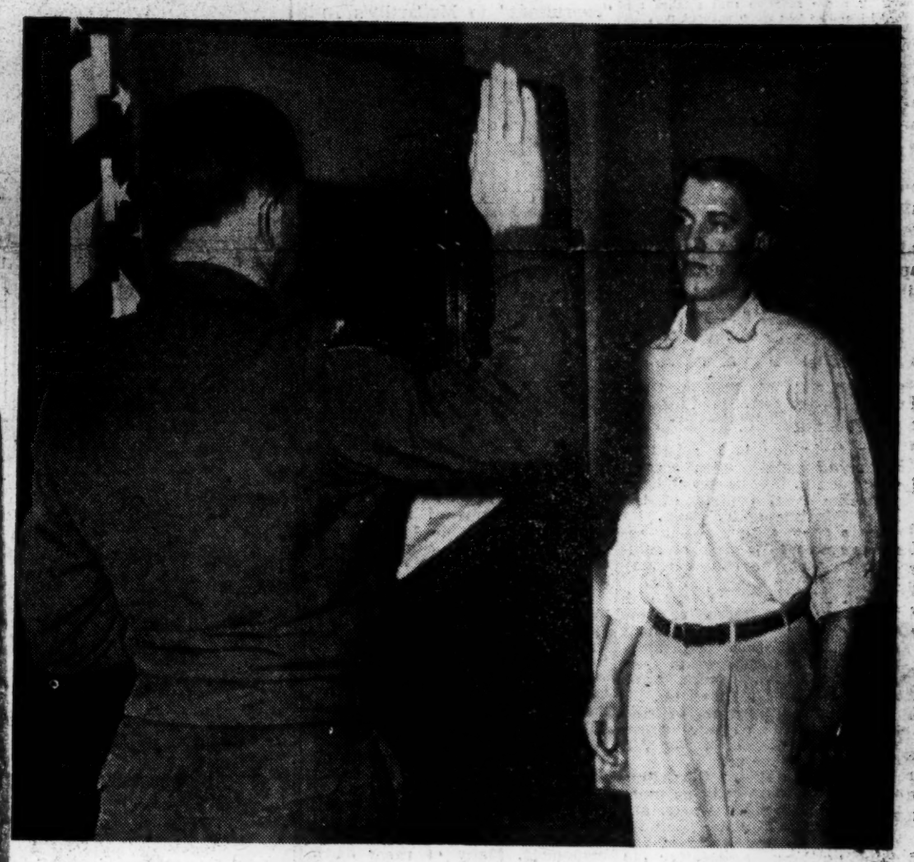
"A call for a nation-wide attack by clergymen, newspaper workers, labor leaders, teachers and other molders of opinion upon Fascist jour-

International News Soundphoto

McCARTHY'S ANSWER TO MURROW

This is a copy of part of an article which appeared in the Feb. 18, 1935, editions of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, and from which Senator Joseph McCarthy quoted in answering and accusing TV Commentator Edward R. Murrow yesterday. McCarthy said the article connected Murrow with the "Moscow University summer session" and also tells of American professors trained by Soviet.

Draftee Refuses to Take Oath



—International News Soundphoto

Immobile as a statue, 21-year-old Edwin Phillips, at right, of Summit, N. Y., is shown as he refused to take oath when called up for induction. Capt. James Spencer, at left, read the oath and attempted to swear him in, but Phillips simply stood there. Immediately, Phillips was arrested for violation of Selective Service Act.

M'Carthy Blasts Back at Adlai and Murrow

—Associated Press Wirephoto

Senator Joseph McCarthy checks time and papers during his radio interview last night when he lashed back at Adlai Stevenson and declared open warfare on Edward R. Murrow. McCarthy charged that Murrow was once a member of a left-wing organization. He cited a quotation from a 1935 newspaper clipping which connected Murrow with the "advisory council of the Moscow University's summer session."

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March 16, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Your clipping service may have supplied these, but I thought you might be interested in eastern Iowa reaction to the program.

Generally, the papers took little editorial notice. The comment was favorable, with the exception of the Dubuque paper, and the rather foggy stand of the Belle Plaine Union.

Our own comment -- Excellent!

Best regards.

Cordially,

WMT - TV

Dick Cheverton

Dick Cheverton,
News Director

DC:lh

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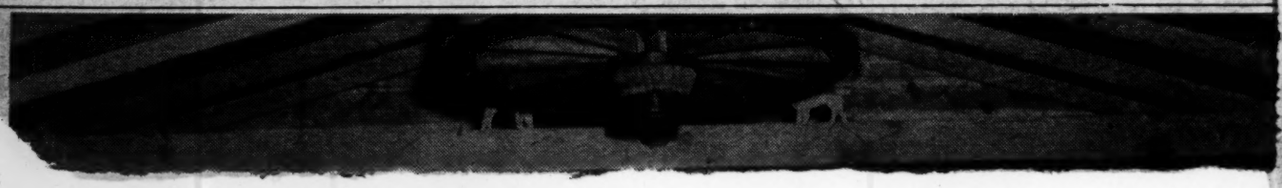
12-54

The Benton County Star

Mail Matter
Iowa

Norway, Benton County, Iowa, Thursday, March 11, 1954

Vol



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Mr. E. R. Murrow, Hostess
Columbia Broadcasting Co., Studio
New York City,
New York.

When McCarthy was filming his reply to Murrow he used a tele-prompter. It is a guide for speakers, commentators, announcers . . . Sometimes the entire script is on the camera-front . . . Sometimes it offers cue-lines, reminders of a subject to mention, etc . . . In the studio (with the Senator) was a McCarthy-hater, an executive for the promoter firm . . . The moment McCarthy left, the man (DBC) raced to the office of a CBS executive with a copy of the McCarthy reply . . . It was supposed to be a secret . . . What's that about "methods"?

...

★

...n Democrats, you're going ... this: I certainly agreed ...dward R. Murrow's tele-...rogram last Tuesday night ...is to Sen. Joe McCarthy.

★

...estly believe the senator ...e an excellent job many ...But on occasions, he has ...ed his bounds. I have ...to believe Murrow is a ...er and might have been ...ustic towards the senator.

★

...r, it is good that our ...nt has men in congress ...Carthy. He's aggressive ... afraid to say or do what ... right. It's high time we ...ew more Red-haters like ...Sheen and Senator Mc-...n our country to inform ...ens of the Communist ...and movements.

★

... Adolph Heneemann of ...mana the other day. ... my life have I seen a ...o spry, lively and alert ...rs of age. He could pass ...any day of the week. ...ays he likes the Star and ... be without it. Those ...e music to my ears.

Religions Should Recognize The Force in Communism

Special to The Buffalo Evening News

NEW YORK, April 16.—Jonathan P. Mitchell, formerly associated with The New Republic, when testifying before the Jenner Committee concerning his conversations with Harry Dexter White, brought out an interesting concept that seems to be prevalent among many persons not only in the U. S. but in other countries.

It is the idea that the Christian era has terminated and that the next period in history will be the Russian version of Marxism. To many, this is inevitable even if unpleasant and they somehow adjust their thinking to a way of life which they hate but believe cannot be averted.

* * *

THE FOLLOWING COLLOQUY occurred before the Jenner Committee concerning Harold Laski's book, "Faith, Reason and Civilization":

"Mr. Grimes (committee counsel)—Would you state, please, what the thesis of Laski's book was?

"Mr. Mitchell—I think the thesis could be put as saying that the Second World War was the end of a great historic period, and that private business or capitalism had proved itself inadequate, and that the faith which underlay it, the Christian faith, no longer had any validity for the people who were living then; and that, happily, the Russians had worked out a new system of economics and a new faith which could replace capitalism and Christianity.

"Mr. Grimes—Laski expressed himself as wholeheartedly in favor of the Russian system as replacing both capitalism and Christianity, did he not?

"Mr. Mitchell—Yes, sir . . ."

* * *

CONCERNING THIS BOOK, Mitchell said:

"Mr. White said that this was by all odds the most profound book which had been written in our lifetime, and that no one had foreseen with such uncanny accuracy and depth the way in which the world was going."

* * *

HARRY DEXTER WHITE was not alone in this. Whether it was the secular education of the 1920s or the economic hardships of the 1930s, many young men and women turned their backs on the traditional concepts of the Western Christian civilization and found in Marxism an answer to their rejection of a mystical God and a social system based on the private ownership of property. They insisted upon a scientific and statistical explanation for human existence and behavior.

None of the formal religions met the challenge of Marxism as an alternative to mystical religions and Natural Law; nor have they to this day because they have been unwilling or unable to grasp the startling fact that Marxism is essentially a religious movement.

* * *

DEXTER WHITE apparently believed profoundly that the Christian era had come to an end, as Zoroastrianism once ceased to be a world religion, and that Marxism was to replace the Judaic-Christian civilization "inevitably," because evolutionary historic forces decreed it so.

None of this is surprising. What is astonishing is that the great religious organizations, which are the trustees for our civilization, did not recognize the new force and gird to meet its onslaught on our youth.

No one knows better than Mr. Murrow Laski was a Communist "Sleeper" like Alger Hiss. Why do you lie about it?

State Department Prefers Russia In

The usually exasperating, and frequently destructive as well as obstructive use of the veto by Russia creates in this country a good deal of anti-United Nations sentiment. The most frequently suggested remedy is a showdown to (1) eliminate the Soviet bloc from U.N. or (2) to leave the organization as is to Russia and Company and form a new grouping without them.

At the present time we have an organization calling itself the United Nations, which is far from united. But it is the closest resemblance to a true world forum that has existed so far.

Free of either the Soviet or the anti-Soviet bloc, what would remain would be a group best designated as the United Nations for something or other: In the case of the Soviets, for Marxism, or world domination. In the case of the rest of us, it might be more difficult to define our U.N. unless to say it is for holding the Soviets at bay.

It is this situation which suggests the reason for the Saturday pronouncement of our State Department. The United States is placed officially against any movement to oust Russia. That means that there will be no movement. For U.N., without either Russia or the United States, would be something else again.

Still inherent in our now determined position is a recognition that the United Nations can not serve the purpose for which it was instituted. It can not further the cause of world peace. It can not provide means to oppose and punish an aggressor except one on a very small scale. It can do neither of these things so long as Russia is a member with the power of veto.

The American position dooms U.N. inevitably to its current role of a forum for debate. That there is value in this can be conceded. In such a U.N., we can perhaps hold the anti-Soviet nations closer together. We can force discussion which ranges the various members on the side of the angels or otherwise. We can get a clearer picture of what goes on in the half world of Communist diplomacy. We can provide a clearinghouse of political information, of market statistics. Perhaps we can even solve most of the problems that do not concern land and battle.

But there we must stop. The alternative, of course, is a U.N. of our side, resolutely committed to battle. And whether we like it or not, or whether John Foster Dulles likes it or not, so long as the veto stands to bulwark Russian intentions, we may have to come to that alternative.

A Week People

The first week in April was National Laugh Week. Maybe you didn't know that. After all, there isn't much to laugh about. But it was also National Leave Us Alone Week, and if anybody came around to tickle you in the ribs to promote the former, he was violating the latter.

The second week of April is National Noise Abatement Week. It is also National Let's Play Ball Week.

The week people are getting things confused, and the only solution is for somebody to revive a National Do-Nothing Week—which somebody tried to do, but it was in conflict with National Achievement Week.

Manpower for Defense

"A costly waste of manpower" provided by duplication in supervisory jobs at eleven air installations was reported Saturday by a House committee. But you wonder if the House group has considered thoroughly a situation that must exist always in the armed services. It is one that dictates excess personnel on the payroll, duplication in many posts. If there is a remedy for it, nobody has come up with it. This is simply the fact that we must keep men trained for a war job for which there is no real need in peace.

In 1948, a representative peacetime year, our armed forces numbered about 500,000 men and women. To an extent all were a peacetime waste of human power and every dollar spent on them could be defined as waste, assuming that we would never have a war. But as a matter of fact the number was well below what should be the peacetime requirements of a country of this size that may have to go to war. Army engineering is fortunately usable in peacetime service but most Army technical service and training are for war only. When suddenly we are at war, many of the peacetime personnel must be replaced immediately by others capable of training our expanded forces.

In peace or war, the armed services find themselves with the problem of personnel, not needed for duty but needed for availability. There are career men with rank for which no peacetime service is possible. So waste in manpower does occur and duplication in jobs. But if we reduce to the usable maximum without duplication, we create a problem for the war that we may have to fight.

Growing Dallas Needs This New Court Aid

Governor Shivers' signature will give Dallas County a new criminal district court, though temporary. "Temporary" courts have a way of becoming permanent, however, and this one is justified in view of population and the criminal trouble that goes with it. A third county criminal court, authorized by the bill passed by the House, would help handle the mounting number of traffic cases. Such a court could possibly concentrate on drunk driving and speeding.

The judge of the district court is chosen by the Governor. The Commissioners Court chooses the county court magistrate. The Commissioners will do well to consult the Citizens Traffic Commission, the Dallas Bar and the Crime Commission, if the bench is set up.

The people will finance any expanded setup. Taxes and expenses go higher, but that is to be expected as a city grows and demands facilities to meet the growing pains.

Judges must pledge a renewed and vigorous effort toward keeping dockets abreast; delayed cases favor the criminal. The District Attorney must continue his persistent prosecution. These, the people expect.

The criminal is stopped—or deterred—only by prosecution in courts of law. The police may catch him. But he is out on bail, usually to repeat his performance. Only courts working at full speed and with vigorous effectiveness can hold the menace in check.

More Gas Customers

With more customers and, in some places, higher rates, the Lone Star Gas Company and its producing subsidiary report a substantial increase in net income for last year. This gain was achieved in spite of mild winter weather that cut the use of gas for heating in this area.

Natural gas has been a big factor in the recent industrial growth of Texas. It has provided cheap fuel for most of the new factories built here during and since World War II. While electricity has been edging into the field of home cooking fuel, the increased industrial use of gas has made up for this loss many times over.

The supply of natural gas in the Southwest may play out at some future date. By the time the gas is gone, we may be using atomic energy or solar energy for heat, anyway. Meanwhile, the new peak in Lone Star Gas income is an encouraging sign for Dallas industry.

Reaching Into Space

Not too hopeful of space travel is Dr. Conway Wilson Snyder, nuclear scientist who spoke at Southern Methodist University Thursday evening. And that's bad for hopeful space travelers who read the funny papers, because Dr. Snyder is a leading authority on the subject.

He thinks that, if all the financial resources of our country were devoted to building a space ship, we might launch one that, with rare good success in timing its take-off, would make the trip to Mars in something over eight months. There's a lot of "if" in that.

Yet, we may be missing the point of our real desires in hoping for bodily space travel. If we can go there in sight and thought while our bodies remain on the earth, we shall have achieved not much less results. And we are much closer to interstellar spaces with telescope and radar than we are with space ships.

We will never be able to see much of Mars with even such a telescope as Palomar. But present research in microscopic magnification, if it can be turned outward into telescopic observation, might in the not-too-distant future bring the Planet Mars to an apparent position much closer than the moon under our present telescope. There are some "ifs" here, too, one of them being the great difficulty of holding such a high-powered telescope on Mars after it has been invented.

It's a good guess that Mars is inhabited with a people advanced a million years beyond us in science. Since their space ships haven't reached us, there seems to be only a dim hope that ours will reach them. Yet they may be observing us in the minute details of our lives and vainly bombing us with signals that we have not yet heard. This probably points the way to "space travel" in thought if not in body.

Clue in Primaries

Tuesday the primary election battles get under way. Illinois holds its weeding-out vote then, and the nomination ballots of New Jersey will be marked a week later. These and later primaries may give some indication of the outcome of the battle for Senate and House control in the November election. At present the Senate is made up of forty-eight Democrats, forty-seven Republicans and one independent.

Worth watching in the primaries will be the total Republican and Democratic votes and the outcome as to pro- and antiadministration candidates in each party. With thirty-five Senate seats to be filled this year, fierce campaigns are likely to develop in most cases, at least in those outside the Solid South.

The Democrats can be counted on to exploit the unemployment attendant on postwar economic readjustment and to try to pin the blame on the Republicans. The GOP is likely to expose new scandals of the Truman administration and to emphasize Fair Deal coddling of the Reds.

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By JOHN KNOTT
—Dallas News Staff Cartoonist.

"BROWNELL PLAN" IN ACTION

LETTERS FROM READERS

The News receives many more letters from readers than it can print. It regrets that it can not print them all. The shorter the letter the better its chance of publication. The News reserves the right to print excerpts unless request to the contrary is made by the writer. Authors' names should be signed. Enclose postage if you wish your letter returned.

Internationalist Clique Attacked

To The Dallas News:

Our minds are gradually being softened for another police action in Indochina.

The possibility is too remote that stupid but honorable public officials could have blundered us into so many dangerous situations during the last twenty-odd years. With this in mind, we must assume there is a deliberate plot to force our nation down the road to ruin.

Authentic books and documents prove this. These traitors circulate among us daily. Some call themselves Americans and some even pretend to fight Communism.

They are money-mad internationalists who influence our foreign and domestic policies regardless of who happens to be President or which political party seems to be in power.

Their plan is to tax all industrious Americans into oblivion and to liquidate our young men through wars perpetrated all over the globe.

The stooges of these international plotters are the Queer Dealers, the left-wing liberals of every denomination, the One-Worlders, the Unescoites, the "Joe Must Go-ers" and others.

Joe McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover can identify any and all of these plotters. This is the reason for the bitter attacks against them from the enemy-controlled press and radio.

We of the Southwest can be thankful for The Dallas Morning News, a good American paper giving both sides of every issue, but editorially standing for constitutional government.

H. W. TOTTEN.
Sherman, Texas.

Adams vs. Schine

To The Dallas News:

The dispute is really—John Adams vs. Cohn and Schine. We millions voted for Ike only to get the work done that McCarthy is doing, and for a complete change from New Dealism. Read his pledges in platform.

Those pledges are being delayed by this bird named Adams, who was appointed by Truman. Let's get on with McCarthy's real work: Who promoted and honorably discharged Fifth Amendment unmentionables? JOHN DALY.
Douglaston, N.Y.

Whooie! Rainmaker

To The Dallas News:

Where can we find the rainmaker's statistics on the Dallas watershed of April 7, 1954?

Is it possible he got his cloud-milking machine on a dry cloud, or did he get his pail kicked over?

The Creator that created and controls the heavens and earth and all therein got no mention from our water department last year. But great credit was given the rainmaker—an insult to God and to all people who read the Scriptures.

I can only say that the would-be rainmaker is a supersalesman. Whooie!

But the taxpayers have no say. There has been as much, or more, rain every year except one for the last thirty-two years as Dallas County got last year. It would be nice to trust the Creator and thank Him. We still trust Him.

G. B. KLINE,
3728 Travis, Dallas.

Results of Krick

To The Dallas News:

I want to thank our weatherman, M. C. Harrison, for his mustard seed of hope that we will have rain . . . some day . . . somehow!

I feel certain that the tiny mustard seed of hope planted in the hearts of people, trusting in our Lord, will definitely bring more satisfying results than all the "dough" planted in the pockets of Mr. Krick, competitive rainmaker, whose cloud seeding so far has brought us the second driest March in forty years, not to mention the coldest and dustiest March to be remembered by those of us who can remember that far back.

MAI PACKWOOD.
301 Pelman, Dallas.

Too Much Emotion

To The Dallas News:

It is unfortunate that the McCarthy issue has reached such a stage that it can no longer be discussed objectively. To praise him for the good that he has done is to bring down the wrath of many who will regard you as having extreme right-wing leanings. To condemn him for his reckless way of sometimes handling his investigations is to invite being tagged with a pro-Communist label.

Where shall those of us turn who have no political idols either to the right or to the left, and only want to be reassured that our government will not be destroyed either from within or from without, from neither the right nor the left?

LEON USSERY.
P.O. Box 64, McKinney, Texas.

Silly Letters

To The Dallas News:

Who is this M. C. Sharp who does not like to read silly letters in the good old Dallas News?

This silly Sharp would retire Honorable Sam Rayburn, who was elected by majority vote. If such is democracy, I'm not a democrat.

E. D. CARPENTER.
Ferris, Texas.

Lady Drivers' Faults

To The Dallas News:

With due apologies to our lady drivers, I would like to point out a bad habit, common to many, and which could cause accidents.

When the wind disturbs her hairdo, Madame restores same while driving or awaiting a signal light, using the rear vision mirror in each case.

If she does so while driving, she must temporarily take her eyes off the road ahead—a very risky business.

If she does so while awaiting a signal light, the change in signals frequently catches her unaware and causes her to delay traffic. In fact, I have observed a few such lady drivers who keep their rear-vision mirror directed toward themselves, not toward the objective originally intended—the car following.

Before some lady driver arises in righteous wrath against these accusations, let me point out that some men drivers are guilty of the same fault.

E. P. ALDREDGE.
2800 North Henderson, Dallas 6.

Church Women

To The Dallas News:

"We refuse the assumption of guilt by association and of intention by implication," to quote the Texas Council of Church Women in their resolution, opposing Governor Shivers' proposal to outlaw Communism in Texas.

Are we to assume that during a bank robbery, the driver of the getaway car is innocent and his being there is accidental?

Have you ever known a Democrat or Republican to stand on his constitutional rights when asked about his party affiliations? What these Christian women do not seem to understand is the Communist party is a godless ideology, with their only allegiance to a nation endeavoring to destroy our country, our belief in God and the right of protest.

MRS. THOMAS A. JEFFERS.
Route 4, Box 134-A,
Yoakum, Texas.

Postal Retirement

To The Dallas News:

I entered the postal service in 1912, salary $50 per month.

Increases were always slow and to live and educate our children took all we made. Few of us were able to save anything for old age.

Our retirement bill was passed in 1920, so I have paid over thirty years in retirement fund which has billions of dollars on hand.

Federal employees pay in 6 per cent of salary to the fund. We paid 100-cent dollars and are receiving 40-cent dollars. The public should know we paid for our retirement and it is not a handout by the government.

The average retiree receives $150 or less per month, on which he barely exists, but Congress holds our purse strings and we are the forgotten men. C. A. ALLEN.
5930 Ellsworth, Dallas.

25 YEARS AGO TODAY

(From The Dallas News of April 13, 1929)

The Columbia phonograph company's "new process" viva-tonal recordings were advertised by the Edison Shop.

With $500,000 made in three years, youthful Metropolitan Opera Star Marion Talley announced her retirement to a farm.

Viscount Shimpei Goto, former foreign minister of Japan, died.

The Calyx Club gave a Bowery dance at the Cedar Crest Country Club.

Highway traffic between Austin and San Marcos was halted by a flood on the Guadalupe River.

W. J. Morrison of the Simms Oil Company was chosen president of the Dallas Association of Purchasing Agents.

THINKING OUT LOUD

By LYNN LANDRUM

The stage is rocked with shouting,
The puppets play their part;
But when the seeming ceases
We trust the honest heart.

When trumpet-wafted wisdom
Bedins the shrinking ear,
The better voice is quiet
And courage answers fear.

There comes a time of testing
Of men and feigned advice
When all the world is seeking
For value, not for price.

★

Barrel Head

Bishops and councils and organizations in aid of this and that protest that it is not good to have investigations which dredge up a man's record and expose it to the public view "without evaluation." But when these people are busy making a reputation for public use and for persuading the public to this view or that, they present that reputation at their own "evaluation."

If 2,200 clergymen ask the Supreme Court to do something to prevent an Episcopal bishop from firing an Episcopal rector because of Communist goings-on in an Episcopal church, those 2,200 preachers consent to the use of their name for one purpose. Indeed, they volunteer their names and actually thrust their names into the domain of public controversy and of public inspection. And thereby they give the public one element of measuring, according to the public view, not merely the action of the bishop, but also the discretion of 2,200 preachers in lending thus their names.

And if some committee prints in the "record" of each of these 2,200 preachers—or in the record of some of them—that they so signed their names, then the public will place its own "evaluation" on that record. And why should it not? The thing is in the open. It is on the barrel head. The signers put it there.

★

Noisy

In the current controversy between the Army and McCarthy—as in the controversy between Radio Commentator Murrow and McCarthy—there is too much noise on all sides for the column to make an evaluation. The noise of McCarthy has at least prevented the pinks, the fellow-travelers and the faint-hearts from hushing up the fact that we still have in government and elsewhere people who constitute a real and present danger to the safety of the Republic.

But the column has always taken a different slant toward criticism from that which the Senator takes. Apparently it is different from that which Mr. Murrow takes. The policy of this Columntator is to let them criticize. And if the criticism is printable—sometimes it isn't under our postal laws—then the Columntator favors printing it.

The theory of the column is that it either has character or it hasn't. If it has, character will catch up with reputation and correct it. If it hasn't, then maybe reputation is right, after all.

★

Medina

It is interesting that the name of Judge Harold R. Medina was suggested to be counsel for the McCarthy committee to investigate McCarthy and the Army. That is a real tribute to Medina's integrity. And the jurist does have integrity that has been tried as by fire.

The instinct to choose a man of such character was sound. But surely Judge Medina and the Supreme Court were correct in replying that the assignment ought not to be accepted by any federal judge because it is not right to involve the federal bench even remotely with investigations by Congress.

Investigation by Congress is the safeguard against dangers and abuses which otherwise may go unchecked. But, like many safeguards, it may itself be abused. The current investigation, if it is conducted fairly and firmly, will show who has been abusing what.

The presumption that somebody has been abusing veracity is so strong that we may say that the investigation will be useless if it does not clear up that question.

Out of This World

By Jack Patton
—Dallas News Staff Cartoonist

"Nice day at the office today. They didn't take up a collection for anybody or anything."

Lawyers Week For the Public

By DICK WEST

(Editorial Writing Staff of The News)

BOB STOREY is a quiet, precise man who has made the SMU Law School among the best. He has been to legal education in Dallas what the late Dr. E. H. Cary was to medical education.

R. G. STOREY

His law school sponsors Lawyers' Week, which is highly regarded in the profession. Somebody once quipped that law is for the lawyers. Lawyers' Week at SMU is for lawyers.

Above that, it seems, some agency should sponsor a Lawyers' Week for the public; or, a Law Week for the public.

The public is pitiably ignorant of the law. The SMU observance brings outstanding experts who talk in expert language on titles so technical even a newspaperman can hardly spell the words.

Those studying law at SMU will be sharper, as a result. And that is the purpose of Mr. Storey's institution.

But law would be a better profession if the public understood the law better. The stigma attached, let's say, to practice of criminal law—an unjustified stigma, for the most part—would be erased if the lay citizen knew more about it.

Lay education is a long and tortuous process. But Dallas would be a happier and better community if only a fraction of its people knew what a valid contract was.

You would be surprised at top businessmen who know nothing of jury service.

Most people know they can get out of jail on a bail bond if they haven't committed a capital offense for which they might get the death penalty. But they don't know how a bond is executed; what it means; how the abuses of it endanger their safety.

You often hear asked: "How can a lawyer defend a man everybody knows is guilty?" That's a good one. It ought to be explained to the public, for it can be explained. A good defense lawyer should not think about the guilt or innocence of his client. That's the jury's job. The lawyer should think primarily of an honorable defense, in face of all odds and public estimation.

These are elementary things that a lawyers' week for the people could explain.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION has done wonders in its public relations the last few years.

Doctors have their technical meetings. But more and more they are opening up health symposiums and clinical sessions to the public, with lectures by experts in simple terms.

Years ago there used to be heart sessions at every medical meeting. It was hard to sit through one and know any more about the heart than about the feet or kidneys.

Now doctors have simplified their discussions; they even illustrate them. If a technical term is used, it is quickly amplified in eighth-grade language.

The result has been a greater understanding of the doctor, medicine and the human body.

Law is of almost-equal import. But its processes are vague or unknown to most people. A lawyers' week for the people could not, and should not, expect to make lawyers of all the people. But it could make them more understanding. The profession needs that.

Fashion Is Lure For the Male, Too

By INA McQUAID

(Mrs. McQuaid is a free-lance writer resident at Garland.)

ANY WOMAN who has permitted even so much as a single coy curl to dally across her forehead has been subjected to questioning by the male members of her family as to the stability of her political affections, or has been bantered regarding woman's inclination to take her styles from the pattern of some public person.

The same male who banters is deeply concerned with crossing his legs precisely in order to retain the knife-like crease in his trousers, little aware that the crease to the front was a fad set a good many years ago. Formerly men wore the trousers without crease or with it along the seam line, certainly a more practical fashion from the standpoint of ease in pressing or folding garments to pack.

Before he had left his 'teens the famous citizen of early New Orleans, Bernard Phillipe de Marigny de Mandeville, had set so many fashions he had men of that city trying to bribe his tailor on the eve of any great social function trying to discover what new surprise the gay Bernard was proposing to wear. The day following his appearance in some new fol-de-rol the tailors of New Orleans were set to work copying it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON admired the set of a hunting coat worn by some members of the company which Philip Mazzei, the Florentine traveler, brought to the Colonies, planning to establish a co-operative colony. After Jefferson's first appearance in the new coat his neighbors sought to imitate it and the Piedmont tailor prospered.

The well-dressed man of today considers a Tux or Tuxedo a part of his wardrobe. It was a scandalous innovation introduced at and named for the well-known exclusive summer resort, Tuxedo Park.

During World War II General Eisenhower had made for him a warm, easy-wearing coat-jacket of waist length, now called the Eisenhower jacket. It has been generally adopted by the outdoor man of today, replacing the better-known and older Mackinaw, which, incidentally was a coat made from the famous Mackinaw blanket sold to the Indians. When the Indian was convinced of the greater warmth of the white man's coats he had one made from his blanket. These Mackinaws were adopted by the lumberjacks going into the north woods.

PRESIDENT POLK appeared before his Cabinet one day wearing a neat cravat made of material "with a dark background, having round dots of white regularly placed in it" . . . and the material design of polk-a-dot was in vogue.

Abraham Lincoln, smooth-shaven when he went to Washington, grew a beard to satisfy the whim of a small girl who wondered what he would look like with one, and businessmen and generals alike copied the fashion.

In a men's store recently I overheard a gentleman badgering a salesman to bring on something even louder and brighter than the shirts he had been shown. "You know," he insisted, "a regular Truman shirt."

Gentlemen, let us have no more heavy-handed humor regarding Mamie's bangs.

5-C-19

WMBD

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CHARLES C. CALEY
PRESIDENT & GENERAL MANAGER

March 25, 1954

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Radio Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, 22, New York

Dear Ed:

You are becoming "more than famous" these days. Thought you would be interested in the attached editorial from the Peoria Star of Thursday, March 25, 1954. It appears to me that this editorial writer has come to a lot of conclusions! I thought you would like to know about them.

Kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

Charlie

Charles C. Caley
BH-encl.

THE PEORIA STAR

"The Newspaper People Believe In"

"Great reforms come with many a hitch, many a reversal, many a failure, but out of them, and perhaps because of them, humanity toils painfully on and at last we see the end accomplished."

Founded by E. F. Baldwin, 1897

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1954

Published Daily Except Sunday at 119 South Madison Avenue, Peoria, Ill.

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THE CASE OF EDWARD MURROW

Edward R. Murrow, CBS commentator, has acquired a reputation as an unbiased reporter of news. Some perceptive individuals have long felt that his "objectivity" is synthetic showmanship. To the keen ear, his leftwing leanings have not been well enough disguised.

Murrow is clever. No one can deny it. But he is not the first commentator to demonstrate that superficial cleverness can collect big audiences. Others less able than Murrow have made it pay off in a big way.

Since Mr. Murrow has at last discarded his disguise of cool objectivity and entered the McCarthy fight as a participant, he deserves closer examination than before. One of the reasons he deserves it is that the Communist press in recent months has given him more praise than any other radio or TV commentator.

We do not mean to imply that Murrow is a Communist or that he is a fellow traveler or even a sympathizer. But his background of experience and his influence on the public are of special interest when the official organ of the Communist party consistently applauds what he is doing.

It is not difficult to find clues to explain the applause. Go back to the Owen Lattimore case, as a starter.

LATTIMORE WROTE IN "ORDEAL BY SLANDER" that he must mention special debts to several men. "I must mention at least Edward R. Murrow," he wrote. "Even when the hysteria was at its height . . . he kept the record straight by repeatedly drawing attention to the fact that nothing had been proved against me. Later, by his program technique of using recordings, he gave me a national forum of my own, so that millions of people could hear me speaking for myself."

The McCarran committee (Senate Internal Security) later reported formally, after lengthy hearings: "Owen Lattimore was, from some time beginning in the 1930's, a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."

We draw no conclusions from Murrow's stout defense of Lattimore. We cite it only as information necessary in appraising Murrow's alleged objectivity and judgment.

Last May, Communists everywhere were demanding that Malenkov, Churchill and Eisenhower meet for

conspiracy."

We draw no conclusions from Murrow's stout defense of Lattimore. We cite it only as information necessary in appraising Murrow's alleged objectivity and judgment.

Last May, Communists everywhere were demanding that Malenkov, Churchill and Eisenhower meet for personal talks. Our State department did not approve. Murrow rapped the department. He said the President should not let American "hatred and hysteria" prevent a meeting with Malenkov. He made it clear that he perceived "new tides" running in Russia after Stalin's death.

The Berlin conference proved conclusively that there were no "new tides" in Russia. Murrow had been egregiously wrong again. He had also won Communist applause again.

WHEN ATTORNEY GENERAL BROWNELL exploded the Harry Dexter White scandal and Harry Truman grew so flustered that he told three self-contradictory stories, Commentator Murrow showed up exactly where some of us expected him; namely, on the side of the late Harry Dexter White, defending him and accusing Attorney General Brownell.

He won further Communist praise by championing the cause of Lt. Milo Radulovich, an Air Force Reserve officer whose discharge was recommended by a 10th Air Force Security board, the commanding general concurring.

Murrow used a clever, dishonest device in one of his attacks on Senator McCarthy to make two of the senator's statements appear to be lies. This device is analyzed in the March 19 issue of Counterattack, which is available to readers at the Peoria public library.

Edward R. Murrow is a crusader. He is a commentator with a cause. No one should condemn him for that. But to be a crusader disguised in the shining armor of an unbiased reporter of the news is quite another thing. One cannot truly be both.

The appraisal of Murrow by Counterattack, weekly publication of American Business Consultants, Inc., will sound a discordant note in the minds of Murrow fans, but it is an essential statement for those who want to see things clearly in these troubled days. We quote:

"MURROW TALKS ON THE SIDE OF THE angels. He is for the highest democratic and humanitarian ideals. But in actual practice he is not above using slick devices he would denounce if used by others. He is a master at slanting his programs while imparting an aura of great objectivity to them.

"Murrow preaches dangerous doctrine. He vastly underrates the domestic Communist party menace. To do this is as dangerous as to misjudge the menace of communism abroad. United States will be sunk if it loses to communism in either place. Even on foreign issues, Murrow advocates a policy of dangerous softness in the face of Soviet intrigue, and he has become hysterical about the issue of communism vs. civil liberties here in the United States.

"The great acclaim given to Murrow in many quarters in spite of his unsoundness in vital issues concerning communism deserves serious thought. It points up the major weakness of the United States on all fronts in the battle against communism. That weakness is lack of real understanding of Moscow's conspiracy. It is the greatest threat to United States' survival.

"Edward R. Murrow, unfortunately, represents the dominant voice in all media of communications. Too few Americans are getting the unbiased news and the intelligent commentary on it they need so badly."

GETTING IN TUNE—Glee Club members at Rosary High School go over the score of one of the songs they will sing in the Eighth Annual Music Festival to be presented May 2 in Balboa Park Bowl by San Diego County Catholic schools. Rosary singers will join with girls from Our Lady of Peace and Cathedral to form the high school girls' chorus. (Photo by Busco-Nestor Studio)

Televiews

5-C-19

McCarthy, Murrow Controversy on TV

By WILLIAM H. MOORING

Did anyone point out that Senator Joseph McCarthy's reply to Ed Murrow, given via film on the CBS program "See It Now," developed calmly and squarely, a powerful case against the anti-anti-communists?

Taking Murrow's alleged statement that McCarthy, by his methods and activities, is giving aid and comfort to the communist enemy, the Senator quietly presented quotations in tribute to Murrow from the communist press, known pro-communist socialists like the late Professor Laski and other sources of pro-Soviet bias.

He also gave quotations from the same or similar red publications on so-called McCarthyism and the man whom Murrow alleges has given the communists aid and comfort.

Specifically on this aspect of the controversy, McCarthy won hands down. If he ever gave aid or comfort to the communists, they responded typically with ingratitude.

I wonder if Murrow can produce anything by way of evidence to show that the communists ever castigated or even criticized him?

McCarthy's reply, unspectacular and at times characteristically vituperative, certainly got to the crux of the dispute between Murrow and himself which, started by Murrow, certainly has gratified communists all over the world.

It is that any among us, whose misguided liberalism impels them to oppose anti-communism with more vigor than they do communism, may be counted on the side of the communists at least any time they take the ascendancy. European and Asiatic experiences prove this up to the hilt.

What would be McCarthy's fate if communism took over the USA? What would be Ed Murrow's fate?

Judging by the laudatory mention given Murrow in the communist press he might reasonably count upon promotion, to say, Commissar in charge of State Radio and TV.

McCarthy? Summary execution beyond doubt!

★ ★ ★

Some time ago when I joined those who had words of criticism for Ed Sullivan, he wrote to me and said: "If and when you see something you like on the program, comment on that too, please!"

Not to say I haven't often found a great deal of enjoyment in "Toast of the Town," I must say that for my money Sullivan can give us more and more like we got the other week. As a sort of tribute to Mary Garden, Ed had four of the Met's top singers, Cesar Siepi, Roberta Peters, Cesare Velletti and Fernando Corena sing in an informal group. It was great.

Without intentional comparisons, they placed on a certain over-boosted blues warbler who followed them, her real value as a singer. It was, literally, a "down-to-earth" revelation.

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Daily Mirror, Fri. April 16, 1954

Walter Winchell
Of New York

5-C-19

Memos to the Editor

The Dr. Oppenheimer revelations confirmed many "blind" paragraphs (and hints) in this space for several years...After McCarthy very recently charged that the H-bomb was delayed for 18 months I told one of his intimates: "The Senator cannot make such a charge and then not offer proof. Let me make it public"... Even the President reportedly said: "News to me"...On April 13th Mutual Network commentators (and various newspapers) reported: "The most sensational story in decades was leaked to two N. Y. newspapers"..."The Gov't decided to beat McCarthy to the punch and made the facts known to the press," etc...That the "Villain" was a top atomic scientist, a Gov't adviser and an alleged Red cell member (along with other scientists) was first made public by Winchell April 11th.

When McCarthy was filming his reply to Murrow he used a teleprompter. It is a guide for speakers, commentators, announcers ...Sometimes the entire script is on the camera-front...Sometimes it offers cue-lines, reminders of a subject to mention, etc...In the studio (with the Senator) was a McCarthy-hater, an executive for the prompter firm...The moment McCarthy left, the man (IBK) raced to the office of a CBS executive with a copy of the McCarthy reply...It was supposed to be a secret...What's that about "methods"?

The editors of newspapers which published the 6th pre-trial examination (of a libel action) may have deleted the paragraph for space reasons...The court reporter's records included it...At any rate, it wasn't printed in the accounts I saw in the N. Y. Times or the N. Y. Sun...Both featured the fact that the judge had ordered me to be specific in my response. (I rebelled over "Gimme a Yesorno!" answer)...The two newspapers reported that his Honor cautioned us...But then neglected to add that he also cautioned the hysterical lawyer to stick to the script.

"Didn't Isaac Don Levine in the 1940s," asked the plaintiff's lawyer, "tell you about Alger Hiss?"

"I can't give you a yes or no to that..."

"I demand a yes or no!" he almost screamed.

"But I'm trying to tell you..."

"Mr. Winchell," threatened the lawyer impatiently, "I warn you that I will tell the Judge you are not being responsive and you will be dealt with. There will be consequences!"

"Counsel," I offered, "you are on a wrong track, off the track. Levine never mentioned the name of Hiss to me. First I heard of Hiss was in the papers years later."

He refused to listen and carried on as though he knew what he was doing—while I knew he did not...I turned to the reporters and said: "Levine never mentioned Hiss. He told me about a man named Krivitsky. That Washington was full of Reds, etc. I brought that report to President Roosevelt. That was in the papers—long ago!"

District Attorney Frank Hogan's office cracked down on the Scummy Samuel Roth, the "Publisher" of filthy magazines and other obscene publications...This col'm spotlighted Roth's criminal record many times...Nearly ten convictions since the 1920s...He served 3 years at a Federal prison...Fined $2000 for doing what he has been arrested for, again...His wife was arrested, also...This rotten pair must have been in great panic since Sunday night's WW broadcast...We complained about the arrest of an old woman newsstand dealer "for selling" obscene magazines...We said: "Why arrest her? Why not arrest Samuel Roth of 11 West 81st Street, the publisher? Here are his Rogues' Gallery photos!"...His arrest followed a few days later...This Brave Bum resisted arrest, punched a detective and then ran in panic...His troubles are just beginning ...A Senate Committee (probing juvenile delinquency) is also interested in him...They received complaints from many families of teen-agers (all over the land), who complained that his Scummy pamphlets were mailed to their homes...The next Confidential Mag (due on the stands May 5th) will feature his long criminal record under the title: "The Louse of Lewisburg"...His son and dghtr-in-law have been dealt with in Calif. for "Communist" activities, etc...This explains the Roth Tribe's printed attacks against commy-fighters, including me...One of his authors (with a criminal record for attempted extortion) will have to wait his turn in line.

This came in the mail today: "Despite all the speculation about the affects of an H-bomb on Manhattan, few people know that N. Y. was almost destroyed by a parade of fireballs in 1913. They just missed the City, plunging into the Atlantic Ocean"...Syngman Rhee's son Charles is a photographer for Life here. Staffers kid him with: "Ah, Sweet Mr. Rhee of Life"...Fire Comm. Cavanagh sent Bishop Sheen a "line pass" to get thru fire lines...In appreciation the Bishop sent this note: "Very happy to receive the pass, having turned one down from the Devil years ago."

A big story will break on June 17th from the pages of "The Secret Front. The Story of Nazi Political Espionage"...The author is Wilhelm Hoettl...Hitler's only living top spy...Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. will publish...Hoettl's corroborated facts shame down anyone who still thinks Tito's brand of communism is any better than Moscow's communauseum.

The Runyon Committee thanks all newspapers for not omitting paragraphs like this reminder to the contestants: The Runyon Fund Contest for the best letters on: "Why I Could Never Be a Communist!" ends midnight May 3rd...Please enclose $1 to fight cancer with each entry (send as many letters as you wish) to WW, Box 80, NY, Zone 36...The 1st prize is a $7000 Cadillac...2nd prize: A Kaiser Darrin sports car, value $3,750...Holidays at Honolulu, San Juan, Hollywood, New York, Washington, Phila, Florida, etc. via TWA, Eastern, American, Pan-American and United Airlines... Down front tickets to the Marciano-Charles championship fight, the World Series...Over 500 other attractive prizes...Thanks for the $125,000 in your letters to date.

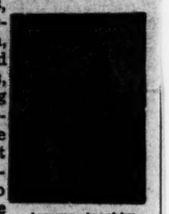
Things you prob'ly never suspected: The name of the Associated Press correspondent at Harvard is Pat Yale...Judy Tyler, a former show-girl at the Copa, headlines the Mocambo (Hollywood), offering an attractive song-style...Here's a toast to Movietown's Suzan Ball, the bride, who lost a leg to cancer: "The Thoroughbride of the Year!"...If Sammy Snead snubs the annual Desert Inn Tournament of Golf Champions it will be over the treatment he complained about last time. Playing with an injured hand, some sports scribes panned him "for not trying"...But Snead has never refused to play for one of his pet causes: The Runyon Cancer Fund ...We hope he will be there on the 22nd...The McCarthy Situation: A case of the McCarthys versus the Moscowthys.

—Winchell on radio and tv: WABC, Channel 7, 9 P.M. Sun.—

This is what Co... 5-C-19

JOACHIM'S SCRAP BOOK

Sen. Joseph McCarthy in his much discussed telecast recently, unwittingly perhaps, but effectively exposed the nation's deadliest enemies — namely the highly respected intellectuals whose sincere, earnest, and effective pleas for what seems like a better life have helped to wreck the individualism which has made the past two hundred years the most progressive in world history. It has been these outstanding do-gooders, men like Murrow, Acheson, Wallace and many others, who, resenting capitalism's errors, believe government should not confine itself to preventing the use of force by one man against another but should help the weak by levying against the strong—Robin Hood fashion.



Jerome Joachim

It may be difficult for McCarthy to convince everyone that Edward R. Murrow was a member of the I.W.W. But McCarthy's quotes from the Daily Worker, and from Harold Laski's and Owen Lattimore's books will convince everyone familiar with what these men stand for that Murrow is not a friend of the American individualists.

Because they are clever and propose measures that sound similar to Christian doctrines (but doctrines which are enforced by state's decrees rather than by individual discipline) millions of innocents have been duped by such men and the world, including the United States, has gone far down the road to Socialism.

America has little to fear from the card bearing, fanatical Communists in our midst. They have neither impressed nor harmed us nearly as much as have men like Murrow, Roosevelt, Wallace and Acheson, who, though appearing to think only of the common man's welfare, have indeed brought us to the very brink of totalitarian slavery.

These are the men who coined the word "McCarthyism" and these are the men who have so confused us that millions of well meaning Americans are left with a doubt—much like the doubts which have repeatedly brought an end to racket busting efforts such as Kefauver's national committee made and such as Alderman Merriam's present efforts against the syndicate in Chicago.

There is nothing the Communists would like better than to have McCarthy silenced completely. If this were done and if perhaps it was attempted this tactic would we then have to coin a new word in order to please the Communists—and are we sufficiently naive to do just that?

The CRACKER BARREL

EAGLE ROCK, Calif., April 14—If anybody asked me to defend the Americanism of Edward R. Murrow, I wouldn't know exactly where to start. But I'm willing to fight anybody who says he ain't the funniest dead-pan comedian on the air today. I just love to watch him hollering over a NATION WIDE TELEVISION HOOKUP that McCarthy is deprivin' him of free speech.

JONATHAN YANK.

Letters to the Editor

5-C-19

APR 10 1954

The Murrow-McCarthy Poll

I would like to comment on the manner in which the listening and viewing public was treated by the television people on the night of the McCarthy reply to Murrow.

When I realized I had missed the McCarthy program I called CBS to inquire if there would be a rebroadcast. The phone rang many times before a frustrated voice said: "Hold on a minute, we are very busy." I held on for several minutes and then the feminine voice asked: "Is this about Murrow-McCarthy?"

I answered "yes" and she interrupted, "Who are you for?" I said "McCarthy" and before I had finished, she slammed the phone in my ear.

I dialed the phone again and the same routine was followed. I called again and hurriedly said I wanted to inquire about rebroadcasts. A man answered and I inquired: "Will you rebroadcast the McCarthy program and at what time?" He emphatically answered: "No, we will not!" I pleaded "Can I ever get to hear this by writing to someone higher up to make a request?" He answered, "Absolutely not!" and hung up.

W. H.

Blameless

About this McCarthy-Army quizz: "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

How many Army commissions have been awarded "by request," because of pull somewhere? That is no crime.

But promoting a Red Army officer, securing his "honorable" discharge when an investigation threatened, that is a crime, a treasonable crime.

Everyone connected with that disgrace and every last Un-American trying to cover up Red infiltration into our armed services now should be on a scorching grill of investigation—not America's great defender, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

VAL PEEL.

The more the United States government lowers the tariff wall that protects American industry and the employes of American industry, the more cheaply foreign goods can sell in American markets.

William Randolph Hearst

'Mud Slinging Will Not Stop Me'—McCarthy

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, replying to President Eisenhower's rebuke for tactics which disregard "the standards of fair play recognized by the American people," makes it clear that neither presidential wrath nor the smear tactics of pressure groups which villify him constantly, will swerve him from his determination to expose Communists whenever and wherever he finds them.

In part he said:

"When the shouting and the tumult dies, the American people and the President will realize that this unprecedented mud-slinging against the committee by extreme left wing elements of the press and radio was caused because another Fifth Amendment Communist in government was finally dug out of the dark recesses and exposed to public view.

"It is important to remember that this silly tempest in a teapot arose because we dared to bring to light the cold, unpleasant facts about a Fifth Amendment Communist army officer who was promoted, given special immunity from duty outside the United States and finally was given an honorable discharge with the full knowledge of all concerned that he was a member of the Communist Party.

"It now appears that for some reason he was a "Sacred Cow" of certain army brass...

"A continued exchange of statements about over exposure of this Fifth Amendment Communist army officer is worse than ridiculous...

"I shall spend my time in action —in the continued exposure of those who are dedicated to the Communist enslavement of the world."

The fighting Senator from Wisconsin has no intention of "retiring to his corner" until he is satisfied that the Communist menace in America is beaten.

Letters to the Editor

5-C-19

Los Angeles Times

★ FRIDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 26, 1954

The McCarthy-Stevens Affair

The dispute between Army Secretary Stevens and Sen. McCarthy (R) Wis., is in some respects being exaggerated far beyond its true importance and in other respects the real importance is being ignored.

What has actually been determined is that the military in the United States is subordinate to the civilian government and that Congress has a right to ask questions and get answers to them.

No Case of 'Surrender'

This is not a case where the "Army has surrendered to McCarthyism." Secretary Stevens yielded to the Wisconsin investigator because he was convinced, by his own maturer reflection and the arguments of Sens. Dirksen (R) Ill., and Mundt (R) S.D., and others that Sen. McCarthy was right.

Certainly the Senate and the people of the United States have a right to know the details of the funny business involving one Irving Peress, a dentist, who had been drafted into the Army, given a commission, promoted to major in face of charges of Communist affiliations and activities made to Army officials last April, and finally given an honorable discharge soon after he had appeared before the McCarthy investigating committee and had resorted to the sanctuary of the 5th Amendment in his refusal to answer questions concerning Communist activities.

Sen. McCarthy sought to obtain the facts last week by questioning Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker, commanding officer at Camp Kilmer, and the man who signed Dr. Peress' separation from the Army. Now Sen. McCarthy is not the gentlest of examiners and undoubtedly he handled Gen. Zwicker rather roughly. But on the other hand it was plainly evident from the transcript of the testimony that Gen. Zwicker was doing his best to keep the salient facts from the committee.

It has been said that Sen. McCarthy abused Gen. Zwicker shamefully; and it is true that at one point he told him he was a disgrace to his uniform, which, in the case of a brave officer with several decorations, seems a bit extreme.

On this point—which is one of good form and not of substance—Secretary Stevens has said that he will stick up for his subordinates' right to be treated with dignity and decency, and has properly received the full approval of the President and Defense Secretary Wilson.

But it is beyond understanding why Gen. Zwicker felt it necessary to fence with the committee in the manner he did. It is not too much to say that he gave the impression, as a witness, that he was trying to protect somebody who had made a serious error of judgment. This loyalty to the Army code is admirable up to a certain point. But when it amounts to concealing information either from a court of competent jurisdiction or from a committee of Congress that point has been passed.

Let's Have the Details

In his order to Gen. Zwicker and to the Adjutant General, Gen. W. F. Bergin, not to appear before the McCarthy committee the Secretary of the Army acted in haste and incorrectly. His correction of the error is proper and does him credit.

The full circumstances of the Peress case should be made known. It may be that Peress, having been drafted, and inducted into the Army before the requirement of a non-Communist oath was in effect, was entitled to a discharge but there was no reason apparent for promoting Peress from captain to major in face of the charges of Communist activities of which Sen. McCarthy asserts Army officials were informed almost a year ago.

5-C-19

Commentator's Twisting of Facts Delights Communists

Murrow Latest Darling of Red Press

"No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist party press during the last few months than Edward R. Murrow." Why? "The New Counterattack, Facts to Combat Communism," first makes the statement and then provides the answers. The following article, from the March 19 issue, is reprinted here with special permission. The emphasis is ours.

* * *

Why does the Communist press praise Edward R. Merrow so highly? **No radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist party press during the last months as has Edward R. Murrow.** The Daily Worker runs an item on the "Best Bets" on radio and TV each day. Murrow's CBS-TV shows "See It Now" and "Person to Person" have been consistently plugged in this feature, which mentions only a few of the many programs presented each day. His radio news commentary on CBS has recently been getting the same favored treatment.

What is the reason for this? A few examples of what Murrow says and does on his broadcasts and telecasts provide the answer.

Murrow rapped the State Department last May for not embracing Churchill's proposal of direct talks between Malenkov, President Eisenhower and him-

MURROW Page 40

MURROW

(Continued from Page One)

self. Murrow made it clear that he believed "new tides" were running in Russia after Stalin's death (a belief since exploded) and that the President should not let the "hatred and hysteria" of the American people prevent a meeting.

The U. S. "had better find a better answer" than the one it had given for rejecting a talk with Malenkov, Murrow said. Actually, the State Department's answer was an excellent one: Moscow had broken scores of promises; Malenkov had given no evidence of good faith — so it was foolish to talk with him.

Communists in all parts of the world were screaming for such a meeting. In fairness to them, it should be pointed out that their reasons for wanting one were much more intelligent than Murrow's — although they, naturally, would not reveal what those reasons really were.

Murrow attacked Attorney General Brownell on the Harry Dexter White case. He said it had been pointed out that "in 1947 a federal grand jury had studied the matter of Mr. White — **all the evidence** — and had failed to return an indictment because it felt there was insufficient evidence to warrant such action." (Note the emphasis on "all the evidnce.")

This statement was not true on Nov. 9, 1953 when Murrow made it. In 1948 Whittaker Chambers produced his "pumpkin papers," among which were notes in Harry Dexter White's own handwriting. The grand jury never saw this evidence. Murrow knows that, but for some strange reason neglected to mention it. He repeatedly pooh-poohed the evidence against White.

Murrow accused President Eisenhower and Brownell of asserting that a dead man was a spy "without producing evidence." He said this practice, if pursued, may "be applied to you or to me" and would endanger our heritage.

The Murrow program that the CP has praised most highly was his "See It Now" telecast on the case of Lt. Milo Radulovich, an Air Force Reserve officer who refused to resign his commission when asked to do so because it was decided he was not a good security risk (his loyalty was not questioned).

A 10th Air Force Security Board reviewed Radulovich's case. It recommended discharge. The Commanding General of the 10th Air Force concurred.

Then Murrow went to bat for Radulovich in a very cleverly slanted program that produced no evidence that Radulovich had been judged wrongly.

A flood of letters descended on the Defense Department in Washington. A short while later Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbott said he did not think Radulovich was a security risk and reversed the Air Force's earlier decision.

The organ of the CP-led Teachers Union hailed Murrow's program in Radulovich as "a signal service to our country. **The party's organ on the motion picture industry, "Film Sense" (published by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions), praised it as "an interesting example of TV's new awareness' and as proof that "the best of current television" is superior to the finest productions turned out by Hollywood.**

The Daily Worker and its West People's World, joined in the hallelujahs. Two party writers, David Platt and Milton Howard, turned out articles for the CP press praising the Murrow program.

Murrow's recent "See It Now" program on Senator McCarthy offers examples of some of the devious techniques he uses to slant his presentations, while appearing to be very objective and fair. Murrow showed a hearing at which Senator McCarthy asked a witness (Reed Harris) these two questions:

"You know the Civil Liberties Union has been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist party?" "Do you know they since have been listed as a front for and doing the work of the Communist party?"

The senator's statement about the ACLU was correct. But Murrow wanted to make the senator look bad. How could he do this? Simple. Just change the senator's words. Murrow commented:

"Twice he (McCarthy) said the American Civil Liberties Union was listed as a subversive front."

This was a completely false statement. Senator McCarthy had not once used the word subversive". But that word connotes listing by the Department of Justice and the phony insertion of it by Murrow paved the way for his next sentence, which was designed to (and actually helped) discredit the Senator:

"The attorney general's list does not and has never listed the ACLU as subversive nor does the FBI or any government agency."

A neat implication that Senator McCarthy had lied by the use of a Murrow lie. The Truth: The ACLU was de cribed as a Communist front in House Report No. 2290 of the 71st Congress, published in 1931, a year before the ACLU provided defense counsel for Reed Harris. It was also listed as a front in Massachusetts House Report No. 2100 (1938), New York State Legislative Report No. 90 (1939) and in the 1943 and 1948 California Committee reports (on which Senator McCarthy based his statements).

CP leader Earl Browder testified in 1939 was the ACLU was a "transmission belt" of the Communist party.

(To be concluded)

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Robert Morris, who

and McCarthy have been doing. McCarran would be vigorous and there would be no easing up in the fight on Communists. Senator John McClellan would be doing the work that is now being done by McCarthy. On the sidelines, McCarthy would be conducting a running fight on the Communists and the Democrats.

REALISTIC PICTURE

In a word, the position of the moderates, as President Eisenhower likes to call the middle-of-the-roaders, will not be improved. Senator Stuart Symington, who may be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, would undoubtedly get into the act, just to show that the Democrats are as anti-Communist as the Republicans.

Only President Eisenhower can suffer from a Democratic victory because he would be without even as much support in Congress as he has now. He would learn that it is impossible to conduct this government on a bipartisan basis and that those Democrats who are friendly to him now will be working for their own party and for his defeat in 1956.

This is the realistic picture today and unless the Republicans can kiss and make up in the next month or two, it will be a sad day for them when the next Congress meets.

(Copyright, 1954)

lted On Zwicker Threat To Quit; General And McCarthy Compared

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Here is the complete record of the man who impugned the patriotism of General Zwicker.

When McCarthy first resigned from the Marine Corps he tried to fast-talk the Marines out of a couple of air medals. These are always awarded as a matter of routine for every 10 afr missions. McCarthy claimed 30 missions, but the Marine Corps, checking the records, could find record of only nine. Even these were flown as an "observer," in other words, as a passenger. So McCarthy's application was turned down.

Long after the war had ended and McCarthy had become an important senator, he applied for his air medals again. At first

al King Neptune hazing ceremony while crossing the Equator. Here is how it happened, in the words of one of his buddies.

"McCarthy was nearly through his initiation when he was hurt. He was going down a ladder with a bucket fastened to his foot when he slipped. His other foot caught on a lower rung—an iron pipe a few inches from the steel bulkhead—and he fell backward, injuring his foot . . . after my initiation was over and I had rinsed the stain from my shaved head, I went to the sick bay to see how Joe was getting along. They had decided that three bones were broken."

McCARTHY RESIGNS

state. If Maine potatoes are not to be sold in some such way, the growers will not have much choice but to sell at starch factory prices.

Incidentally, I'm not a native son of Florida.

Robert R. Whitehouse.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Orono, Maine.

Editor, Bangor Daily News:

This is to set the record straight. In your story on McCarthy today, March 12, the article states that Edward R. Murrow, radio commentator was on the National Advisory Council of Moscow University Summer Session in 1935. What the article did not report was Murrow's statement in the same evening not long after McCarthy had made his, that the Summer Session referred to was never held. I know that Murrow's statement is true because I was in Russia that summer when the school was cancelled. I was there not to attend the school but on a personal trip of observation. I met many persons who had come to Moscow to attend the school. Many of them like myself had no belief in Communism, but were there to see what was going on. To learn the truth even about hated procedures is a part of the obligation of any intelligent person.

To smear Murrow because of his connection with a school session that did not occur is to distort out of all focus what in 1935 was a commendable desire to see and know what Russia actually was doing. The United States carries on an intelligence service now to do just that. In 1935 a great deal of what Russia was doing was obvious to anyone who went there and looked and listened. What I saw and heard only intensified my loathing of the whole Russian system and I so stated in many a lecture. To reason that because I associated for several weeks in Russia with practicing, convinced Communists that I am sympathetic with Communism would be the grossest libel. Such is true of many a person. Thus my desire is to set the record straight on McCarthy's statement regarding Murrow.

Milton W. McGorrill.

REFUSED TO USE INFLUENCE

Last February 13, The Washington Post printed the following letter from former U. S. Senator Owen Brewster. It is self-explanatory.

Washington, D. C.

Editor, Washington Post:

In an old cemetery in San Francisco there is a monument with the following inscription: "Erected by the Vigilantes to the memory of Bill Jones whom we hung by mistake."

This came to my mind when the Shimon trial board—six months after the Maine primary—found unanimously with the complete concurrence of the U. S. District Attorney that there was no evidence whatsoever that I had any knowledge of the alleged Shimon wiretapping.

I was also relieved when your editorial appeared in defense of Senator Monroney's dealing with Gruenwald in 1950 as an entirely reputable character at that time, as it was at that same time that Gruenwald was involved, thru no fault of his, in furnishing assistance to Dick Nixon to defeat Helen Gahagian Douglas in the California primary.

As to my promoting the Howard Hughes' investigation to assist Pan American Airways nothing could be farther from the truth.

Senator Feguson and Mr. Rogers more than justified the investi- Hughes and was appointed chairman of the sub-committee to con-

TO.....

FROM.....

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER.

Murrow at issue

In connection with the controversy between Messrs. Murrow and McCarthy, one might ask why it is that no radio or TV commentator has received as much praise from the Communist press during the last few months as Edward R. Murrow.

The Daily Worker runs an article on the "Best Bets" on radio and TV each day. Murrow's CBS-TV shows "See It Now" and "Person to Person" have been consistently plugged in this feature which mentions only a few of the many programs presented each day. Murrow's radio news commentary on CBS has recently been getting the same favorable treatment. The same Communist press is loud, long, and boisterous in its attack on McCarthy.

GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW.

Army must act

MURROW AND MAC

Suspicion has always been harbored by this writer and many other liberal-thinking Americans, that E. R. Murrow's broadcasts frequently were inclined toward expounding the virtues of Socialism, but due to the personality and apparent sincerity of the man, these thoughts never emerged beyond the suspicion stage.

Confirmation of suspicions and any existing doubt disappeared the night Mr. Murrow made his television attack on Sen. McCarthy.

The usual calm and suave poise of Mr. Murrow was sadly missing immediately after Sen. McCarthy's telecast of April 6.

Murrow's face was quite haggard, apparently from deep frustration engendered by Sen. McCarthy's documented revelations pertaining to his past connections.

Once more all liberal thinking Americans owe Sen. McCarthy a vote of gratitude for bringing to light this glib master of artifice. J. W. ZAWILLA.

CHICAGO-- April-15-54

5-C-19

4 Televiews advocate 4/17/54 5-C-19

McCarthy And Murrow

By William H. Mooring

DID ANYONE point out that Senator Joseph McCarthy's reply to Ed Murrow, given via film on the CBS program "See It Now," developed calmly and squarely a powerful case against the anti-anti-communists?

Taking Murrow's alleged statement that McCarthy, by his methods and activities, is giving aid and comfort to the communist enemy, the Senator quietly presented quotations in tribute to Murrow from the communist press, known pro-communist socialists like the late Professor Laski and other sources of pro-Soviet bias.

He also gave quotations from the same or similar Red publications on so-called McCarthyism and the man whom Murrow alleges has given the communists aid and comfort.

Specifically on this aspect of the controversy, McCarthy won hands down. If he ever gave aid or comfort to the communists, they responded typically with ingratitude.

I wonder if Murrow can produce anything by way of evidence to show that the communists ever castigated or even criticized him?

McCarthy's reply, unspectacular and at times characteristically vituperative, certainly got to the crux of the dispute between Murrow and himself which, started by Murrow, certainly has gratified communists all over the world.

It is that any among us, whose misguided liberalism impels them to oppose anti-communism with more vigor than they do communism, may be counted on the side of the communists at least any time they take the ascendancy. European and Asiatic experiences prove this up to the hilt.

What would be McCarthy's fate if communism took over the USA? What would be Ed Murrow's fate?

Judging by the laudatory mention given Murrow in the communist press he might reasonably count upon promotion, to say, commissar in charge of state radio and TV.

McCarthy? Summary execution beyond doubt!

Political C... Give

TRIBUNE.

MURROW vs. McCARTHY

Chicago, March 10—Sen. McCarthy has done the country another valuable service, tho not deliberately this time. I refer to his having aroused CBS's Murrow to the point that he revealed his own pinkish thinking for the first time in a long career as a clever propagandist masquerading as a news reporter.

Murrow accused McCarthy of using half truths and innuendo, and of quoting out of context. He himself has used all of these tactics and devices repeatedly in trying to put over his propaganda. When the Bricker amendment was being debated he used his "See It Now" program to present what purported to be a debate on its merits. He presented one speaker for the amendment, one opposed to the amendment, and then wound the program up with a strong anti-amendment speaker carefully selected to give the impression he was acting as judge.

He also used his "Person to Person" program at about the same time to interview this same opponent of the amendment in his home on the same subject, altho this latter program professes only to give the public an intimate view of the lives and home atmosphere of typical Americans.

Other examples of Murrow's technique include television camera sequences that show his victims in the least flattering poses, shifting the camera to odd or extreme characters in the audience so as to ridicule the type of audience, and using the camera to "quote out of context" as he did thruout the McCarthy program.

From now on the public can not only "see it" but can "smell it." J. E. ALBERT

Chicago, March 10—On the television program "See It Now" last night Mr. Murrow used the very same "smear," "out of context," and "inference" tactics that he was criticizing Sen. McCarthy for. M. D. PARKER

NINE MEMBERS OF THIS AMERICAN FAMILY AGREES WITH SENATOR McCARTY 100 per cent.

5-C-19

Government is the taxing power and the spending power, and frequently the wasting power. It is parasitic, not productive.

William Randolph Hearst

McCarthy Charges Reds in U.S. Caused H-Bomb Delay

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's blistering charge that Reds within the United States government were responsible for an 18-month delay in the development of the hydrogen bomb today rocked the nation and indeed the world.

These revelations of delay, a delay which could prove catastrophic to America, came as the fighting senator from Wisconsin accepted the invitation of CBS Commentator Edward R. Murrow to take over the microphone on his coast-to-coast telecast, "See It Now," and answer the charges made on a previous telecast by Murrow that McCarthy "was giving aid and comfort to the enemy by his Red-hunting."

McCarthy made full use of this opportunity to strike hard at those who make a practice of attacking individuals who are seeking to expose and drive out Communists and fellow travelers within the United States.

McCarthy called Murrow..."the leader and cleverest of the jackal pack which is always found at the throat of anyone who dares to expose Communists and traitors."

In part, McCarthy said:

"As far back as 20 years ago (Murrow) was engaged in propaganda for Communist causes...His March 9 broadcast followed implicitly the Communist line as laid down in the last six months, laid down not only by the Communist Daily Worker but by the Communist magazine, Political Affairs, and by the National Conference of the Communist Party of the United States."

McCarthy went on, specifically, to charge that Murrow, by his own admission, was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, a terrorist organization active in the 1920's.

Of the loss of China to Communism, McCarthy said:

"Those 400,000,000 Chinese were delivered to Communist slave masters by the jackal pack of Communist lying propagandists—including the friends of Mr. Edward R. Murrow, who day after day shouted to the world that the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers and our ally, the Republic of China, represented everything that was evil and wicked..."

In his shocking charges of Red-inspired delay in production of the hydrogen bomb, Senator McCarthy said:

"If there were no Communists in our government, why did we delay for 18 months—delay our research on the hydrogen bomb, even though our intelligence agencies were reporting day after day that the Russians were feverishly pushing their development of the bomb? Who caused that delay? Was it loyal Americans or was it traitors in our government?"

In view of his words, it is only too apparent to the American people that Senator McCarthy will not be shouted down, or smeared down, or bullied into quitting his aggressive, fighting campaign to rid America of the Communist menace.